INDIAN NEWSPAPER REPORTS, c1868-1942,
from the British Library, London

Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

Adam Matthew Publications

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Indian Newspaper Reports, c1868-1942
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Indian Newspaper Reports, c1868-1942
Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

Introduction

Bombay, known as Mumbai since 1995, is the capital of the state of Maharashtra. It is the world's most populated city, with an estimated population of 13 million and is the commercial and entertainment capital of India, housing the headquarters of the large Indian banks and Bollywood, India's Hindi film and television industry. The early decades of the twentieth century were very significant in shaping the future of this modern metropolis.

The town of Bombay was the East India Company's first port in 1668 and in 1687 became the Company's headquarters. During the American Civil War (1861-1865) the city became the world's chief cotton trading market and the opening of the Suez canal in 1869 transformed it into one of the largest seaports on the Arabian Sea.

By 1906 it had a population of one million, making it the second largest city after Calcutta. It was the capital of the Bombay Presidency and was a major base for the Indian independence movement – especially boycotts of non-Indian goods, the political activities of prominent moderates and their demands for Dominion status, the All India Home Rule League and the protests from the large migrant labour force such as the general strike of Bombay mill workers in January 1919. Later on, it was in Bombay that the Quit India movement was launched in August 1942. After India's independence in 1947 it became the capital of Bombay state.

Criticism of British rule, British agents and the administration of justice throughout the Bombay Presidency increased in the period after 1880. Lord Ripon's repeal of Lytton's Vernacular Press Act in 1881 saw the abolition of the Press Commissionership. The relaxation in the attempted exercise of political control by the British over the press in India opened the way for vigorous debate on the future of India. The writings of the Indian intelligentsia found their way into an increasing number of new newspapers, Anglo-Indian and Vernacular. The increasingly active independence movement later formed into two separate camps in 1907. There was the *Garam Dal* (the extremists or "hot faction") of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who founded the Marathi daily *Kesari* (The Lion), and the *Naram Dal* of Gopal Krishna Gokhale (the moderates or "soft faction"). Gokhale was a champion of public education and a mentor to men such as Mahatma Gandhi and Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the future founder of Pakistan. Tilak was

arrested and tried for sedition in 1908 after he had defended the Bengali youths who had killed a District Judge. *"In spite of the verdict of the Jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of men and nations and it may be the will of providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than my remaining free"*. These were his last words at his trial and they are now imprinted in the wall of Room No 46 at the Bombay High Court. The Press Act of 1914 only served to exacerbate problems with its imposition of even stricter censorship on the press. Any editor who disregarded the rules on what could be published was liable to find himself in prison.

These reports of the Bombay newspapers, 1901-1921 cover landmarks in India's history - the repercussions of Lord Curzon's arrival as Viceroy in 1899, the partition of Bengal in 1905, the founding of the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1910, the Press Act of 1914, Gandhi's arrival in Bombay in 1915, the new Government of India Act and Rowlatt Act of 1919, the Amritsar Massacre of the same year and the growth in the demand for Home Rule.

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, founder of the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1910, and a member of the Bombay Legislative Council from 1893, is recognised as a significant figure in Indian history. He is known as 'the Father of Municipal Government in Bombay'. He had been municipal commissioner in 1873 and was chairman of the Municipal Council in 1884-5 and again in 1905. He had been responsible for drafting the Bombay Municipal Act of 1872 setting out the duties of the municipal corporation in key areas such as sanitation and health, the water supply, the creation and maintenance of roads, the management of hospitals, refuse collection and disposal, sewerage, cemeteries, crematoria, parks, public spaces, beaches and building works. When Gandhi arrived in India from South Africa, Mehta presided over the public meeting held to welcome him. He was twice President of the reception committee when the Congress sessions met in Bombay in 1899 and 1904. Mehta had also presided over the Congress meeting in Calcutta in 1890. In his dual role of political activist and newspaper owner Mehta made his English language weekly into an important nationalist voice of its time documenting the political upheavals of a volatile pre-independent India.

The Indian National Congress, formed in 1885, was comprised chiefly of members of the western-educated professional elite. The very first meeting of Congress was in Bombay. Public opinion had started to turn against the British government of India and it sought to represent the views of the populace from both urban and rural areas. There was an undercurrent of feeling that British rule was unfair and this is reflected in the newspaper reports contained in this collection. Agitation and disturbances in the streets were common and the media played a huge role in re-enforcing feelings of real and imagined grievances. Congress during the first two decades of the twentieth century continued to be a moderating influence with the professional elites keeping the upper hand.

During the First World War the newspaper reports provide a good indication of the mixed reactions to Indian involvement in the conflict. The Indian National Congress decided that the cause of Indian Independence would be best served by helping the British Empire as much as possible – but many people in India disagreed. Despite this, 800,000 troops fought in the various different theatres of conflict. Some 1.5 million volunteered to fight. Tilak was released from prison in Burma in 1914. He re-united with his fellow nationalists and rejoined the Indian National Congress in 1916.

With lots of Indian soldiers fighting on behalf of the British Empire there were growing demands for Dominion status for India. The All India Home Rule League was founded in 1916 by Annie Besant, Muhammed Ali Jinnah and Tilak to demand self government for India. Jinnah headed up the League's Bombay branch. Although Tilak was a critic of Gandhi's strategy of non-violence, in his later years he mellowed considerably and favoured political dialogue and discussion as an effective way to obtain political freedom for India. Gandhi paid his respects at Tilak's cremation in Bombay in 1920 along with 200,000 people.

The Government of India Act of 1919 was passed by the British to enable more Indians to participate in the government of India. The Act provided for a dual form of government whereby in each province some areas of government were answerable to a Provincial Council and other areas of government remained under the control of the Viceroy. The Indian National Congress was unhappy at these reforms and condemned them, believing they did not go far enough in political reform.

Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1915. His struggle from this point to 1921, when he was invested with executive authority on behalf of the Indian National Congress, can be followed in these newspaper reports. He believed that Indian independence could be obtained not by violence but by non-cooperation and peaceful resistance and under his leadership the National Congress was reorganised with the goal of "Swaraj" (self rule). As part of his strategy he adopted the "swadeshi" policy, the aim of which was to boycott foreign made goods, especially British goods. He also encouraged Indians to wear homespun cloth (khadi) and to actually spin the material themselves in support of the independence movement. He took a major role as peacemaker after the Amritsar massacre on April 1919 when innocent civilians were massacred in the Jallianwala Bagh near the Golden Temple in the Punjab by British troops. After the disturbances at Chauri Chaura in Uttar Pradesh in February 1922 when Gandhi felt that his movement was becoming violent he called off the campaign of civil disobedience. He was arrested in March 1922 for sedition and was sentenced to six year's imprisonment of which he only served two owing to ill health. He spent most of the 1920s out of the limelight but returned to prominence in 1928 when he resumed his campaign for Indian independence and for Home Rule.

The Rowlatt Act of 1919 was passed by the British to extend "emergency measures" after the end of the First World War and was aimed at controlling public unrest. It singled out the Bombay Presidency and the Punjab as "centres of dangerous conspiracy". It had powers to imprison without trial any person suspected of terrorism in India. It caused great upheaval and Gandhi among other leaders was extremely critical of the Act. It was to lead to the massacre at Amritsar when two leaders of the Congress were arrested and a demonstration took place.

As well as much on political life in India, there is also lots of information to be found on advances in communications and living standards in the country which had begun in the late nineteenth century, with the construction of major roads linking the main cities and regions and the development of the railway system. An enormous amount of detail about the impact of the railways can be found in the newspaper reports together with information on the expansion of education, the increase in industrialisation, the growth of agriculture and the development of the first suburbs.

Indian Newspaper Reports

The Indian Newspaper Reports from the Asia, Pacific and Africa Department at the British Library, constitute an important series to be found in the Record Department Papers of the Oriental and India Office Collections. The reports consist of abstracts taken from Anglo-Indian and Vernacular newspapers for the various different regions of India.

The reports were completed weekly and consist of typewritten abstracts of the contents of Indian newspapers with some extracts, translated by an official translator whose name is given at the end of the week's report. An extremely wide variety of newspapers was looked at weekly, ensuring that a wide spectrum of ideas, views and politics was addressed. The reports list the languages of the newspapers, where the papers were published, with a note on the number of issues published, how often and the name, age and religion of the editor.

Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

The newspaper reports for Bombay included in Part 7 cover the years 1901-1921 and complete those for Bombay started in Part 6. The abstracts and extracts contained in the reports will provide scholars with an invaluable insight into Indian social and political events, urban and rural conditions, criticisms of the British government, popular protest and the development of nationalist feelings.

The lists of Native Papers (from 1913 called Indian Papers) contain around 165 newspapers each week (over twice as many as those of the average list in Part 6), divided into the following languages: English; Anglo-Gujarati; Anglo-Kanarese; Anglo-Marathi; Anglo-Portuguese; Anglo-Sindi; Anglo-Urdu; English,

Marathi and Gujarati; English, Marathi and Kanarese; Gujarati; Hindi; Kanarese; Marathi; Sindi; Urdu; Marathi and Kanarese; Marathi and Urdu; Portuguese and Konkani. The largest amount of papers consulted are in Marathi and Gujarati. In the early years of this part the report for each week has a list of the papers consulted but by the latter part the list is only given at the beginning of each year.

Extracts from the lists for the weeks ending 2 April 1910 and 29 March 1913 will give an idea of the names of papers listed, the editors and the circulation figures:

English

Indu of Bombay	Bombay	Daily	John Wallace, C of E, English, Age 50	1,000
East and West	Bombay	Monthly	Behramji Merwanji Malobari Parsi, Age 55	1,000

Anglo-Gujarati

Gujarati	Bombay	Weekly	Manilal Ichchharam Desai Hindu, Age 32	8,000

Anglo-Sindi

Sindhi	Sukkur	Weekly	Mulchand Bhagchand Hindu, Age 34	1,000

Sindi

Zemindar Gazette	Mirpur Khas	Weekly	Gurudinomal Tahilsing Sadarangani Hindu, Age 31	600

Marathi

Pudhari	Baroda	Weekly	Vasudev Purshottam Sathe Hindu, Age 32	1,000

Urdu				
Mufide Rozgar	Bombay	Weekly	Haji Mahomed Hussain Muhamedan, Age 43	600
Gujarati				
Satsang	Surat	Weekly	Chunilal Bapuji Modi Hindu, Age 61	1,500
Hindi				
Bharat	Bombay	Weekly	Gaurishankar Jugal Kishore Brahmin, Age 30	400
Hindi Jain	Bombay	Weekly	Kasturchand Jbavarchand Jain Hindu, Age 25	600

By 1921 circulation figures of Bengal newspaper reports had grown tremendously as the Indian population became more literate as the figures given below illustrate. It should also be noted that some papers were discontinued over the years and new papers were added.

English				
Servant of India	Poona	Weekly	V S Shriniwas Shastn Hindu, Age 48	2,000
Anglo-Gujaratii				
Gujarati	Bombay	Weekly	V S Shrinowas Shastn Hindu, Age 48	19,003
Gujarati				
Navijan	Ahmedabad	Weekly	Mohandas Karamchand Ghandi Hindu, Age 53	23,000

Marathi

Sandesh	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar Hindu, Age 41	7,000

The contents of the abstracts for each week are divided into the following sections:

Politics and the Public Administration
Legislation
Education
Railways
Municipalities
Native States
Intelligence extracted from the Press

The early reports such as those for 1901 and 1905 contain mostly detail concerning social and economic conditions and give only an intimation of the problems to come. Topics include:

- Agrarian problems and news from the Forestry Department
- Bombay Legislative Council
- Indian National Congress
- Famine and orphanages
- Indian budget
- Indian census
- Spirit of Independence in European countries
- News on colleges and schools and related conferences
- Extravagance of native chiefs
- Land Revenue Bill
- Lord Curzon speeches
- Visit of Lord Northcote to Kathiawar
- Dacoities in Dharwar
- Visit of Prince of Wales
- Protest meetings against Lord Curzon's Convocation Address
- Railway grievances
- Housing problems
- Proposed demolition of Hindu temples by the Bombay City Improvement Trust
- Oppression of Muhammedans by the Hindu authorities of Mundi
- Riots by mill-hands in Bombay
- Complaints about British rule in India, the possibility of India's political regeneration and "Swadeshi" meetings
- Hospitals
- Sind politics – usually a large section dealing with all kind of matters relating to the area

- Partition of Bengal

By 1910 the topics to be found in the papers start to reflect wider feelings of unrest and the growth of discontentment against British rule in India with articles on topics such as:

- How can India be regenerated?
- Warnings to white colonials to beware of the future
- Workings of the new Press Act of1914
- Training of Anglo-Indian officials
- Treatment of political prisoners
- Oppression in the state of Idar
- Hostile attitude of Parsi newspapers to Moslems
- Disturbances at sittings of the All India Moslem League

By 1921, with the influence of Gandhi and the introduction of the Rowlatt Act, the amount of space devoted to political agitation, nationalism, Home Rule and Gandhi had expanded enormously and large sections under Politics on Non-Cooperation, British Rule, the Governor, Indian Reforms and the Press Act were featured. Subjects included are:

- Appeal to the public to agitate for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act
- Comments on letters from Gandhi to the press regarding agitation
- Comments by Tilak on non-Brahmin representation on the council
- Calls for the Press Act to be repealed
- Bombay's government's attitude to non-cooperation and their warnings of revolution in India
- Extracts from Gandhi's letters on a wide range of topics including non-cooperation, civil disobedience, the Afghan war, the moderates
- Reports on interviews between the Viceroy and Gandhi

The following extracts provide an idea of the richness of the material:

The report for the week ending 20 April 1913 includes the following comments from the *Dnyan Prakash* concerning the formation of a United India League:

"At the last session of the Moslem League held at Lucknow the Honourable Mr Shafi made a suggestion for the formation of an United India League wherein all creeds and castes would join hands. Now that the Honourable gentleman has addressed a letter to the press urging the same idea, we should like to point out that there is no necessity for organising a new body, for we have already amongst us the India National Congress which has been carrying on its propaganda on strictly constitutional and unsectarian lines. The Muhammedans would do well to join it in the interests of all concerned…."

The same paper in the newspaper report ending 27 May 1916 comments on home rule agitation which had grown during the First World War:

"…. Because small demands of the Congress and of other institutions were systematically ignored, the Home Rule agitation has received such an impetus now. So long it was said that political agitation was carried on by a handful of educated men but those who read the proceedings of the Congress and of the Legislative Councils will see the wide public character of our movement. Merchants want Home Rule for commercial purposes. Other professionals want Home Rule as it would encourage their professions…. The demand for Home Rule is becoming universal in this manner in India and the present war has made it quite an insistent question…."

The report for the week ending 14 March 1920 includes the following from the *Gujarati* concerning amendments to the Press Act of 1914:

"Commenting upon the assurance given in the Imperial Legislative Council by Sir William Vincent that the Press Act will be amended, the Gujarati remarks:The most objectionable portion of the Press Act is that section of it which enumerates the offences under the Act. As long as that section stands intact the Press will have to dance to the tune of the bureaucrats or the judges, in spite of any amendments that might be carried out as suggested by Sir Shivaswami Iyar…."

The report for the week ending 13 August 1921 includes the following from *Young India* giving Gandhi's views on the non-Cooperation movement and the use of violence:

"I have never believed and I do not now believe that the end justifies the means. On the contrary it is my firm conviction that there is an intimate connection between the end and the means so much so that you cannot achieve a good end by bad means…. I am fully aware that I am trying a most dangerous experiment – that of inducing thousands of Mussalmans and for that matter, Hindus too, to become and remain strictly non-violent…"

Liz Sargut
April 2008

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INDIAN NEWSPAPER REPORTS, c1868-1942
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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 3rd July 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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	ENGLISH.				
1	Bombay Chronicle ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Syed Abdulla Brelvi, M.A. ; Muhammadan ; 27.	8,000
2	Do. ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	5,500
3	Bombay East Indian ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	P. A. Baptista ; Roman Catholic ; 40 ...	300
4	Commercial Gazette ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman ; Muhammadan ; 44.	2
5	Daily Gazette ...	Karáchi ...	Daily ...	S. Lupton ; Englishman ; 36 ...	3,500 to 4,000
6	Indian Social Reformer ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Kámákshi Natarájan, B.A. ; Hindu (Madrási Bráhmin) ; 49.	650
7	Mahrátta ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Dámodar Vishwanáth Gokhale, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 34.	1,200
8	New Times ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Tikamdas Khemchand Jeswáni, M.A. ; Hindu (Lohána) ; 23.	800
9	Servant of India ...	Poona ...	Weekly ...	Shridhar Ganesh Vaze, B.A. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 42.	2,000
10	Sind Moslem ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman ; Muhammadan ; 44.	200
11	Sind Observer ...	Karáchi ...	Bi-weekly ...	E. L. Atkinson ; European ; 56 ...	750
12	The Indian Commercial Mercury.	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	.....	...
13	Young India ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi ; Hindu (Bania) ; 50.	1,300
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI.				
14	A'ryă Prakásh ...	Surat ...	Weekly ...	Pardhubhai Valabhai Sharma ; Hindu (Brahm Bhat) ; 38.	900
15	Bharat Seva ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Harjivan Kalidas Mehta ; Hindu (Nágar Bráhmin) ; 37.	2,000
16	Bombay Mazáh ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sorab Sheriar Iráni ; Párs i ; 33 ...	730
17	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Rájkot ...	Fortnightly ...	Tribhovandás Damodardás ; Hindu (Lohána) ; 37.	500
18	Gujaráti ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Manilál Ichchhárám Desái ; Hindu (Bania) ; 37.	18,500
19	Gujarát Mitră ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála ; Hindu (Dashalad Bania) ; 43.	700
20	Gujaráti Punch ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Somálál Mangaldás Sháh ; Hindu (Mesri Bania) ; 44.	3,800
21	Hindi Punch ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Burjorji Navroji Apakhtyár ; Párs i ; 62 ...	514
22	Hindusthán ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Ramniklal A. Mehta ; Hindu (Bania); 37 ...	3,000
23	Hindusthán ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Do. do. ...	5,000
24	Jám-e-Jamshed ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Phirozsháh Jehángir Marzbán, M.A. ; Párs i ; 44.	6,500
25	Kaiser-i-Hind ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Erachshaw Rustomji Hirji Behedin ; Párs i ; 37.	6,800
26	Káthiáwár News ...	Rájkot ...	Do. ...	Trikamji Govindji Kotak ; Hindu (Lohána); 40.	200
27	Káthiáwár Times ...	Do. ...	Bi-weekly ...	A. T. Wazirani ; Hindu (Brahmakshatriya); 27.	800
28	Párs i-Sansár ...	Karáchi ...	Weekly ...	Pherozshah Hormusji Dastur ; Párs i ; 35 ...	1,500
29	Praja Bandhu ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Chimanlal Mohanlal Modi ; Hindu (Shrimáli Bania).	3,700

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI—*concluded.*				
30	Praja Mitra and Pársi ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Meherjibhái Pálanji Mádon ; Pársi ; 60 ...	6,500
31	Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra.	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	5,700
32	Sánj Vartamán ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Rustamji N. Vátcha-gándhi ; Pársi ; 54 ...	6,000
33	Stock Exchange News ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Mancherśha Sorabji Bhumgara ; Pársi ; 27 .	1,600
34	Wafádár ...	Navsári ...	Do. ...	Saiyad Mahomed Saiyadali ; Muhammadan ; 23.	400
	ANGLO-HINDI.				
35	Delhi X Press ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Yadama Vasudev Naidu ; Khshatriya ; 33...	500
	ANGLO-KANARESE.				
36	Chandrodayă ...	Dhárwár ...	Weekly ...	G. H. Honnápurmath ; Hindu (Lingáyat); 50.	700
37	Kánara Leader ...	Kumta (Kánara) ...	Do. ...	Atmarám Venkatrao Bhatkalkar ; Hindu (Saraswat Bráhmin) ; 43 ; and Ramrao Sheshgiri Nadkarni ; Hindu (Saraswat Brahmin).	900
38	Karnatak Mitra ...	Belgaum ...	Do. ...	Narayan Sharma Bhaon Joshi Hundekar ; Deshastha Bráhmin (Vaishnav) ; 30.	900
	ENGLISH, KANARESE AND MARA'THI.				
39	Kánara News ...	Kumta (Kánara) ...	Weekly ...	Krishna Keshav Shenvi ; Hindu (Goud Sáraswat Brahmin) ; 50.	400
	ANGLO-MARA'THI.				
40	Dnyánodayă ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Rev. J. F. Edwards, Englishman ...	700
41	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Poona (and Bombay).	Daily ...	Anant Vináyak Patwardhan ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 48.	3,000
42	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	4,000
43	Hindu Missionary ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya, B.A. (Páthare Prabhu) ; 51.	600
44	Indu Prakásh ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Dámodar Sávalárám Yande ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 58.	2,500
45	Jágaruk ...	Poona ...	Weekly ...	Válchand Rámchand Kothári, B.A. (Jain) ; 27.	1,700
46	Jágriti ...	Baroda ...	Do. ...	Bhagavantráo Balavantráo Pálekar ; Marátha ; 32.	700
47	Subodh Patrika ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Dwárkánáth G. Vaidya ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 44.	500
	ANGLO-PORTUGUESE.				
48	O Anglo-Lusitáno ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	W. F. Pais ; Goan ; 39 ...	700
	ANGLO-SINDHI.				
49	Frontier Gazette ...	Jacobabad ...	Weekly ...	Vishindás Pránjainmal ; Hindu (Bhátia) ; 36.	500
50	Lárkána Gazette ...	Lárkána ...	Do. ...	Tahilrám Mulchand Tavarmaiáni ; Hindu (Amil) ; 31.	500
51	Sindhi ...	Sukkur ...	Bi-weekly ...	Virumal Begraj ; Hindu (Bhuráni) ; 47 ...	800
52	Sind Upkárak ...	Shikárpur ...	Monthly ...	Bhai Mohandás Ghanshámdás ; Hindu (Bhátia); 57.	300
	ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE AND CONCANIM.				
53	A Luz ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 39 .	600
54	O Amigo Do Povo Goano .	Do. ...	Do. ...	Manual Anastaz Fernandes ; Goan ; 48 ...	1,000

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	GUJARA'TI.				
55	Akhbár-e-Islám ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Kázi Ismáil Kázi Muhammad Porbundari; Muhammadan; 50.	1,000
56	Anavil Sevak ...	Surat ...	Monthly ...	Dayálji Nanubhai Desai; Hindu (Anavil Bráhman); 44.	3,000
57	Baroda Vartamán ...	Baroda ...	Weekly ...	Javerbhái Dádábhái Patel; Hindu (Lewa Pátidár); 50.	1,500
58	Bombay Samáchár ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Kaikhusru Mánekji Minocher-homji, B.A. Pársi; 45.	3,200
59	Broach Mitrá ...	Broach ...	Weekly ...	Trikamlál Harináth Thákor; Hindu (Brahmá Kshatri); 38.	550
60	Broach Samáchár ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Jehángirji Ardeshir Gandhi; Pársi; 41 ...	500
61	Chitramayá Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Shankar Narhar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 44.	2,000
62	Deshi Mitrá ...	Surat ...	Weekly ...	Harilál Maganlál; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 25.	2,100
63	Deshodaya ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Prabhushankar Narbhárám Vyas; Hindu (Nagar Bráhman); 29.	450
64	Hind Vijayá ...	Baroda ...	Do. ...	Dáyábhái Kasandás; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 54.	1,000
65	Hitechhu ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Harilál Válji Thákur, Hindu (Audich Bráhman); 32.	100
66	Kaira Vartamán ...	Kaira ...	Do. ...	Somachand Panachand; Hindu (Jain Bánia); 44.	550
67	Loka Mitrá ...	Bombay ...	Bi-weekly ...	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minochar-Homji, Pársi; 45.	600
68	Navjivan ...	Ahmedabad ...	Weekly ...	Mohandás Karamchand Gandhi; Hindu (Bania); 50.	12,000
69	Navsári Patrika ...	Navsári ...	Do. ...	Rangildás Pránjivandás Párekh; Hindu (Bania); 30.	430
70	Political Bhomiyo ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Nurkhan Amirkhan Pathan; Muhammadan; 63.	2,200
71	Praja Pokár ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála; Dásálád Bania; 43.	1,100
72	Saraswati Vijaya ...	Do. ...	Fortnightly ...	Manibhai Mohanbhai; Hindu (Anavil); 29.	300
73	Shri Sayáji Vijayá ...	Baroda ...	Weekly ...	Máneklál Ambárám Doctor; Hindu (Dasha Shrimáli Bania); 41.	4,200
74	Surya Prakash ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Nagindas Dahyabhai; Hindu (Nágar Bráhman); 74.	600
75	Surat Akhbár ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pirozsháh Edalji Patel; Pársi; 45 ...	600
76	Vivechak ...	Ahmedabad ...	Monthly ...	Dhanshankar Hirashankar Tripathi; Hindu (Nagar Brahmin); 30.	250
	GUJARA'TI AND HINDI.				
77	Jain ...	Bhávnagar ...	Weekly ...	Devchand Damji; Hindu (Bania); 34 ..	1,800
	HINDI.				
78	Chitramayá Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ..	Shankar Narhar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 44.	1,200
79	Jain Mitra ...	Surat ...	Weekly ..	Brahmachari Sitalprasadji ...	1,250
80	Shri Venkateshwar ...	Bombay ...	Daily ..	Amrutlál Chakrawarti (Bengali Bráhmin); 57.	1,000
81	Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár.	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	10,000

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	KANARESE.				
82	Karnátak Vaibhav ...	Bijápur ...	Weekly ...	G. R. Mannurkar ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 53.	500
83	Karnátak Vritt and Dhananjayá.	Dhárwár ...	Do. ...	Venkatesh Rajerao Mudvedkar ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhman) ; 36.	800
84	Raj Hansa ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	M. N. Tembe (Karháda Bráhman) ; 39 ...	1,200
85	Raj Hansa ...	Do. ..	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	1,000
86	Shubhodaya ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vasudevacharya Shrinivasacharya Kerur, Pleader ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhman) ; 52.	1,100
87	Vijaya ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Annacharya Balacharya Hoskeri ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhmin) ; 48.	500
88	Do. ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Do. do. ...	400
	MARA'THI.				
89	Acharya ...	Poona ...	Fortnightly ...	Vishnu Waman Bapatshastri ; Hindu (Chitpavan Bráhman) ; 48.	800
90	Arya Vaibhav ...	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Weekly ...	Tulsidas Govind Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin) ; 30.	250
91	A'ryávart ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Shankar Hari Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 32.	200
92	Arya Vaidyak-bodh ...	Kalyán (Thána) ...	Do. ...	Kashinath Bhaskar Oke ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 38.	*Nil.*
93	Bakul ...	Ratnágiri ...	Do. ...	Hari Dharmaráj Gándhi ; Hindu (Bania) ; 43.	400
94	Bárámati Samáchár ...	Bárámati ...	Do. ...	Hari Anant Joshi ; Hindu (Chitpávan Bráhmin) ; 31.	300
95	Belgaum Samáchár ...	Belgaum ...	Do ...	Hari Bhikáji Sámant ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 58.	350
96	Bhárat Mátá ...	Islámpur (Sátára)...	Fortnightly ...	Vishnu Sitárám Athálye ; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) ; 34.	400
97	Chikitsak ...	Belgaum ...	Weekly ...	Rao Saheb Abáji Rámchandrá Sávant ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 57.	600
98	Chitramayá Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Shankar Narhar Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 44.	12,000
99	Daily Reporter ..	Chopda (Eást Khándesh).	Weekly ...	Motilál Fattulál ; Hindu ; Gaud Brahman (Marwadi) ; 37.	50 to 80
100	Daivadnyaprabodhini ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Pandurang Naráyan Javeri ; Hindu (Daivadnya) ; 32.	800
101	Dharma Vichár va Modá Vritta.	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Damodar Laxman Lele ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 42.	50
102	Din Mitrá	Somthána (Ahmednagar).	Do. ...	Mukund Ganpat Pátil ; Hindu (Máli) ; 33	1,300
103	Dnyán Ságar ...	Kolhápur ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Vithal Mantri ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 55.	600
104	Dunia ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Dattatraya Hari Gokhale ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin) ; 35.	2,000
105	Gogras ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Bapu Khanderao Joshi ; Hindu (Bráhman) ; 36.	2,000
106	Gorakshana ...	Thána ...	Do. ...	Anantdas Ramdasi *alias* Dattatraya Moreshvar Lohkre ; Hindu (Brahmin) ; 35.	1,000
107	Hitachintak ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Balkrishna Ganesh Abhyankar Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 25.	80
108	Kalpataru and A'nandvrit.	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	Anant Hari Wagh ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 36.	450
109	Kesari ...	Poona ...	Do ...	Krishnaji Prabhákar Khádilkar, B.A. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 48.	30,000
110	Khándesh Vaibhav ..	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Do. ...	Yádav Bálkrishná Bahálkar ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 54.	500

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	MARATHI—*concluded.*				
111	Kolába Samáchár ...	Pen (Kolába) ...	Weekly ...	Vishnu Naráyan Mándlik: Hindu (Kokanastha Bráhman); 31.	500
112	Lokasangraha ...	Poona ...	Daily ...	Sadashiv Laxman Soman; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin); 40.	2,000
113	Lokasevak ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	.....	...
114	Mahárashtra Vritta ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Rámachandra Balvant Bhonsle; Hindu (Marátha); 35.	200
115	Mookanayak ...	Bombay ...	Fortnightly ...	Pandurang Narayan Bhatkar; Hindu Mahár; 33.	700
116	Mumukshu ...	Poona ...	Weekly ...	Laxman Ramchandra Pangarkar, B.A.; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin); 48.	1,200
117	Násik Vritt ...	Násik ...	Do. ...	Rangnáth Vishnu Kále; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 40.	200
118	Pandhari Mitra ...	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	G. S. Bhidkar; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin); 56.	100
119	Prabodh Chandrika ...	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Do. ...	Náráyan Narsinh Phadnis; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 57.	300
120	Pragati and Jinvijaya ...	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Anna Babaji Lathe; Jain; 34 ...	400
121	Prakásh ...	Sátára ...	Weekly ...	Rámchandrá Ganesh Soman; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 44.	350
122	Rájakáran ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Sitaram Keshav Damle, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 45.	3,000
123	Sandesh ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 40.	8,000
124	Satyá Prakásh ...	Tasagaon (Sátára) .	Weekly ...	Narayan Ramchandra Vibhute; Hindu (Wani).	...
125	Satyá Shodhak ...	Ratnágiri ...	Do. ...	Krishnáji Hari Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 35.	1,000
126	Sholápur Samáchár ...	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	Vithal Narsáppa Jakkal; Hindu (Telgu Máli); 38.	600
127	Shri Sayáji Vijayá ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Dámodar Sávlárám Yande; Hindu (Marátha); 58.	5,500
128	Shri Sháhu ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Ramkrishna Dhavle; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 23.	325
129	Shubh Suchak ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dattátrayá Rámchandrá Chitale; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 41.	250 to 300
130	Sudhákar ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Damodar Krishna Ketkar; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 27.	1,500
131	Udyam Prakásh ...	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Vishwanath Dhondi Teli; Hindu (Teli); 32.	50
132	Vichári ...	Kárwár (Kánara) ...	Tri-monthly ...	Shaikh Adam *walad* Shaikh Abdul Karim; Muhammadan (Sunni); 46.	450
133	Vidushak ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Vishnu Shridhar Joshi; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin); 25.	2,600
134	Vijayi Marátha ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Shripat Laxman Shinde; Marátha; 36 ...	1,500
135	Vinod ...	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Dattátrayá Rámchandrá Kulkarni; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 31.	100
136	Vita Vritta ...	Sátára ...	Weekly ...	Narayan Laxman Jog; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 33.	60
137	Vrittasár ...	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Govind Ganesh Vaidyá; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 24.	150
138	Vyápári ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Shankar Shridhar Puranik; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 35.	500
	MARATHI AND KANARESE.				
139	Gosevak ...	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Hanmant Sadashiv Paranjpe; Hindu (Kokanastha Bráhmin); 22.	50

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	SINDHI.				
140	Al-Amin ...	Hyderabad ...	Weekly ...	Sheikh Abdul Majid; Muhammadan; 32 ...	525
141	Al-Haq ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 44.	800
142	Al-Wahid ...	Karáchi ...	Daily ...	.....	...
143	Bharatwasi ...	Hyderabad ...	Do. ...	Jeramdas Dowlatram; Hindu (Amil); 27 ...	1,050
144	Hindu ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Nainaram Sharma; 26 ...	850
145	Khairkháh-i-Sind ...	Lárkána ...	Weekly ...	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Khatri); 46.	250
146	Mirpurkhás Gazette ...	Mirpurkhás ...	Do. ...	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Amil); 39.	600
147	Musáfir ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Do. ...	Abdul Waháb Khán; Pathan; 55 ...	200
148	Sind Sudhár ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Khánchand Rahumal; Hindu (Amil); 53...	850
149	Sind Vasi ...	Hyderabad ...	Daily ...	Kamalsingh Pahumal; Hindu (Amil); 43 ...	350
150	Vande Mataram ...	Do. ...	Weekly ..	Vishnu Nainaram Sharma; Hindu; 26 ...	800
	URDU.				
151	Mufid-e-Rozgár ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Haji Munshi Mahamad Husein; Muhammadan; 49.	2,500
152	Muslim Herald ...	Do. ...	Bi-weekly ...	Sheikh Mahamed Yusuf; Muhammadan (Sunni); 41.	1,200

Notes.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or *ā*) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Arunodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—*ă*.

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by the proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The Indian public and the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd July.

1. Mr. Baptista writes in the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"The Prince's visit is too delicate a subject to discuss freely. We cannot handle the Prince as we may Ministers and Proconsuls. Any non-negligible division of opinion in India concerning the nature of the welcome to be accorded to him would be fatal. The visit will be abandoned or the Prince may travel *incognito*. But any one acquainted with the esteem in which the Royal Family is held in England and especially by the governing classes will realise that the change of programme will be resented throughout the British Empire, and will furnish our enemies with a weapon that can be used with terrific force and great effect against us. The blows will fall on the just and the unjust. It is absolutely unjust to visit the sins of Ministers on the Prince. He has no voice in the Government. He is not concerned with the acts of the Ministers of the Crown—much less with their blunders. He cannot influence their decisions directly or indirectly. Under the British constitution the King himself is bound to abide by the advice of his ministers unless he is prepared to dismiss them or dissolve Parliament. If we aspire for a Parliamentary form of Government in India we must keep the Royal Family outside politics. At all events, so long as India forms an integral part of the British Empire we cannot ignore the British rule of keeping the Royal Family outside the turmoil of politics, without provoking censure. I, therefore, think we are bound to observe the same rule in India. It would be wrong not to give a right Royal welcome to the Prince of Wales. It would be unjust to abstain. But to go further and inaugurate a propaganda of boycott would be wicked. To take advantage of the projected visit and try to bring it within the scope of the policy of non-co-operation preached by Mr. Gandhi would be worse. It would be dishonourable. If statesmenship has not gone bankrupt in England, the Ministers of the Crown would seize the opportunity of making the Prince a real messenger of Peace, Goodwill and happiness for India. Such a messenger will bring joy to India, capture her heart and stabilise the tottering foundations of British Rule in India for half a century."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 4th July.

*2. "In view of the attempts made in some quarters, notoriously hostile to the rights and liberties of the Indian people, to get the promised visit of the Prince of Wales to India next cold weather modified or cancelled by misrepresentations of the attitude of Indian leaders, calculated to prejudice the British public on its most susceptible point of fervent devotion to the Crown and the Royal Family, we think it our duty emphatically to assert that the Indian people, irrespective of race and creed, are whole-heartedly longing to accord an enthusiastic welcome and homage, in keeping with India's traditional sentiments of affectionate loyalty, proven on previous occasions, the most recent being the coronation visit of Their Majesties whose gracious kindness and sympathetic bearing are fresh in the public memory. Further, the Indian people realise that the Prince's visit, and his consequent close contact and intercourse with representative Indians, will enable His Royal Highness, as nothing else can, to ascertain at first hand the true state of public affairs and public feeling in this country. We strongly protest against the attempts to prevent the visit, which are clearly inspired by an evident desire to avoid this most desirable result..... We earnestly trust that the machinations of India's enemies to prevent His Royal Highness's visit will be sternly reprobated by the British people and by His Majesty's Government and that His Royal Highness's visit will not be postpond, modified or abandoned. What Indian leaders feel is that His Majesty's Government should realise that this instinctive feeling of the Indian people to give His Royal Highness a truly Indian welcome, has at the present moment to struggle against a sense of depression seldom before felt in the annals of British rule. Mr. Jinnah's cablegram on behalf of the British Branch of the All-India Home Rule League might have been more happily worded, and it is no wonder

the *Pioneer* has taken prompt advantage of it to further sinister ends. But to those who understand the inner mind of the Indian people his meaning admits of no doubt whatever..... The mass-mind of the Indian people, it is true, is deeply wedded to the tradition that the King is not only the source of all power but that he is also personally responsible for carrying on the administration on just and humane principles. If the masses of India are inclined to attribute their blessings to the Sovereign, they are no less inclined to impute their calamities to his personal derelictions..... Although the Indian mass-mind is as yet unable to grasp the idea of a constitutional monarchy which postulates that the King can do no wrong, our educated leaders do not suffer from a similar disability and they are bound in duty to take an opportunity such as the one now happily open to them, to impress on the masses this essential distinction between the British and Indian idea of kingship. Not to do so, and, much more, to seem to countenance the mass-idea, is a grievous failure of leadership. At the same time British statesmen should visualise the position of Indian leaders amidst a people whom the discreditable neglect of Anglo-Indian administrators has allowed to remain so largely illiterate and unacquainted with the principles of constitutional government. We, therefore, appeal to the British public, Parliament and Government to enable the Indian people to demonstrate their heartfelt devotion to the Throne with undepressed hearts, by taking prompt and effective steps to ease their minds of the oppressive load of humiliation, sense of wrong and injustice and anxiety, which weighs on them owing to the failure of the Government of India and the Secretary of State to realise the gravity of the Punjáb excesses and the non-fulfilment of the Prime Minister's solemn pledge to the retention of Constantinople, Thrace and Asia Minor by Turkey. Adequate and immediate action, definitely expressive of condemnation and censure of all officers, whatever their position, actually or morally responsible for the gross Punjáb excesses, effective measures to prevent their recurrence, and the revision of the Turkish Treaty in keeping with Mr. Lloyd George's pledge, are essential to enable the Indian people to give their freest and fullest expression to their instincts of love and loyalty on the occasion of the Prince's visit."

3. "When the Prince of Wales was entertained at Sydney to a banquet, Mr. Storey, the Labour Premier, called him a thorough Democrat. He should see that very little of the public money of the countries he visits should be spent for his sake. India is a poor country. The prices of food stuffs are unnecessarily high. The rents of houses are also flying up in the sky like rockets. Therefore, under these circumstances. he should intimate to the authorities in India that as little public money as possible should be spent at the time of his visit to this country."

The Prince of Wales should see that very little public money is spent on his reception in India.

Hindusthán (22), 27th June.

*4. "The people of India would feel a great sense of relief if Lord Chelmsford were to tender his resignation. But his recall as well as his resignation are an impossibility. If the entire personnel of the Government of India could be overhauled before His Highness the Prince of Wales arrives in this country, we feel sure his reception would be more cordial than it is likely to be when the whole country is smarting under painful resentment and crying aloud for a radical change in the composition of the Indian Government and for a transfer of the officials that played such a glorious part in the Punjab to some other province. Lord Chelmsford is, of course, at liberty to stick to his post and earn his more than princely salary in defiance of the universal demand for his recall or resignation. But having regard to human nature, such an attitude on his part is certainly not calculated to pacify the mind of the people and induce them to offer a cordial reception to His Highness the Prince of Wales. The most graceful, sensible and courageous step that he could have taken and which would have been widely appreciated in India would have been to respond to the universal demand for his resignation. We are sorry he has turned a deaf year to this general

His Excellency Lord Chelmsford should resign the Viceroyalty before the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Gujarátí (18), 4th July, Eng. cols.

wish just as he has remained callous in regard to the affairs in the Punjáb. If he had been a statesman gifted with a sensitive conscience and political imagination and if he had any regard for the views and feelings of millions of people, he would have by this time taken such a righteous step. In spite of strong differences of opinion we would have felt admiration for him if he had voluntarily relieved the country from an unpleasant situation. We hope he realises the importance of making the visit of His Highness the Prince of Wales an unmitigated success. Will it be so when the Viceroy himself has lost all moral prestige and the confidence and respect of the Indian public, or when he in his turn has not any regard or sympathy for them? The Labour Conference also has called for the recall of the Viceroy, and it is considerations of that miserable fetish of prestige, which have already wrought incalculable harm in India, that stand in the way of his being recalled or of his resignation. No stronger argument is needed for changing the administration of the country on a popular basis than the ghastly tragedy in the Punjáb and the continuance of Lord Chelmsford in his viecregal post in the face of the universal demand for his recall or resignation. No self-respecting British statesman would have thus forced himself upon the British Cabinet or continued in office under like circumstances and we are sorry a different principle should be followed in India."

Deshodaya (63), 29th June.

5. Dilating upon the findings of the Hunter Committee, the *Deshodaya* refers to the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and writes:— It would not be surprising if on account of the constantly burning fire of discontent, the enthusiasm of the people till now in evidence, for giving a hearty welcome to the Prince, declines. We, therefore, wish that the causes of distraction may be removed from among the people of the country who are ever peace-loving and never capable of any disloyalty.

Protest against the Government nomination of a workers' representative on the International Labour Conference.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd and *5th July.

6. "We call upon organised Labour in India to wake up to the realisation of a grave wrong which the authorities propose to perpetrate in connection with the choice of workers' representatives to the International Labour Conference and to the Commission of Enquiry constituted under Part XIII of the Peace Treaty. The Government have announced their policy of representation where the employers are concerned and of nomination where the workers are concerned —they propose 'that the various employers' associations in India should devise a machinery whereby they may elect for the whole of India' delegates and advisors and representatives; and 'they propose to ask Mr. N. M. Joshi to serve as the representative of the workers'! Nothing could be more outrageous in view of the clear and incontestable rights of the workers in all countries to select their own representatives..... No amount of sophistry will deny the fact that Labour organisations exist in India—in Bombay, the Textile Union, the Dock Worker' Union, the Tramway Union, the G. I. P. Union; in the Punjáb, the N.-W.-R. Association, the Printers' Union, the Provincial Clerks' Union; in Madras, the Labour Union, Printers' Union, Tramwaymen's Union; in Calcutta, the Seamen's Union and a multitude of others too numerous to specify. Are the organised workers of India incapable of selecting their own representative? The League of Nations Covenant gives them the unequivocal right to demand separate representation. They must be allowed to exercise that right unhindered by Governmental pressure and unfettered by outside dictation. We are not challenging the right of Mr. N. M. Joshi to represent Indian workers. In fact we believe that Mr. Joshi will be an admirable representative of the workers if he is elected by them. We are challenging the right of the Government to appoint Mr. N. M. Joshi in violation of the terms of Articles 389 and 412." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"Nothing could be more gratifying than to find that Mr. N. M. Joshi (who is reported to be the Government nominee chosen to represent Indian Labour in express violation of the terms of the League of Nations Covenant) is in absolute agreement with us on

this question; and we welcome his suggestion that Indian Labour should move without delay to form a National Federation, presumably on the lines of the British Trade Union Congress. There can be no doubt that such an organisation is needed and needed immediately; there can be no doubt that if the mistakes committed by the workers of the West in frittering away their energies by the formation of unaffiliated collateral unions are to be avoided, a Central Executive of all Indian Labour organisations should be formed forthwith. We are proud to feel, therefore, that the challenge thrown down by the Government has been taken up by the workers of India. It is announced that a mass meeting is to be held in Bombay next Wednesday to select, with the concurrence of Labour organisations throughout India, accredited representatives of the workers in view of the unconstitutional nomination by the Government of Mr. N. M. Joshi."]

*7. "How Mr. Joshi can represent the 'workers' of India we cannot comprehend, for the simple reason that he is not elected by any workers' union or even accepted as their representative. But that apart, the question remains how the Government of India can usurp to itself the rights of the unions. Article 412 must be read with Article 389 of the Peace Treaty which enjoins that the representatives must be chosen in agreement with the industrial organisations—if such organisations exist—which are the most representative of working people in their countries. And if this is the case, can the Government honestly say that there are no labour organisations in India and it does not feel any necessity of consulting them as it consulted the employers' association? The Government is always in the habit of riding roughshod over the rights of the people whenever it can do so with immunity, and it has not grown wiser in this very respect by the agitation of last year. Let the labour organisations take up the question seriously and see that their rights are not challenged at least in cases where only their interests are involved."

Mahrátta (7), 4th July.

8. A correspondent writing in the *Lokasangraha* complains that the accused in the Udtare (Sátára) riot cases were not only denied the benefit of Royal clemency but are still being persecuted by the authorities out of vindictiveness. He says that some of the accused who are Watandar Patils have now been served with notices to show cause why they should not be proceeded against under the Watan Act for dereliction of duty. The writer questions the propriety of thus irritating old sores and appeals to Government to protect the poor rayats from official vindictiveness.

Alleged persecution of the accused in the Udtare (Sátára) riot cases.
Lokasangraha (112), 1st July.

9. The attention of the people of this country has been drawn to the export of their cattle to America, Java and other parts of the world. Recently Mr. Lavangia of Khandwa submitted a memorial to the Governor General on the same subject. But the Government reply was that no action was necessary. While the people ask that something may be done, the authorities say that nothing need be done. Milk, butter and ghee are selling at exorbitant rates. Numbers of children are dying every day because good milk is not procurable. Cows and buffaloes are being slaughtered in thousands daily. The slaughter of milch cattle means the slaughter of Indians. If India must be saved, its cattle must be saved and retained in the country. Will the Government listen?

Government and the question of cattle preservation in India.
Hindu (144), 27th June.

10. "Presiding at the Labour Conference Mr. Hutchinson said with a true perception of the world situation that the Labour Party would welcome within the Empire Egypt, India and Ireland, but as free and willing parties. And he advocated the complete withdrawal of troops from Ireland to enable Ireland to choose freely if she wants an independent Republic or not. India will be happy to be a willing and free partner in the British Commonwealth; and statesmanship should recognise her as a self-governing member of the Commonwealth as early as possible. The history of Ireland should

Sinn Feinism will spring up in India if her aspirations are not fullfilled.
New Times (8), 26th June.

be a warning to England and teach her how to deal fairly with India and Egypt. Hope deferred will not only make India's heart-sick; it will end in Sinn Feinism!"

11. "A correspondent writes :—'Reuter gives an account of the debate in the House Commons on the 24th instant on the cause of the outbreaks in Mosul, and I have read the opinion expressed by Major Ormsby Gore and Lord Winterton with much surprise and indignation. Could you allow me some space in your paper to contradict the same from my personal experience of Arabs and their country? Major Gore and Lord Winterton attribute the recent outbreaks in Mosul to the maintenance of large Indian forces in Mespot and find the main cause of the difficulties in 'the Arab prejudice against the Indians.' This, as I know, from my personal experience is nothing short of a lie. The Arabs do not hate us; but on the contrary like us very much..... It is all a piece of machination on the part of those who are bent upon the wholesale exclusion of Indians from that country. For what other purpose have such untrue statements been made than that of playing one nation against the other? Everybody knows what an important part Indian troops played in the success of British arms in Mespot. And what is the reward of it all? We have not had time to forget the sinister propaganda headed by Sir John Hewett, the Ex-Lieut.-Governor of the United Provinces, when we have to witness a fresh regular campaign to injure the Indian interests in that country..... The following is another glaring instance :—Many of the Indian sweepers and menials who followed Indian troops to that country were forced to work as sweepers in Arab hospitals against their wish, and when a big number of Indian hospitals was abolished and the Indian staff demobbed the sweeper class was sorely disappointed. The civil authorities prevailed upon the military not to discharge the sweepers immediately as their services would be required in Arah hospitals. The last I heard of the presence of some of them in the Arab hospital at Basrah was in May last, and though they were crying for repatriation to India they could not, I believe, move the heart of the budding bureaucracy there. They have no place for Indian administrators, barristers, engineers and doctors, but are willing to welcome any number of sweepers and menials. Has it not the tendency to lower the status of a nation? To add insult to injury, Lord Wintertorn and Major Gore thought it fit to misrepresent facts and take recourse to that old policy of divide and rule."

Protest against the alleged attempt to exclude Indians from Mesopotamia under false pretexts.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th June.

12. "The position in and around Persia is undoubtedly grave. The story concerning the evacuation of Resht by the British and the setting up of a Provincial Government there on June 5 with Mirza Kutchuk as the leader is given out by a wireless message from Moscow published in the *Manchester Guardian*. It is announced that the British troops are withdrawing to Bagdad; the Indian troops were opposed to fighting against revolutionaries and a considerable part of the Indian troops are alleged to have gone over to Mirza Kutchuk. How far this is true and how far it happens to be a mere bagatelle we are not in a position to judge in view of the amazing secrecy with which the Mid-Eastern operations are being conducted. But it is time a strong lead were given to a movement demanding without cavil that Indian troops should not be used extra-territorially. What has India to gain by sending her sons to fight the sordid squabbles of international financiers? Presently there will remain very few nations that Indians have not fought against, and that will be the time when India's fair name will begin to stink in the nostrils of all men of good intent throughout the world. And then what do we gain by it? Practically in every part of the British Empire, where Indian troops have been employed to conquer and to win, the Indian is barred the door by the imposition of intolerable conditions. Is the lesson of Africa not one of portent and sorrow—Africa won with the aid of Indian blood and sown with the brine of Indian tears?"

Indian troops should not be used extra-territorially to advance the interests of financiers.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st July.

13. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes to the *Navjivan*:—We have advanced one step forward in the Khilafat movement and that is not an ordinary step. An ultimatum has been given to the Viceroy that we shall withhold co-operation from him if he does not support our cause. The Viceroy is not likely to support us and so we must make preparation to begin non-co-operation on the 1st of August. Now we have to ask ourselves whether the Hindus will stand by the Muhammadans. The world will watch the Hindus with hopeful expectation as the success of the Muhammadans depends on the Hindus to some extent. There is no doubt that if the Hindus join hands with the Moslems their troubles will come to a speedy end. If the Hindus can do nothing else they can at least attend the meetings of the Muhammadans, express sympathy with them and refrain from doing anything that would hamper their work, and thus show that they are not their enemies. [The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the dangers involved in the non-co-operation movement and wishes that further efforts had been made to influence America and the League of Nations in favour of the Muhammadan demands before arriving at such a questionable decision. The paper is of opinion that Mr. Gandhi will find few followers in the movement. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* declares that the joining of Mr. Gandhi has done harm to the Khilafat movement and his non-co-operation movement has lowered the Muhammadan leaders in the estimation of the official class. It is gratified to note that a movement has been started among the Muhammadans as a counterpoise to the movement.]

Comments on the ultimatum sent by the Khilafat Committee to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Navjivan (68), 27th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 30th June; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 27th June.

14. Commenting upon the letter addressed by the Khilafat Conference to His Excellency the Viceroy stating that the Muhammadans will resort to non-co-operation if the Khilafat question is not solved to their satisfaction within one month and also asking His Excellency to lead the movement himself by resigning his post, the *Lakasevak* writes:—To implore a man who did not even express his regret at the vindictive slaughter of thousands of our innocent countrymen to resign his post is to betray ignorance of the psychology of the human mind. Such begging attitude is unbecoming for a man like Mahatma Gandhi who has renounced the world. [The *Indu Prakásh* does not share this view of the *Lokasevak*; but inquires how Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement is to bear fruit if the Turkish Government themselves accept the terms of the Treaty of Peace offered to them by the Allies.]

Lokasevak (113), 28th June; *Indu Prákash* (44), 30th June.

15. "If the question of the Khilafat is not solved to the satisfaction of the Muhammadans and Indians generally the times ahead are indeed full of anxiety. Then there is the Punjáb affair. The Hunter Committee Report and the views of the Government of India and those of the British Cabinet thereon have profoundly perturbed the faith of the Indian people in British justice and the sense of such a wrong unredressed has left them in doubt of a secure and self-respecting place in the Empire which they claim. This feeling too is seeking to go the same road of non-co-operation. It would be unwise to ignore this situation. It would be fatal if the Government here and in Great British did not realise this feeling and do the right thing—the honourable thing."

Kánara Leader (37), 29th June.

16. Our Extremist heroes never expected that they would actually be called upon to put non-co-operation into practice. They know like ourselves that non-co-operation is impracticable. They, however, joined in the movement to win the Muhammadans over to their side and to make them believe that the Moderates have no sympathy for them. They sustained a shock when Lála Lajpatrái declared that the movement should begin with a boycott of the Councils. They know that they cannot trifle with the Lála as they can with Mahatma Gandhi. The latter has announced that those who stand for election before the Khilafat and the Punjáb questions are satisfactorily disposed of are not the true

Deccan Extremists and non-co-operation.

Indu Prakásh (44), 1st July.

representatives of the people. It is to be seen whether the Extremists will now yield to the temptation of becoming members of the Council. We are sure, however, that if occasion arises they will not hesitate to characterise Gandhi, Lajpatrái and the other leaders also as bedlamites with a view to getting themselves elected.

Indian non-co-operation and Mesopotamia.
Young India (13), June 30th.

17. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"Slowly but surely the Musalmans are preparing for the battle before them. They have to fight against odds that are undoubtedly heavy, but not half as heavy as the Prophet had against him. How often did he not put his life in danger? But his faith in God was unquenchable. He went forward with a light heart, for God was on his side for he represented truth. If his followers have half the prophet's faith and half his spirit of sacrifice, the odds will be presently even and will in a little while turn against the despoilers of Turkey. Already the rapacity of the Allies is telling against themselves. France finds her task difficult. Greece cannot stomach her ill-gotten gains. And England finds Mesopotamia a tough job. The oil of Mosul may feed the fire she has so wantonly lighted and burn her fingers badly. The newspapers say the Arabs do not like the presence of the Indian soldiery in their midst. I do not wonder. They are a fierce and a brave people and do not understand why Indian soldiers should find themselves in Mesopotamia. Whatever the fate of non-co-operation, I wish that not a single Indian will offer his services for Mesopotamia, whether for the civil or the military department. We must learn to think for ourselves and before entering upon any employment find out whether thereby we may not make ourselves instruments of injustice. Apart from the question of the Khilafat and from the point of abstract justice, the English have no right to hold Mesopotamia. It is no part of our loyalty to help the Imperial Government in what is in plain language daylight robbery. If, therefore, we seek civil or military employment in Mesopotamia we do so for the sake of earning a livelihood. It is our duty to see that the source is not tainted."

The danger of adopting non-co-operation.
Sind Vási (149), 13th June.

18. The new Muslim daily of Karachi, *Al-Wahid*, is angry with us because we have from time to time dared to speak out our mind on non-co-operation, which we regard as a dangerous weapon for anybody to adopt. We are not alone in believing that the response to the call for non-co-operation will not be adequate, as witness the opposition which characterised the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference at Allahabad. The halting method of Mahatma Gandhi himself namely, that the Viceroy should be given a month's time in which to represent the Moslem case to the Allied Governments, shows that non-co-operation is not such a simple matter as *Al-Wahid* supposes it is. Even the All-India Congress Committee finding it difficult to come to a decision has referred the matter to a Special Congress. Thus then the question of non-co-operation is one of great moment and Hindus will still hesitate to join in the movement even though leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Shaukat Ali are on its side. The *Al-Wahid* calls these falterers cowards. If it is cowardice to save the country from untold sufferings by refusing to join in non-co-operation, we fear that there must be very few brave men in the country. We believe that if non-co-operation becomes a wide-spread movement there will be utter insecurity and chaos in the land. Those who think that this state of things must be accepted with a good grace are quite welcome to their opinion. We are not prepared to sacrifice our country for Turkey and we regard it as our duty to "preach" that doctrine.

Comments on the alleged steps taken in Sind to meet the Khilafat agitation.
Lokasangraha (112), 27th June.

19. Tyrannical kings have always realised that the threat of starvation never fails to produce the desired result. The degradation of the Khilafat has wounded the hearts of our Muhammadan brethren and they are trying their best to preserve its dignity. But the bureaucracy is attacking their movement in the province where it has gained considerable strength. The province of Sind is under the control of Sir

George Lloyd whom Mr. Montagu described as a liberal statesman. In that very province the authorities are now busy persecuting the Muhammadans, who are already depressed over the question of the Khilafat. [The paper here mentions the case of a Muhammadan Zamindar to whom the authorities discontinued to supply canal water and of two others whose pensions have been stopped.] So Bombay has earned the distinction of being the first province where the campaign against non-co-operation is launched !

No Indian should stand as a candidate for the seat in the Bombay Legislative Council resigned by Mr. Bhurgri.
Bhâratwâsi (143), 12th June.

20. There will be a bye-election owing to Mr. Bhurgri's resignation of his seat on the Council. Mr. Bhurgri resigned his seat as a protest against the Peace Treaty which has been offered to Turkey in violation of the pledges made by British statesmen. As the term of the present Council will expire in January next and there will be one more session only in July next, we hope that no Musalman and no Hindu who thinks that Musalmans have reason to complain of a breach of faith in the matter of the Turkish Peace Treaty and sympathises with them in their woe will stand as a candidate for the vacant seat. We would request the Hindus specially not only not to seek election to the Council in the place of Mr. Bhurgri but through their voters to advise intending candidates to withdraw from their candidature.

The Maharaja Scindia and the Khilafat movement.
Lokasangraha (112), 3rd July.

21. On the occasion of the opening ceremony of a Masjid His Highness the Maharaja Scindia advised his subjects not to listen to their leaders in the matter of the Khilafat movement since, according to him, these men were selfish and inspired with the sole desire to win the people's applause. He expressed his surprise how even the humblest of men came forward to sacrifice their all at the instigation of these agitators. It would indeed be surprising if such advice were not tendered by rulers who are themselves rolling in wealth and who want to see that their own pleasures are not in the least interfered with. It is however a matter of satisfaction that the Maharaja Scindia did not banish or imprison those of his subjects who have been taking part in the Khilafat movement as has been done by the Nizam. These rulers and the British Government should thoroughly bear in mind that the movement will not stop unless the Khilafat question is satisfactorily disposed of.

Can Musalmans celebrate the Ramzan Id?
Al-Wahid (142), 18th June.

22. We celebrate the Ramazan Id also because it was on this day that the sovereignty of the Israelite was bestowed on Mussalmans and the great gift of the Khilafat was transferred to them. It therefore follows that the festivities in honour of the Id-ul-fitr are to be observed only so long as we are in enjoyment of the institution of the Khilafat and the protection therefrom. How can we observe the Id-ul-fitr and with what face can we have celebrations in honour of it today? Is it possible for a sorrowing heart to indulge in pleasures when the Khilafat has been ruined by our enemies, when the seat of the Khilafat has guns directed against it, when a band of men ready to sacrifice themselves for Islam have sentences of death passed upon them, when Moslem men, women and children in Symrna have been subjected to various harassments and indignities at the hands of Greeks, when the Caliph is under surveillance and when Martial Law has been proclaimed at Constantinople? We, Moslems form one brotherhood irrespective of race, caste and country. If one of us is persecuted by infidels in Symrna, it is not lawful for us to forget his sufferings and celebrate an Id. Can there be any Id celebrations in Constantinople today? Can the wives and mothers of Turks separated from their sons and husbands be observing the Id today? Can there be any Id festivities in the Royal Palace at Constantinople? If these things are not possible, the day should be dedicated to mourning. In the face of the events referred to above, we should be ashamed to indulge in pleasures. Indeed it would be a pity if we forgot the permanent injury to Islam for the sake of enjoying ourselves for the day.

28. Those who had eyes could see that the sense of honour of their motherland must goad the Turks into a resurgence and that the Bolshevik efforts would bring into being a stronger Islamic Union than a Turanian Coalition could. The Russian Musalmans were firm in the belief that the Government to be set up after the Russian debacle would ensure a fresh start for Islamic self-dependence. In pursuance of this the Russian Mussalmans held a Conference on 17th July and had a manifesto in the name of Monsieur Tiashtshkof published in papers protesting against Italian control (or rule) over Albania in several divisions of which Mussalmans formed the majority of population. These pan-Islamists have set up a department distinctively for foreign affairs of the Eastern Countries which is called the "Freedom party of Islam". The Soviet Government of Russia has made the Committee a grant of 50 lacs of roubles (= Rs. 75 lacs) as a financial support. The aim of the party is to rouse the sentiments of liberty in Islamic countries. The party has begun its work very briskly and comprises delegates of all countries in its fold. So far, independent men from Persia, Egypt, India, Afghanistan, independent men from Turkey and of the Turkish Union and Progress Party, from Caucasus, Daghistan, and Russian Muslims have joined the confederacy as representatives. The independent Islamic confederacy has its headquarters at Moscow. Celebrated Mussalmans provide the soul of activities and great Bolshevik personages like Carman Brakin, Fornes and others are also very warmly participating in the activities. There is yet another Central Eastern Committee who have the charge of arrangements for Caucasus, Anatolia, Afghanistan, Turkishtan, Persia and India and the foundation of the same is under the influence of Mustafa Kamal Pasha. Another branch of the same has headquarters at Berlin (the German capital) to do propaganda work in the Balkans and Egypt. The Moscow Central Committee publishes pamphlets in Russian, Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages to inculcate Bolshevism. The Committee is at work to evolve a practical system of democratic form of Government for India with Indian delegates in consultation. Mahmud Vali Khan, the Afghan plenipotentiary (at Moscow), and Mornitor the Bolshevik emissary (at Kabul), and Brofeen have a great hand in the programmes. The independent party of Islam has started the propaganda and publication work in the British Eastern possessions along with threats of the red armies. In the light of these facts no wonder if the London Government trembles at the Bolshevik propaganda, as it is, at present, to suffer most from fruition of Bolshevik activities which are set afloat expressly to inflict injury to the British Government alone. Insecurity prevailing now in Egypt and Mesopotamia is an open evidence of the same. A superficial view would of course impart the impression that the Islamic movement is set up solely against the British power alone. But the Berlin Committee, it should be borne in mind, aims at propagation of spirit of independence and democracy in the North African provinces also which are under French influence. Anwer Pasha had declared in the Conference at Sewas that the Islamo-Turkish Committee at Berlin had decided to propagate their views in French Africa also and that the Bolsheviks are resolved upon blowing the spirit of *Jehad* in the Islamic world and to inoculate all Muslim minds with the ideals of independence.

Islam and the Bolsheviks.
Al-Wahid (142), 25th June.

24. "The Turkish counter-proposals to the Treaty, which Reuter announces to-day, reveal to the world what has been patent to those who have known the reality of the situation in Constantinople, that the present Turkish Government no more speak the mind of the Turkish people, let alone the Moslems of the world, who are vitally interested in the Turkish settlement, than the man in the moon. It is not their fault. They are the creatures of the Allies. The Allied guns have made them, and the Allied guns can unmake them. These counter-proposals, it will be seen, half-hearted and inadequate modifications as they are on the points they touch, are chiefly remarkable for the points they omit to refer to. They omit

Comments on the reported Turkish counter-proposals to the Treaty Terms.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st and *5th July.

any reference to the vital term of the Treaty which asks Turkey to renounce in favour of the Allies *all* the rights and titles that she ever claimed over Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and the Hejaz and other territories, she is asked to cede, and to undertake to recognise or conform to *any* and *every* measure, which may be taken, now or hereafter, by the Allies in and concerning these regions. The present Turkish Government may agree to the Sultan—who is a prisoner in his own capital—putting his signature to a document which establishes non-Moslem control over any portions of the Jazirat-ul-Arab or deprives him of his rights as Khalif of being the Protector of the Holy Places. But the world cannot be deceived by this camouflage of coercion, nor can the Moslems accept it. But then the crucial test of the title of the present Government to negotiate for Turkey is—Does their writ run beyond the confines of Contantinople—'the city of occupation'. The Treaty is being dictated—and dictated with a vengeance." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes :—" An illuminating comment on the cynically light-hearted manner in which the West—as represented by the Allies—is playing with the sentiments and lives of millions of Orientals—as revealed in the cruel treatment being meted out to Turkey—is provided by the perfunctory and amazingly brief summary, which Reuter has cabled to this country, of the reply of the Turkish Grand Vizier to the Draft Peace Treaty..... The special cable, which we were able to publish yesterday, and which we reproduce to-day, will, however, acquaint the expectant Indian public with a very significant chapter in the sordid and ignoble history of the negotiations in regard to the Turkish Peace Treaty..... It is patent to the whole world that the present Turkish Cabinet has no independence left to itself—with the Capital in the occupation of the Allies and the bulk of the Turkish people in revolt. It has, as we stated on Thursday, no greater title to speak the mind of the Turkish people than the man in the moon. Yet so iniquitous and intolerable are the terms that Damad Ferid has been evidently induced to anticipate the hesitancy of the Cabinet by his *coup d'etat*..... That even Damad Ferid is obliged to protest against the cession of Thrace and Smyrna to Greece and to demand certain modifications of territorial and financial terms so far as Turkish Turkey is concerned, is the final condemnation of the treaty and its makers. ..... But the enormity of his offence lies in this that he becomes a traitor to his co-religionists all the world over by agreeing to renounce, in favour of the Allies, all the rights and titles that his country ever claimed over Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and the Hejaz and other territories, she is asked to cede, and to undertake to recognise or conform to *any* and *every* measure, which may be taken, now or hereafter, by the Allies in and concerning these regions. In short, he agrees to the Sultan signing the warrant of the extinction of the Khilafat, so far as he himself is concerned. Moslems can hardly be expected to accept Damad Ferid's theory that the Khilafat is nothing more than the rallying point of the Mussalmans of the world from which accrue certain moral obligations such as the mention of the Khalifa's name in Friday prayers and other prerogatives such as sending draperies for the Kaaba at the time of the pilgrimage and having representatives at Mecca and Medina. We shall not attempt to examine this theory of Damad Ferid. It is enough to say that no Moslem will agree to the Sultan putting his signature to a document which establishes non-Moslem control over any portions of the Jazirat-ul-Arab or deprives him of his rights as Khalif of being the keeper and Protector of the Holy Places..... The Allies are dictating their peace. They are the victors and they are entitled to do so. But they cannot unmake facts. And the facts are that the Sultan is a prisoner in his own Capital with the bulk of his people in revolt, not against him but against the Allies who have occupied his Capital..... And it is a grim irony that the Prisoner of the Bosphorus holds in his hands the destiny of the East and through it of the world. For he possesses a greater strength than guns can give. He finds his strength in the outraged conscience of the 300 millions of Moslems all the world over and all right-thinking men who realise the iniquity and the peril of the document to which he is being compelled to affix his signature. Turkey was defeated by India's soldiers just as India's soldiers averted the Allies' defeat

at the most critical juncture. India has demanded a voice in dictating terms of peace to Turkey. Her demand has been rejected with contempt because she has insisted on a treaty not of spoliation but of justice and righteousness. It is due to her self-respect that her people must make an emphatic and vigorous effort to see that their name is not in any way—officially or otherwise—associated with an infamous document."]

Verses on the fate of Turkey.
Political Bhomiyo (70), 2nd July.

25. The *Political Bhomiyo* publishes an Urdu poem, which says, among other things:—It is nothing but oppression that Adrianople and Baghdad are in the possession of the Christians. O last of the Prophets! Your Mecca is also gone; and what remains now? Alas! the Muhammadans of Smyrna have been put to death in all their misery. Greece has given a fresh wound on the breast and it is a new oppression. Thy followers, having become tired of this state of affairs, are going to take up the sword, and they are weary of life. Everybody, whether young or old, is bent upon sacrificing his life. We shall either kill or be killed but we shall not keep quiet and we shall not tolerate these injuries. The blood is running with great force in every veins; our sorrow has exceeded all bounds. O Christ! Just see the condition of your followers. What a misfortune that every one of these wretches has become the enemy of Islam. Come down to this earth from the fourth heaven with a dagger in hand and cut off their heads as they have disgraced you. This is the proper punishment for them. How long shall we go on complaining of injustice? We shall either kill or be killed. *Nairang* [the poet] hears the same message from an Angel. Forward, what are you pondering about?

The fate of the Turkish Empire.
Lohasangraha (112), 28th June.

26. The Hythe Conference has decided that Anatolia should be given to Greece. If Anatolia goes to Greece, Cilicia to France and Adalia to Italy, what remains with Turkey? Does not this mean the end of the Turkish Empire in Asia as well as in Europe? The Turkish Empire will then consist of Constantinople and a little bit of territory around it dominated by British guns! Where is this grabbing of Turkish territory to end? But everything has an end and that end will only come through the intolerable injustice of the Allied nations.

Alleged dissension among the Allies about the Turkish Treaty.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 2nd July.

27. Dwelling at length upon the political situation in Europe the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—We should not wonder if, in the course of time, the States united in the last war break with one another, and even join the opposing group. As anticipated, the Turkish Empire has been the main cause of their dispute. It has given rise to animosity among the Allies. The territories of the Turkish Empire are as it were a gateway to Europe, Africa and Asia. Some of them are so situated that if they pass into the hands of any one Power, the rest would be at its mercy. Italy has practically seceded from the allies by refusing to accept any portion from Turkey. Russia persists in disowning any liability to France. The attempts of Great Britain and France to bring it round have been foiled. The movements of the Bolshevists in Persia and Afghanistan are embarrassing and have created a great stir in the British public. British Ministers have, therefore, been obliged to exchange messages with the Bolshevists for coming to terms. This has caused anxiety in France, who complains that Britain has left her in the lurch for the sake of its own interests. Who will say positively that under these circumstances France will not be dragged towards the other side as time passes? Does not the cry in France, that the peace terms with Turkey require to be radically modified, show which way the wind is blowing?

The perils of British Imperialism.
Young India (13), June 30th.

28. "If the belief that the Turkish peace terms were inspired by the imperialistic ambitions of the Allies required further justification, it has amply been provided by the events and revelations of the past few months. The lure of oil, the greed of conquest, occupation and expansion of territory and of controlling the land and

sea routes have proved too strong for the Big Three. Their vision has dimmed. They have set at naught their traditions, their principles, pledges and promises. It is a sad and painful tragedy of this war. But the saddest and the most painful of all is the revelation that England's statesmen who were the loudest in their cry of 'war for justice, liberty and right' have been the first to fall victim to the policy of grab. They have been shown to be the prime movers of it. The exposure made by some of the statesmen and journals of the rival Allies, France and Italy, shows that from first to last the Prime Minster of England with his little band of Imperialists has advocated the policy of disintegration and spoliation of Turkey. He is reported to be the mover of the plan of driving the Sultan away from Stamboul. His troops mainly occupy it to-day. The transfer of the rich and renowned lands of Thrace to his vassal Greece is attributed to him. The rich mineral fields of Asia Minor are under his mandatory. He is laying his hold on Persia and dreaming of land-routes, connecting his little Kingdom with its vast Eastern possessions. [The paper here quotes from English and French papers and proceeds:—] It cannot be said after this that the British Government has been defeated by the Supreme Council..... The shadow of British Imperialism covers the world. It will be an evil day for England when her great democracy will have wholly surrendered itself to the greed of a few grabbers."

Why some Frenchmen are supporting the Indian Muslims in the matter of the Turkish Peace Treaty.

Bharatvásí (143). 17th June.

29. France and England are now quarrelling between themselves over the oil fields of Mesopotamia. In view of a great future for oil there are people in France who do not desire that the British should have control over the great oil supply of Mesopatamia. This will enable the reader to understand why several men in France support the cause of the Indian Muslims in the matter of the Turkish Peace Treaty. This sympathy is inspired by self-interest and apparently reveals on the part of those who sympathise a desire for more in the way of rights and concessions. This is one more proof of the fact that the peace settlement is based not on high ideals but on self-interest.

Injustice done to Bombay by the award of the Meston Committee.

Dnyán Prakásh (17), 3rd July.

30. The *Dnyán Prakásh* does not object to the contribution from Bombay to the Imperial Government but it protests against the Madras view that Bombay should be taxed more and it writes against the suggestion of the Meston Committee that the whole proceeds of the Income-tax in the Bombay Presidency should go to the Imperial Government. It contends that increasing returns cannot be expected from Land Revenue and Excise and that the only expanding branch of revenue is the Income-tax. It is of opinion that half of the yield from the Income-tax should be reserved to Bombay as before.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd July; *Servant of India* (9), 1st July.

31. "Bombay is certainly not unwilling to make whatever contribution the Province is reasonably asked to make for meeting the Imperial deficit if it cannot be avoided. The essence of the serious grievance of this Presidency is that, under the proposed arrangement, it is deprived of its only growing source of revenue, *viz.*, the income-tax..... We know that the Government of Bombay have strongly protested against the arrangement proposed by the Meston Committee and there is perfect agreement between them and the public in this matter of vital importance to the future of the Presidency. Public protest must, however, be renewed and emphatically expressed, lest an impression might be created that the people are indifferent or do not really feel a sense of injustice. Better still will it be if there is a joint protest on the part of the Government and the public. These things were better managed in Madras where resolutions of protest were passed at a special session of the Legislative Council and were warmly accepted and supported by Lord Willingdon's Government. Can we not act similarly in this Presidency? We ask Government and members of the Legislative Council to lose no time in taking up this question. [In

the course of a contributed article Professor V. G. Kale writes in the *Servant of India*:—"The recommendations of the Meston Committee are bound to create strong resentment in the public mind on account of the almost callous way in which the interests of Bombay are sought to be sacrificed and this Presidency is penalized for its enterprising and progressive character. Surely the inequalities from which certain provinces have suffered in the past cannot be allowed to be corrected by the perpetration of sheer injustice to Bombay. An emphatic protest against the cruel wrong contemplated to be done to this Presidency is necessary. The report of the Meston Committee is an unconvincing document and the evidence tendered by the Bombay witnesses only strengthens the impression about the inequitable and injudicious treatment that is attempted to be meted out to this Province."]

32. The recommendations made by the Meston Committee in respect of the Bombay Presidency are quite unjust and it is very necessary that the public should raise a protest against them. Public meetings have been held in Madras in the matter and it is to be regretted that the attention of our leaders is not drawn to the question. We hope that our leaders in Bombay will rise to the occasion and protest against the unjust recommendations of the Meston Committee. [The *Bombay Samáchár* endorses the protest made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau and hopes that half of the revenue derived from Income-tax will be made over to the provincial Government. The *Gujaráti Punch*, the *Gujarát Mitra*, the *Sánj Vartamán* and the *Deshodaya* also protest against the alleged injustice done to subjects of Native States under the regulations for the new Legislative Council of Bombay.]

Hindusthán (22), 30th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 3rd July; *Gujaráti Punch* (20), 27th June; *Gujarát Mitra* (19), 27th June; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 2nd July; *Deshodaya* (63), 29th June.

*33. "After many years, the just demand of the Indian National Congress that the salary of the Secretary of State for India and his establishment should be borne by the British Exchequer has been accepted and is being given effect to..... While it is a matter for satisfaction that this measure of long-delayed financial justice is at last conceded, the method adopted to assess the cost of the India Office establishment employed respectively on agency and non-agency functions is decidedly unfair to India. The question was decided by a Committee appointed by His Majesty's Government which is the stronger party, and which long refused to admit the claim. No doubt a representative of the India Office was on the Committee, but that was not enough. An independent Indian representative should have been invited to serve on it. We have not seen a copy of the report of the Committee. We hope it will be published in India. The Indian public have never been encouraged to look closely into the India Office expenditure."

India Office charges.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 4th July.

34. "Though the Government of Bombay have not yet deemed it expedient to modify their draft rules, which disallow the subjects of Indian States residing in British India from participating in the local Legislative Council elections under the Reform Scheme, we sincerely hope that either they or the Parliamentary Joint Committee, which is scrutinising these rules before their final adoption, will remove the uncalled-for disqualification. The Governments of Bengal and Madras have relaxed the rules in favour of subjects of Indian States, and we do not see why the Government of Bombay alone should seek to discriminate against them in an undesirable manner..... The subjects of Indian States cannot be classed in the same category as the subjects of a foreign state outside India, for the former owe allegiance not only to their own ruler but also to the Paramount British Power..... We need not dwell here on the fact that they are subject to all the taxes imposed on British Indians and hence as much entitled to representation as the latter. We would merely point out the grave injustice which the disenfranchisement is likely

Necessity of granting the Council vote to Native State subjects residing in the Bombay Presidency.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th June.

to involve and the serious complications which will ensue if naturalisation should be insisted upon. In any case there ought to be uniformity of practice, one way or the other, throughout India, and the anomaly of Bombay alone insisting on the disqualification should be put an end to."

35. "One of the most objectionable features of the Reform Scheme is lack of sufficient clarity of thought and expression in the main Act itself. This vagueness has naturally created deplorable discrepancies in the rules framed by the different provinces. One instance of a lamentable diversity in practice is to be found in the status to be accorded to the subjects of Native States in British India..... The Bombay Government have displayed a very illiberal attitude. The rules issued by them for the composition of the New Councils provide that a person who is not a British subject cannot have his name registered on any electoral roll of any constituency, and further that he shall not be enrolled as a member of the Legislative Council. Everyone who is conversant with the conditions of this Presidency can at once see that this drastic step is sure to shut out from active and intelligent participation in the operation of the new political machinery a substantial portion of the most energetic and wealthy people of the Presidency and thus ultimately prove detrimental to the interests of both..... There is but one solution of this intricate question. It can be solved to the satisfaction of all if the disaqualifying clause is deleted altogether and the subjects of Indian States given the same rights and privileges as those of British India."

Praja Bandhu (29), 27th June, Eng. cols.

36. Government made a great mistake in ruling that a candidate for election for a certain district must be a resident thereof. Much good will result by the removal of this restriction. It needlessly limits the liberty of both the voter and the candidate. Why should Government come in the way of voters if they wish to return a man outside their district? If the object of Government in imposing this restriction is to prevent the return of pleader politicians to the Council then they are entirely mistaken. There is no dearth at all of such men in every district. They are plentiful everywhere. We wish the Joint Parliamentary Committee will consider this question in a sympathetic spirit and remove this restriction.

Comments on the election rules for the Bombay Legislative Council.
Jagaruk (45), 26th June.

37. The *Duniya* says that it does not see the necessity of requiring a candidate for election to the Legislative Council to attest his expenses before a Magistrate. The desired object of checking corrupt practices, it argues, will be attained by ruling that the election will be considered to be null and void if a false declaration is made. It is derogatory to the dignity of a would-be member of the Council, remarks the paper, to require him to wait upon a Magistrate who is entrusted with executive and judicial powers and who is thus accustomed to behave insolently towards the people.

Dunia (104), 27th June.

*38. "Lala Lajpat Rai has definitely declared that, personally, he would not like to enter the new Councils and also would not like to see the Congressmen taking part in the actual working of the Reform Act..... Injustice and inhumanity, despair and anguish, national humiliation and insult have compelled the Lalaji to adopt this bitter course, and in this frame of mind he has suggested this boycott of Council elections on the part of all Congressmen, and has also suggested the formation of a defence committee in order to bring about the desired result if any Congressman in the Punjáb tries to enter the Councils in spite of all this. Mahatma Gandhi naturally welcomed whole-heartedly the suggestion of boycott of the Councils as it forms a plank in the non-co-operation movement which he has launched. ..... Thus this boycott of Councils has been suggested and approved of by two of our most eminent leaders and it is for the country to decide its course..... Let it be supposed that we are opposed to all non-co-operation.

Should the Nationalists boycott the new Councils?
Mahrátta (7), 4th July.

We have advocated and actually lived it in all forms of boycott in the past and we still shall advocate and shall live it. We have abiding and deep faith in it and believe that the spear-head of all constitutional agitation is and can be non-co-operation only. We differ only in its practical application. Non-co-operation in its passive form means abstaining from co-operation such as advocated by Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajápat Rai; in its active and aggressive form non-co-operation means full and bitter opposition to the Government to the extent of making it impossible. We desire to place before the country this non-co-operation in its aggressive form. What we mean is that we should go to the electors, make them understand the situation, and ask them to return to the Council only those men who would bring Government to the knee by their opposition, pure and simple. Let them clearly understand that the only way to get full responsible government is to wrest it from the hands of the bureaucracy by convincing the Parliament that nothing short of it would satisfy the nation, and government under any other form is impossible as the nation would return to the Council only those who would make it impossible. ..... We are left with no other alternative by the circumstances. The bureaucracy would be glad to see the best and ablest men of the Nationalist party out of the Councils. The Moderates and ultra-loyalists are trumpeting their difference of view with regard to non-co-operation in order to keep themselves free for wholesale co-operation with the bureaucracy. There are many other forces at work which would surely bring to the polls a sufficient number of electors. The Moderates and the ultra-loyalists would muster in the Councils and the bureaucracy can go on with its work most merrily. So long as the government of the country is going on smoothly without a hitch, the Parliament would not feel the necessity of granting us our demands. ..... In all conscience and with deep respect for both of the National leaders, we cannot subscribe to this boycott of Council elections as proposed. We hold that the best interests of the country will be served only by entering the Councils and fighting the battle there."

39. Co-operation where possible" means just what was meant by the words "responsive co-operation" in Mr. Tilak's telegram. In responsive co-operation, co-operation is neither begged for nor given as a gift. It is an application of the principle of "do unto others as they would do to you". It may be very likely, as Bapu Bepin Chandra Pal forecasted, that officials will not ordinarily be prepared for co-operation. But if the impossible happens, and if officials improve their attitude and seek co-operation, the Nationalist party will not withhold it. We do not think that there is any inconsistency in its present and former attitude. If the Nationalists do not seek election, the Moderates will get an easy chance. The Nationalist party had never announced a boycott of Councils. Even now there are some Nationalists in the Councils. When the Councils become enlarged, the party must send its representatives to these bodies. The Nationalists will not fall a prey to the selfish dodge of the Moderates. When once in the Council, we shall see what is to be done about the question of non-co-operation. But it would be suicidal to relax our efforts regarding Council elections.

Kesari (109), 29th June.

*40. "Lala Lajpat Rai has advocated a complete boycott of the reformed councils. Mr. Gandhi hails his suggestion as doubly welcome and says that it is but one step in the campaign of non-co-operation. The wisdom or even the expediency of such a step is very doubtful. Taking it for granted that each and every Muhammadan in the country would agree to the boycott proposed, what would be the result? There would no doubt be a serious difficulty in the formation of the new councils, in fact the work would have to be stopped altogether. But Government could easily solve the problem by the simple expedient of postponing the new elections and the inauguration of the new councils for a number of years till the Muhammadans are in a better frame of mind. If this is done, it will do much harm to the future progress of the country towards the goal of complete self-government."

Comments on the proposal to boycott the new reformed councils.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 4th July, Eng. cols.

41. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* while endorsing the resolutions passed at the public meeting held in Bombay under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association on Friday last to protest against the majority report of the Hunter Committee remarks :—The un-British character of the terrorism practised in the Punjab will be proved from the fact that His Majesty's Government have not considered it fit to practise similar terrorism over the rebellious Irish people. We hope His Majesty's Government will show the courage of administering strict justice in the Punjáb affairs and meting out punishments to those who are responsible for wounding the hearts of the people. It now rests with His Majesty's Ministers to get realised the wish expressed by His Majesty the King-Emperor for the prevalence of a calm atmosphere in India about the time of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in the ensuing cold season. We hope that the Ministers will dicharge their duty in a tactful manner and help to strengthen the feelings of confidence and goodwill existing between England and India.

Comments on the Bombay Presidency Association meeting to protest against the Hunter Report.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 3rd June.

42. The Secretary of State should give a serious consideration to the resolutions passed at the public meeting held in Bombay on Saturday last to protest against the Report of the Hunter Committee. Though these resolutions are very important they are not adequate to meet our requirements. The danger that threatens us will not be removed even if all the demands made in the important resolutions are granted to us. The public meeting was right in asking for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, but it did not pass any resolution in respect of the dangerous power vested in the Governor General in Council in respect of declaring Martial Law. Our lives and all that is dear to us will stand in danger as long as such power is vested in the Viceroy. Even the new reforms have not made the Viceroy responsible to the Council of State. The terrible occurrences in the Punjáb would not have come to pass if the Viceroy were responsible to the respresentatives of the people. The public should now make a demand that the Viceroy's power of declaring Martial Law should be subject to the sanction of the Council of State. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* endorses all the resolutions passed at the meeting except the one demanding the recall of the Viceroy which it wished had not been brought before the meeting. It suggests that instead of holding such meetings convened by individual bodies, requisition should be sent to the Sheriff to convene a meeting of the general public to protest against the Hunter Committee's Report. It expresses the fear that Mr. Gandhi's suggestion of boycotting the new Council will prove harmful to the country.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 28th June; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 1st July.

43. To-day we propose to place before the reader some of Mr. Montagu's views on the Hunter Report to enable him to see how our country is being governed and with what sort of people we have got to deal..... While suggesting rules subject to which Martial Law should be administered, he makes no reference to the ordinary civil rights which Indians must enjoy as subjects of the King-Emperor. He does not for instance say that an Indian has a right to attend any public meeting, that no *gora* shall enter his home and harass his people, that no Indian should be tried except by a jury of his own countrymen, that the Regulation of 1818, the Defence of India Act, the Press Act and others interfere with the rights of the people of this country, etc. He simply wishes to modify the rules under the Martial Law. He does so because he does not care to go to the root of the trouble. He thinks that at times it is absolutely necessary to resort to Martial Law and even to bomb people from the aeroplane. It is a wonder why Mr. Montagu and men of his type condemned Germany for deeds similar to those committed in the Punjáb. As regards deportations Mr. Montagu makes it quite clear that Government must have the authority to deport. All this shows how liberal-minded and just Mr. Montagu is. If some people will still regard Mr. Montagu as an angel the fault will be theirs and not his.

Comments on the Secretary of State's despatch on the Hunter Committee's Report.
Hindu (144), 26th June.

44. Commenting upon the recent questions in Parliament regarding the Punjáb affairs, the *Indu Prakásh* says:—Let us take for granted for a moment that Mr. Montagu is not at all to blame. Let us suppose that he knew nothing of Dyer's inhuman deeds and that he received a great shock when he learnt of them. But from one thing he cannot escape and it is more unjust and barbarous than Dyer's outrage. In June 1919 Mr. Montagu was questioned about aeroplane-bombing and he replied that some bombs were thrown. He was further asked whether he would stop such butchery but he declined altogether to interfere with the whims of military officers. This is his love of the subjects. His kind heart that received a shock when it learnt of shooting was cruel enough to decline in toto to issue orders stopping bombing. The question and answer are to be found in the record and they cannot be denied or whitewashed. It is a great misfortune of Mr. Montagu. The secret of the inconsistent attitude of Mr. Montagu regarding recent questions is now surely clear to the reader.

Mr. Montagu's inconsistent attitude in answering questions about Punjáb matters.
Indu Prakásh (44), 29th June.

45. Commenting upon the agitation of the supporters of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, in and out of Parliament, the *Kesari* remarks that there is no possibility of the Reform Act being endangered by the agitation. It proceeds:—We need not however tell British statesmen what terrible consequences will ensue if the Army Council acquits Dyer and retains his name on the Army list. There is unquestionable unanimity of all Indians on one point and it is that Dyer should receive full punishment for his devilish misdeed. On all sides is heard the cry 'Punish Dyer'. Will the British Parliament reject the verdict of the Indian public, trample under foot justice and humanity and commit the sin of declaring Dyer innocent?

Parliament must punish General Dyer.
Kesari (109), 29th June.

46. "In his book—'Amritsar: Our Duty to India'—Mr. Horniman has torn every mask and shewn every bleeding wound inflicted by the militarists engaged to suppress an imaginary rebellion..... The object of Mr. Horniman's book is to rouse the British public to a sense of the gravity of the crimes—in many of their horrible details unparalleled in the history of civilisation—that were committed in their name by persons to whom their authority had been entrusted..... And the lesson is that officials who were guilty of using aeroplanes to inflict murder and terrorism upon a whole countryside; of flogging and butchering indiscriminately; of imposing the grossest indecencies upon a defenceless people, have lost the confidence of this country which is determined to end once for all the system which produces them..... If, to use Mr. Garvin's language, 'frightfulness' is to be justified by 'its temporary success', then 'our professions in the late war are a sham; we are tarred with the brush of Von Bissing after all; our Empire has no more moral basis than had the German Empire, though our camouflage may be more effective; and we are doomed to the certain collapse which has overtaken every Empire in history that founded itself on physical domination'. That theory of government, Mr. Garvin adds, the Cabinet has rejected, and Parliament and people will, he believes, reject it as vehemently. The Indian people, however, will demand a practical proof of this rejection. It is deeds, not words they want, not 'Mr. Montagu's gesture' but an Act of Parliament that will proclaim to the world that the British Empire in India, no less than in the self-governing Dominions, rests in fact, not on the camouflage of platitudes enshrined in a hundred despatches,—*on the consent of the governed.*"

Comments on Mr. Horniman's book on Amritsar.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st July.

47. "The *interim* report of the South African Commission on the subject of the voluntary return of Indians to this country is, as Mr. Gandhi points out, harmless—so far as it goes. But, there are some doubtful points to be cleared up before this scheme of voluntary repatriation can be welcomed by our countrymen. The two important points about which the report is silent

Comments on the *interim* report of the South African Commission.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd July.

are whether, under the scheme, any form of compulsion will be brought to bear on Indians in South Africa and whether the rights of domicile in the Union will be forfeited by those wishing to avail themselves of the facilities to be offered to return to India. If the South African Commission has found, as it says, evidence of a desire on the part of some Indians to come to India owing to the hardships they are facing in South Africa, it is but just and proper that the Union Government should readily afford them all facilities to return to India. But no compulsion of any kind on Indians unwillingly to come to India and no obligatory forfeiture of rights of domicile—these ought to be two essential conditions of acceptance of the scheme adumbrated by the Commission. The Union Government has not yet indicated its line of action, but the next few weeks will doubtless clear the air. Let us wait and see."

48. We fail to understand how the Commission has been able to find out that Indians domiciled in South Africa are willing to return to India. It seems to be a way of driving out the Indians instead of recognising their rights to develop their trade and to possess landed property. If there is any truth in the conclusion arrived at by the Commission, then it means that the Indians must have become quite desperate. Are the Indians who are willing to return from Africa likely to derive any special advantage in India? Are their brethren in India happier than themselves? Are not Indians insulted in railway trains? Are not special compartments reserved for Europeans? It is the Government of India, the Imperial Government and the Union Government that are responsible for the present plight of Indians in South Africa. The British Government should safeguard the rights of Indians and place them on the path of progress and thus make amends for the past. But that Government will not make any amends unless it sees the Empire in danger. We hope the Indians in South Africa will not fall into the trap provided for them. They will be forfeiting the rights they enjoy at present by voluntarily returning to India.

Gujarâti (18), 27th June.

49. Referring to the revision of salaries in mofussil offices, the *Kesari* says:—Early explanation is needed regarding certain matters. The notification says that the revised scale is applicable to all offices and it also remarks that Government will decide later on the question of non-ministerial and other establishments. What does this mean? No estimate is given of the number of posts in each grade. If along with this scale, the revised scale applicable to the Bombay City had also been announced, it would have been better. Again, though certain offices are nominally Imperial there is no difference between them and the Provincial ones, on account of the rise in prices. We would have been more pleased if we had learnt something about promotion in the case of clerks in the Postal Department who are treated like *hamals*. Every one feels the pinch of high prices but it is natural for the poor to feel it more than the rich and revision ought to be made of low paid men first. But the fact is that big European officers have already got promotions and the case of low paid men is only now being attended to. Mr. Montagu had to admit in Parliament that the Imperial Services now cost 2½ crores more than they did formerly. The British Government's action is in accordance with the words of the Bible, 'God gives to him who hath'. The pay of the Civil Servants was revised without any fuss and the money has also been remitted to England, but the question of the poor clerks was being leisurely discussed till now. But we have frankly to admit that the British Government is to be much preferred to some of the Native States in this connection, as many of the Chiefs do not seem to feel any pity for their servants even in these days of high prices. The *Rdjhansa* says that the scale should have nothing to do with the rise or fall in prices. It objects to the efficiency bar and says that the Mamlatdars' posts should be thrown open to the undergraduates and graduates alternately. It pleads also for a provident fund and argues that not even 50 per cent. remain to enjoy the pension. There should be provident fund or compulsory insurance.]

Comments on the recent revision of mofussil salaries.

Kesari (109), 29th June; *Rajhansa* (84), 30th June.

50. Referring to the revision of the Provincial Services, Revenue and Judicial, the *Kesari* says:—The scale followed in Bombay is lower than that of the Central Provinces. It is also plain that even as it is, the Revenue officers have been treated less liberally than the Judicial officers.

Comments on the recent revision of the Revenue and Judicial Provincial Service.
Kesari (109), 29th June.

51. "The recall of Lord Chelmsford from the exalted position of trust and responsibility, which he has abused more than once during his viceroyalty and never so glaringly as in connection with the horrors of the Martial Law regime of last year, has been demanded not by one public meeting alone, but by hundreds of large meetings of citizens of all classes throughout the country..... The sub-committee of the Indian National Congress, after a patient and dispassionate survey of the circumstances, has come to the deliberate conclusion that His Excellency proved himself incapable of holding his high office and that his recall is an imperative necessity. To this unanimous voice of Indian public opinion, is now added the ringing voice of British Labour, which has demanded the recall of the Viceroy 'as the only proof that can be given to India that this country is deeply moved by what has taken place, and does not mean it to be repeated.' ..... Not only did the Viceroy and the Government of India blindly surrender their judgment and abdicate their functions as the protectors of the people, but even when the full extent of the barbarities committed on the latter was brought to their notice, they steeled their hearts and refused to pay heed to the cries of suffering. The indictment of Lord Chelmsford, which the sub-committee of the Congress has made in its report, stands as unshaken to-day, after the publication of the Hunter Committee's report, as it did when it was made..... Lord Chelmsford has on more than one occasion rubbed the salt into the sores of the people and has not lost any opportunity of insulting their leaders when his thanks were due to them. Disregard of public opinion is writ large over his regime, and he has done more than any other Viceroy, not even excepting Lord Curzon, to destroy the faith of the people of this country in the sense of fair-play and justice of Englishmen in India. His continuance in office is sure to prove a growing menace to the stability of the Empire. India demands with unanimous and no uncertain voice that Lord Chelmsford must go. Whether he goes of his own accord or compulsorily does not matter. But for the honour and safety of India, as well as for the fair name of Great Britain, he must go."

Removal of Lord Chelmsford from the Viceroyalty necessary for the safety of India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th June.

52. What are the chief reasons for the decrease in cattle? (1) People are growing poorer, day by day, (2) People are paying more attention to cotton than to fodder crops, (3) Rise in the price of fodder. For the first two, Government are more responsible than the people. India is growing poorer on account of the strange policy of Government. Have not Government the power to help the rayats always in these circumstances? Under the former wicked Indian *regime* rayats could get free as much fodder as they wanted from the forests. But now—? If a herd of cattle strays by chance into the forests, the whole herd is placed in the cattle pound. It appears that as much fodder as is needed for the cattle can be had from the forests. Even in days of severe fodder famine, ample fodder can be had in the forests. But what have Government done to make the fodder available to the people? There are instances of Government burning the fodder. Do Government think of preparing coal out of fodder? Dry fodder could be pressed and preserved for a long time. In days of acute famine, there are instances of small stores being opened by Government. But cannot Government make arrangements for making fodder, which is now burnt, available to the poor rayats? If they can, why have they not done it so long? The rayats also should open fodder stores of their own as a remedy against famine.

Duty of the Forest Department to preserve fodder for the sake of cattle.
Rdj Hansa (84), 30th June.

53. The reason advanced officially for disbanding the Bengali Regiment is very strange. The Commander-in-Chief very regretfully informs the Bengali nation that he has to disband the Regiment because he could not help it on account of want of funds. It is most shameful that Government should be prepared to disband the Bengali Regiment for the sake of money when crores are spent on the Indian army by them not caring for the poverty of Indians. If money is the only consideration, India would be quite prepared to bear the additional cost of the Bengali Regiment. Would it not be more creditable to Government to give out their real object instead of making themselves a laughing stock by offering the lame excuse of money?

Comments on the Commander-in-Chief's reply about the disbanding of the Bengali Regiment.
Lokasangraha (112), 2nd July.

54. Mr. I. H. K. Rokadia, Honorary Secretary, Anjuman-é-Khudaman-Nabi writes to the *Sánj Vartamán*:—The steamer Jeddah sailed from the Victoria Docks with 1,194 Hajis on the 21st instant. I am grieved to say that the Hajis were once again submitted to annoyance for three hours on the day their luggage was taken on the steamer. No one listens to the complaint in spite of my having drawn attention to this grievance. I would, therefore, request the Commissioner of Police to take the trouble of coming to every pilgrimship and ascertaining the truth of my complaint. On the day the steamer sailed from the harbour the Hajis were, as usual, made to occupy a small place curtained all round, and all the doors, that are usually kept open, were closed with the exception of one. The Hajis suffered from suffocation owing to the want of sufficient air. It seemed as if the Hajis were confined in the 'Black Hole' of Calcutta. Mr. Haji Muhammad Maniar, J.P., who had come to see his guests off, saw the plight of the Hajis and tried to get all the doors opened, but in vain. Another Khoja gentleman, Mr. Gullam Ali, High Court Pleader, who was present on the spot to wish good-bye to his mother, also tried hard and at last informed me that he would try his best to get the grievances of Hajis redressed. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also publishes the letter.]

Complaint against alleged harsh treatment of the Hajis at the time of embarkation from Bombay.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 28th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 30th June.

55. "We wonder if there is a greater indictment of the Sind Administration than the Rasai Report. These 4 volumes are full of facts and figures which expose some of the worst features of the local Government. And it is amusing to note the efforts made by the Honourable Mr. Rieu and official members of the Rasai Committee to whitewash the administration responsible for the continued existence of grave scandals..... It is idle to exonerate the administration from blame; it is idle to say that only the tapedars and subordinate officials have sinned against the people. Superior officials, too, must bear the blame not simply of *tolerating* but also of *participating* in the scandal..... Several of the witnesses in their evidence before the Committee have admitted that *rasai* is supplied to the district officers and their establishments! ..... The majority of the Sind officials have been unchecked in their immoral practice to live at the expense of the peasant; with what conscience could they check the evil among their subordinates—clerks and menials? An exceptionally *vigorous policy* is needed to end these long-lived evils", ... [In its issue of the 25th the paper writes:—"By a strange perversion of facts, the Rasai Report shelters the Sind Administration behind the excuse that 'public officers' in Sind 'had from time immemorial been provided with free supplies by these Muhammadan zamindars'! When did the Sind Government learn to think in terms of the old order? The Honourable Mr. Rieu goes so far as to say this 'corruption' is 'ingrained' 'in the traditions and character of the people'! What a misreading of the 'traditions and character' of a people whose fault was their sense of hospitality." In its next issue the paper observes:—"It is argued that the British officials pay for their supplies and that, therefore, the blame attaches only to Indian subordinates and menials. A clever argument this, but not a sound one;

Comments on the *Rasai* Committee's Report.
New Times (8), 24th, 25th and 26th June.

its premises are not correct; its inference is wrong. To say that all British officials pay for their supplies is to argue against truth. The evidence on record and the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai's Note on the subject refute the view that European officers do *not* receive *rasai*. It is true most of them pay the amounts noted in the bills sent them; but they know how these bills are drawn; they know that these bills are only nominal and do not represent the real amounts which *should* be, but are not, recovered from them; they are a *silent* party to the exploitation of the poor; and even the ridiculously small amounts actually paid seldom reach the shopkeepers; most of them are devoured by butlers and others of the British officers' establishments..... We have no wish to shield Indian officials..... But the Sind Administration has its share of responsibility in this corruption, for the commonsense question is: How do you expect a man to be honest when you deny him a subsistence allowance? How do you expect him to live a decent and honest life when you do not pay him sufficiently for his services?..... While large amounts are being voted for increased pays of British officials, Indian subordinates are still expected to exist on a miserable pittance; and no clever argument can exonerate the Government from its share of responsibility in the systematised corruption which we find in Sind."]

EDUCATION.

56. "It has been brought to our notice by a number of students of the Hyderabad Medical School, preparing for the L. C. P. S., that the inconvenience which they are put to by the decision of the Examination Board that the students should go for their examination to Bombay ought to be by some means stopped. It will be remembered that till 1917 the examination for the Diploma was held at Hyderabad, after which it was thought better by the Board that the students should go to Bombay for their examination. We support the students whole-heartedly in their endeavours to get the grievance redressed, and we trust that the Board will rectify its mistake. It is needless to recount the sufferings which the Sind students have to undergo in Bombay, for there is hardly anybody who does not know them. But we cannot understand the intention of the authorities in taking the step they have done that the 2nd year students shall also run down to Bombay for their examination. We doubt very much if the Examination Board of the L. C. P. S. has yet come in contact with the University of Bombay, for that body has had the good sense to admit the complaint of six students which led to their fixing Karáchi as a centre for the Intermediate Arts examination; and another proposal, which we have not the least doubt will be carried, is lying for decision before the Senate that Karáchi should be made a centre for the B. A. examination as well. We earnestly hope that the L. C. P. S. Board will not persist in clinging to its unwise decision after this."

Protest against the students of the Hyderabad (Sind) Medical School being made to go to Bombay for their examinations.
Sind Observer (11), 11th June.

MUNICIPALITIES.

57. "After nearly fifteen months of incubation the Government of Bombay have announced—not the details of their anxiously awaited housing programme, but merely a minor detail or two of the ways and means through which it is to be carried into execution. In all probability, the details of the scheme, if at all they will be ready by that time, have been reserved for public announcement on the occasion of the introduction of the Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act and the City of Bombay Improvement Act at the next session of the local Legislative Council. Making all allowances for the need of secrecy regarding the financial arrangements prior to their obtaining the sanction of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, the public have failed to understand why such a thick veil of mystery should be surrounding the whole housing scheme and why they have not been given even an inkling of what the authorities propose to do, of the scale of their operations, of the nature of the difficulties confronting them, or the extent of the co-operation that will be demanded from public bodies and corporations and employers of Labour. If the Government had taken the public into their confidence we are sure that not only would the anxieties of the distressed and distracted people of the city who have been waiting for more than two years to know what the

More details of the Bombay Government's housing programme should be published.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th June.

Government were going to do to mitigate their miseries, have been allayed, but they would have also been in a position to consider the schemes carefully and offer helpful suggestions of their own. Instead, the authorities are reserving the announcement of their programme to the last hour, when a cut-and-dried scheme will be presented to the public for acceptance and there will be little time or inclination to effect any modification. In England, on the other hand, the Ministry of Public Health and the County Council have been proceeding on right lines, taking the public into the fullest confidence from the very beginning..... Here everything is in the dark. The public do not know what total of tenements are to be built under the scheme, how many this year and how many in the succeeding years, what proportion of them are to be built within the city's limits and what outside and in which of the suburbs. They do not know what proportion of the total number of tenements will be single-room ones, what double-room ones and how many will be of the cottage type. Strong objection has been raised against the idea of erecting single-room tenements. The public are still in the dark as to whether Government will give up the idea of these tenements, which experience has shown are veritable death-traps, or whether only temporary use of them will be made till the acuteness of the prevailing distress is mitigated. The Government of Bombay have needlessly kept the public in anxiety regarding these matters month after month. When Sir George Lloyd in his first public utterance in Bombay last year referred to the housing problem confronting the city and assured the public that he would lose no time in tackling it and repeated this assurance from time to time, the people were led to hope that his energetic personality would infuse new life into the machinery of Government and that its wheels would move faster than they had done for years. It is to be hoped that at least when the Bill to amend the Municipal and City Improvement Acts is introduced, the Government will furnish the public with all the necessary information regarding their programme..... There is yet another consideration which makes it imperative to emphasise that the Government of Bombay would have done well if they had taken the public and the various public bodies concerned, especially the Corporation, into their confidence fully. It had been hoped that before the housing programme was taken up in earnest, the transfer of the powers of the Improvement Trust to the Muhicipality, as proposed and finally accepted by Government, would have become a *fait accompli*. But not a word is said now regarding this essential reform. Is the proposal again shelved? What progress has been made towards the transfer of the powers to the Municipality?"

58. Commenting upon the draft Bills in connexion with the expansion of Bombay, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—The Bills show what persistent efforts His Excellency the Governor has been making to give practical effect to his housing scheme. It is proposed to institute a "Development authority;" we are not vouchsafed anything in detail about the constitution and powers of this authority. This is a serious drawback, as it would be a leap in the dark to pronounce any opinion upon the arrangements sought to be made in order to raise funds. We would, therefore, request His Excellency to take the public into confidence in connection with the proposed "Development authority" and give them detailed information before the Bill is brought for discustion before the Legislative Council. With regard to the imposition of Town Duty on the cotton imported into Bombay, we may say that it is a step in the right direction and that it will neither affect nor be a burden upon anybody's pockets. Yet we must say that it would be more proper and suitable to impose an export duty on cotton exported from Bombay. This would have lightened the burden upon the pockets of the local consumers of cotton and the required money could very easily be obtained from the foreign competitors of local industries.

Bombay Samáchár (58), 28th June.

59. The *Ráj Hansa* gives a list of big fires in Hubli (Dhárwár) from 1910 onwards and says that about 5½ lakhs worth of property has been destroyed in these fires alone, not taking into account small press and railway fires. It adds:—To combat these fires the Hubli Municipality has got a worthless hand pump and people cannot be had in time to work it and there are also no fire plugs. There are water tanks here and

Condemnation of the Hubli Municipality for inadequate provision for extinguishing fires.

Ráj Hansa (84), June; *Vijaya* (87), 1st July.

there but nobody takes care to see whether there is water in these tanks. Better arrangements are necessary in a rising commercial city like Hubli. [The *Vijaya* writes:—It has caused sorrow to the whole of the Karnatak and not only to Hubli that the Hubli market has been burnt to ashes. It is regrettable that the Hubli Municipality has made no arrangements about extinguishing fires, considering the trade, congestion and income of Hubli. It is the duty of the Municipality to make up for the losses suffered on account of its negligence, but it does not appear that it has given any thought to this matter.]

RAILWAYS.

*60. "Pandharpur is a place of pilgrimage, which thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the Bombay Presidency, the Berars and C. P. visit twice every year. The railway line from Kurduwadi to Pandharpur is under the administration of the Bársi Light Railway, Limited, which, by-the-bye, is the most favoured of the railway companies in India. This Company makes the greatest profits of all the railway companies in India and allows to its shareholders the highest dividend. How it can secure this dividend can be well seen if one travels by its trains in any class. The accommodation given to third class passengers is simply abominable. They are treated like dumb cattle. Efforts are made from time to time to get the grievances redressed, but they have proved to be of no avail, because the Company has absolute powers and there is no appeal over its decisions. Mr. V. G. Javadekar, the well-known Secretary of the Paisa Fund, complained to the president of the Railway Board about two important matters as to the non-stopping of trains at a particular station and as to the heavy railway fare charged to Pandharpur which includes the pontage charge—unknown in the history of railway administration. The President of the Railway Board replied to Mr. Javadekar that the question was referred to the Agent, Bársi Light Railway, Limited. On reference to the Agent of the Bársi Light Railway on the strength of this letter, he was informed by the Agent that he was not prepared to enter into the discussion of the question. A second appeal to the Railway Board elicited a reply that the Agent of the Bársi Light Railway was competent to deal with the letter. We ask who is responsible for the Railway administration in India? If the Railway Board is not going to pay attention to the complaints, what is it meant for? A full and thorough investigation into the working of the Bársi Light Railway is urgently necessary and we earnestly request the Government to do it as early as possible."

Complaints against the management of the Bársi Light Railway.
Mahrátta (7), 4th July.

61. A correspondent of the *Kalpataru* takes objection to the advertisement which, he says, has been issued by the Traffic Manager of the Barsi Light Railway inviting Pandharpur pilgrims to avail themselves during the pilgrim season of the conveniences offered by the Railway Company to them. He points out that many of the goods waggons which the Company uses for the carriage of pilgrims in place of passenger cars are dirty beyond description and that not the least attention is paid by the Company's servants to the complaints of pilgrims, who have thus to undergo many hardships while travelling on the railway. The Company, therefore, he says, have no right to issue such advertisements giving a false idea of the conveniences offered to the pilgrims by the Railway.

Kalpataru (108), 27th June.

NATIVE STATES.

62. "There is, evidently, much that is rotten in the State of Junágadh..... So far as we have been able to understand the trend of events in Junágadh from the numerous letters that we have received—for only a few of which, for obvious reasons, we could find space—as well as from independent and reliable sources of information, it appears that Dewan Chhajjuram, like the able and honest administrator

Protest against non-Káthiáwári students being barred from joining the Junágadh College.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th June.

he was, sought to clear the Augean Stables left as a legacy by the administration of Mr. Rendall. The inevitable exposure and revelations were, obviously, not regarded as convenient by those who were associated with Mr. Rendall, while others, like Mr. Bladen, Private Secretary to the Nawab, feared loss of personal influence as a result of the vigorous reforming policy introduced by the Dewan. The result was that the Dewan met the not unusual fate of an honest and outspoken reformer. We do not wish for the present to go into the details of the existing state of things in Junagadh. But it is evident that there is room for light on the mystery surrounding the sudden departure—temporary departure. as it is sought to be made out—of the Dewan, the part played by the Agent to the Governor in the affair, and the influences that surround the young Nawab. It is clear that these influences do not work in the best interests of the State and its people and, what is more unfortunate, the Nawab has not been able to extricate himself from them. We shall revert on another occasion to the general question of the present administration of the State. Meanwhile, evidence as to the character of the administration is afforded by the amazing order that has just been passed debarring all non-Káthiáwádi students from joining the Bahauddin College. The extreme injustice of the order is revealed by the fact that as many as fifty students have been, practically, dismissed from the college at a time when it will be almost impossible for them to find admission in already overcrowded colleges elsewhere; its folly is brought into relief by the dignified action taken by the Principal, Mr. James Scott, a distingulshed educationist and an old servant of the State, who has resigned his post as a protest. It is impossible to discover any ostensible reason for such a foolish and suicidal step. But it is in keeping with the general tenor of the present administration with which the State is unfortunately afflicted. We hope the Nawab will immediately bestir himself and realise the duty which he owes to the people whom he has been called upon to 'rule'. If he is to prove himseif to be worthy of the high trust, he must at once remove his present advisers and call back the Dewan who was not only determined but able to carry on the administration with no other aim but that of promoting the well-being of the people..... We realise the difficulties which beset the path of the young Nawab, and we trust the Government of Sir George Lloyd, who also have no other interest but that of promoting the well-being of the people of Junágadh, will give him all the help that he needs in freeing himself from those who, like Mr. Bladen, have, as we are informed, acquired undesirable influence over him. The Nawab also needs the support of the people of Junagadh who, whether they are in the State or outside, must publicly express their views candidly and emphatically."

63. Commenting on the reported expulsion of non-Kathiawad students from the Bahauddin College, Junagádh, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—It is, indeed, regrettable that students receiving free instruction for years past should be denied the same in these days of costly education. We would, therefore, request His Highness the Nawab's government to use foresight and withdraw their strict *firman*. By the bye, we would request the Government of Bombay to facilitate the admission of the students sent away from this college into the other colleges of the Presidency, for such a course of action would be beneficial to the students and creditable to Government.

Bombay Samáchár (58), 1st July.

M. K. SHAIKH,

Oriental Translator to Government

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—"I am just as keen as any one could be to give a royal reception to the Prince, and it is because I appreciate the constitution and its working that I would boycott the visit under present conditions. It is because I know that the Royalty is above politics that I would not allow the ministers of the Government of India, if I can help it, to use the Prince for their own political purposes. If I can do nothing else, at least I must not become a tool in the hands of the ministers and the Government of India and allow them, under cover of the Prince's visit, to make their hold of India tighter and to demonstrate to the world that under their benign administration the whole of India is happy and contented. For, let there be no mistake that such will be the result if we remained silent and, under a mistaken sense of loyalty or of the constitution, gave any reception to the Prince. On the contrary, I hope that our loyalty requires us to make it clear to His Majesty's ministers that if they send the Prince to India, we shall be in no mood to join any receptions they might arrange. I would tell them in no veiled language that we are sick at heart over the Khilafat and the Punjáb questions, and that whilst we are fighting them for very life, we must not be expected to co-operate with them in giving receptions to His Royal Highness. We would be doing a wrong to the public if we neglected our clear duty of educating them to a truer perception of the meaning of the proposed Royal visit. Let it be known that the Prince will arrive by and with the advice of the ministers, and consent and approval of the Government of India. The visit, therefore, will be not an act of the Prince but that of the ministers, and in boycotting the visit at this juncture we would be visiting their sins upon themselves and not on the Prince. In other words we would not be playing into their hands..... I venture to suggest that if the Australian people were intensely dissatisfied with the acts or the blunders of the ministers in the sense we are, they would boycott the visit without the slightest hesitation. The ministers want to make political capital out of the proposed visit. It is our duty to refuse to let them do so. ..... I would tell the ministers that as we want to give the Prince an enthusiastic welcome, they should remove the Khilafat and the Punjáb grievances. I should further tell them that if they did not do so and still persisted in sending the Prince to India, they would be responsible for placing the people in the awkward position of having to boycott the visit or the reception."

Should Indians take part in welcoming His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales?
Young India (13), 7th July.

***2.** Mr. S. Sadanand writes to the *Indian Social Reformer*:—"*Apropos* your leader in the *Reformer* of 4th July on the Prince of Wales' visit, it is a painful duty to have to disillusionise you on the subject in regard to the feelings of the people. I should not have thought it incumbent on me to contradict you if I did not feel assured that I have behind me the bulk of Indian feeling both among the masses and the educated leaders. Briefly speaking the Indian people are not eager for the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. Whilst many would welcome the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales as giving the people an opportunity to demonstrate the intensity of their feeling on the several acts of maladministration of British rule in India, of which the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs stand prominent, by dissociating themselves from any welcome that may be accorded to the Prince, a large section of Indian opinion, genuinely anxious not to wound the susceptibilities of the British people, would eagerly welcome the postponement of the Prince's visit to a later occasion when the situation in India is more calm and congenial to the visit of the Prince."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 11th July.

3. There must be scarcely anyone in India who would be displeased with the visit of the Prince of Wales or believe that the discontent prevailing in India would be removed

Gujarâti (18), 4th July.

by it. Mr. Jinnah has sent a telegram to the effect that the welcome to the Prince would not be hearty if the Peace terms with Turkey and the Hunter Committee's Report are not modified. How much authority does the Prince of Wales or the King-Emperor possess in the British administration? It is the Parliament that can grant Reforms or take any steps on the report of the Hunter Committee. All that the King-Emperor can do is to cancel the commission given to General Dyer. What advantage is then to be gained by indulging in talk about the Prince's visit being marred by the shadow of discontent? The discontent that is now prevailing in the country is not likely to be removed by the Prince's visit. Some advantage, however, would be gained by enlisting the sympathy of the Prince in our favour by referring to our discontent in the addresses of welcome that would be presented to him. There is no likelihood of any good resulting from opposing the movement for according a welcome to the Prince of Wales.

4. "The Army Council's verdict is now announced by Mr. Winston Churchill to an expectant House of Commons, and it amounts to a 'conclusion that General Dyer was guilty of an error of judgment.' If the cold-blooded murder of innocent men and women and children were nothing more than 'an error of judgment', then it was time Englishmen ceased to talk of the Germans as baby-killers and of scalping cannibals as savages. Of express intention and with brutal calculation General Dyer fired into an unoffending assembly met to condemn all violence, until his ammunition was exhausted. Deliberately he directed his rifles towards the thickest parts of the fleeing crowds. Intentionally he left the dying and the wounded without succour all night long, and none came near the thirsty crying for water or the broken-limbed crying in agony. Was there any error of judgment in this? Did he not kill and boast that he had killed to teach the people a lesson? And is there nothing more to be said of him than that this murderer of children murdered because he was mistaken?..... We are voicing the sentiments of our stricken countrymen in asserting that neither the mealy-mouthed verdict of the Army Council nor the mincing judgment of the Secretary of State comes within a thousand miles of the demand for justice and reparation made by India for the imposition of a regime of unparalleled terror and brutality..... Whether it is Lord Chelmsford or Michael O'Dwyer or Colonel O'Brien, who, in Lala Lajpat Rai's phrase, is still teaching the Punjáb a lesson in co-operation, we demand that as the first measure in pacification he should be dealt with sternly and courageously. Nor can the responsibility of Mr. Montagu himself be ignored. And let us warn the British people and Parliament—whose attention is being diverted by that 'arch-conspirator', O'Dwyer, to side issues as revealed in his controversy with Mr. Montagu—that India is in no mood to allow them to trifle with her main demand: reparation and justice. She demands further not only the immediate removal of the Thompsons and Bosworth-Smiths—whose guilt has been established beyond doubt—from their offices for which they are as incapable as a savage for the Premiership, but also the immediate release of all prisoners sentenced to imprisonment by Martial Law tribunals which travestied justice. Finally, she demands, as a guarantee for future security, the grant of a Charter of Liberties assuring to every individual the common rights enjoyed by the inhabitants of every civilised land. Not until the people as well as the rulers of Britain realise that neither sweet phrases, nor empty deeds but a frank recognition of the import of a criminal episode and stern, unflinching justice will staunch the deep wounds inflicted on us, will there be any likelihood of peace in India over the black episode of the Punjáb tragedy."

Comments on the Army Council's verdict in General Dyer's case.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th July.

5. It is satisfactory to note that the Army Council did not exonerate General Dyer, but found him to be guilty. But of what offence? His offence, according to it, consists only of 'an error of judgment'! The Army Council alone knows how a man who stopped the slaughter of innocent men only when his ammunition was exhausted can be guilty of

Indu Prakásh (44), 10th July; *Dnyán Prakásh* (17), 10th July.

merely 'an error of judgment'. General Dyer has openly committed murders and he should be tried for them. The present decision will not satisfy the Indian people as it only adds insult to injury. Such errors of judgment on the part of half a dozen officials can very easily depopulate the whole of India. Besides, Indians cannot brook to see responsible officials like Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State escape by thus lightly disposing of Dyer, who was only an instrument in their hands. We want justice and it must not be denied to us. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—The Army Council went as far as it possibly could go. But if any one thinks that General Dyer merits more severe punishment he should be prepared to drag him before a court of law or should demand that Government themselves should do so. Indians rightly demand that all the offending officials should be brought to justice and we trust this will be done.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 9th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 10th July.

6. The decision of the Army Council in respect of General Dyer is not likely to give any satisfaction to the Indian people. It is their opinion that General Dyer and his colleagues adopted merciless measures to put down an ordinary disturbance and that their actions resembled those which characterised Prussian "frightfulness." Exemplary punishment should have been meted out for such crimes. There is a good deal of dissatisfaction in India in this matter and Parliament should deliver its impartial judgment with a view to remove it. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, writes:—The Indian public should be satisfied with the punishment awarded to General Dyer by the Army Council and should give up further agitation in the matter.]

Comments on Mr. Montagu's statement in Parliament about the Punjáb affairs.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th July.

7. "The long-awaited debate on the Punjáb atrocities has at last commenced in the Commons. At the time of writing we have only received the preliminary cable describing Mr. Montagu's condemnation of Dyer's terrorism. The condemnation is strong enough—in fact rather more vigorous and unsparing than that embodied in his Despatch which voiced the view of the Cabinet as a whole. Mr. Montagu says that Dyer's exploit raises the issue whether Britain's hold on India is to be kept by terrorism, frightfulness, subordination and racial humiliation or the growing goodwill of the people. That, indeed, is the issue. But Mr. Montagu has not put it rightly..... The Indian people have experienced 'terrorism and frightfulness', they have had their 'subordination' brought home to them, and they have drunk deep the bitter cup of 'racial humiliation'. To them, therefore, the issue whether British rule is now and henceforth to rest on their 'goodwill' or 'brute force' is one that can no longer be settled by words, but only by courageous deeds. It is an issue which involves not merely the connection of Britain and India but, what is of infinitely greater moment, the national self-respect of the Indian people. For, what shall India gain if she keeps her connection with Britain and lose her honour? If the Dyerian frightfulness, the O'Dwyerian atrocities and the callous supineness of Lord Chelmsford have driven one lesson home to the bleeding hearts of the people, it is this that the words of British statesmen can avail them nothing in the hours of trial when racial passions are aroused by panicky bureaucrats and that the hours of trial will continue to recur so long as the system is perpetuated which creates panicky bureaucrats. They are sick at heart—and they are wiser. They are now determined to see the system scrapped which made O'Dwyer boast that the people of the Punjáb were up against 'a greater force than Gandhi's soul force.' And they are determined to see that British statesmen prove to the world in deed that they repudiate O'Dwyer's boast. There is only one proof. And that proof is embodied in the resolutions that have been passed in a hundred meetings demanding, among other things, Lord Chelmsford's recall, impeachment of O'Dwyer and the due trial and punishment of Dyer and other Punjáb miscreants. Mr. Montagu says that Britain can only hold India by 'the growing goodwill of the people of the Indian Empire'. If Mr. Montagu means what he says, he will realise—and the British Government will realise—that the ways of retaining the goodwill

of the Indian people is no longer through words. The only way is to accept their demand for justice and reparation in the specific manner laid down by them. There is no other way."

Comments on Sir Michael O'Dwyer's defence.

Kesari (109), 6th July; *Dnyán Prakásh* (17), 6th and 9th July; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 7th July.

8. The *Kesari* condemns Sir Michael O'Dwyer's defence of himself as altogether a failure, and points out that the loyalty of troops returning from the battlefield was questioned by the Rowlatt report with vile ingratitude and that O'Dwyer himself had meanly supported the introduction of martial law on the very same ground. It says that O'Dwyer now writes that the rebellion was immediately suppressed because of the loyalty of troops who had come back from the battlefield. A contemptible attempt is thus being made, continues the paper, to call the troops loyal or disloyal, according as it suits the convenience of these people. The paper says that O'Dwyer has made a contemptible and wicked attempt to dub the Honourable Mr. Shafi as untrue to his salt, the moment he courageously gave his opinion that there was neither conspiracy nor rebellion in the Punjáb and that it was improper to proclaim martial law there. This 'bludgeon-bahadur' is prepared to call anybody he likes disloyal in order to save his own skin, and, the paper continues, this is the last attempt of the O'Dwyerian gang to mislead the people just as a thief tries to throw dust in the eyes of his pursuers. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that there has been no change in O'Dwyer's feelings and that his insolence has increased. O'Dwyer need not have made the attempt, it says, as even European members of the Hunter Committee whose impartiality he cannot question declare that there was no organised rebellion in the Punjáb. According to the paper, the Punjáb disorders would never have taken place if O'Dwyer and his associates had kept their minds calm as the authorities of other provinces did. It rejects the theory of any connection between the Afghan war and the Punjáb disturbances, and it says that were it otherwise the Punjabees would never have rushed loyally to help Government, as they did. In a subsequent issue, the *Dnyán Prakásh* controverts at length O'Dwyer's statement that he had pleaded for the retention of civil control, and points out that even before martial law was proclaimed, the civil authorities had surrendered their control and quotes the Government of India despatch against him. Every important thing was done, says the paper, with his advice and consent and the attempt to throw the responsibility on the military authorities is futile. It also remarks that officials like O'Dwyer are only civil in name and that they excel the military authorities in cruelty and 'bludgeon-rule'. If there is any difference, continues the paper, it lies in the fact that military officers give out the facts in a straightforward manner and do not in any way try to deceive. The *Indu Prakásh* writes:— The bad impression about O'Dwyer in India will only deepen. O'Dwyer has attacked the Hunter Committee and has made some utterly absurd statements. From the Indian leaders up to His Majesty, everyone has been attacked by O'Dwyer. He has lost his authority but his character is not changed.]

Those responsible for the repressive measures in the Punjáb must be punished.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th July.

9. "A great deal of indignation has been wasted on general denunciations of the crimes committed in the Punjáb, and it seems that when a certain type of politician has talked loosely, in the manner of Mr. Montagu himself, of general principles, of justice and humanity, he has summed up the whole situation, as if nothing more remained to be said. In the Punjáb generalities will be impatiently brushed aside as stupidities which blur the issue. The hard reality of the situation is that sitting in the saddle of government are the very individuals whose names have become a byword amongst all decent people. There are very few countries in the world which would meekly accept such a forcible slap in the face, such a palpable insult to every sentiment of decency, without taking the earliest steps to initiate a ceaseless agitation for immediate redress. It is not necessary for us to marshal the brutal facts now proclaimed to the world exhibiting the humanity, wisdom, sanity and refinement of men like Bosworth-Smith, O'Brien, Thompson and their fellow-offenders. But the

breath-bereaving action of the authorities in calmly foisting these undesirables upon us in spite of our outraged feelings demands that we should state our position clearly. The eyes of the world are turned on us at the present juncture. We must realise that all professions of co-operation and comradeship will sound hollow and insincere as long as the authorities persist in ignoring the outrage on our elementary rights and the obvious manifestations of popular protest. What are the leaders going to do faced with this wrong whose gravity it is not possible to magnify?"

Comments on the attitude of Labour towards India.

New Times (8), 1st July.

10. "Labour's attitude to India as expressed at the Scarborough Conference will bring little comfort to the brimstone Anglo-Indian. All delegates to the Great Conference rose to their feet and remained standing for some moments in tribute to the memory of the Jhallianwalla martyrs. What a contrast this to the attitude of the Englishmen in India who would have their countrymen in England believe that General Dyer 'saved the Empire'!..... It is a relief to know there are Englishmen in England who have the courage to rebuke race-imperialism and condemn the British officials responsible for the Punjáb tragedy..... The British Empire cannot stand the strain of the new world-forces until it becoms a Commonwealth. A White Empire exploiting the East and dominating Oriental peoples can have no value for the life of Humanity: it will fail for all its 'efficiency'; it will make shipwreck as it did in the days the American Colonies parted company with England to go upon the path of independence."

Should Indians resort to violence or to non-co-operation if justice is not done to them by the British people.

Anavil Sevak (56), April and May.

11. The *Anavil Sevak*, after condemning the report of the Hunter Committee, remarks:—If we have to secure justice from the British people we should agitate in such a manner as would not only secure us a hearing from them but would also strike terror into their hearts. What should be done if justice is not secured by such an agitation? No Government can carry on its administration without the help of the people, and when the people are convinced that the Government is misusing its powers or is resorting to injustice they should withhold co-operation from such an unjust Government. What is meant by withholding co-operation? Every Government has to rely upon the support of its servants and the revenue derived from taxation. If the subjects refuse to serve the State and refrain from taking part in the administration and also refuse to pay taxes which serve to maintain the Police and the Army, which encroach upon their rights, then all the limbs of the Government would become maimed. Non-co-operation, therefore, means the maiming of a Government that threatens to become unjust. The beauty of resorting to this device is this that the subjects can enforce their will upon the Government without resorting to violent measures. Disturbance of the peace or loss of life results from the folly of the authorities in trying to suppress the legitimate agitation of the people by force and thus causing some people to lose control over themselves. But loss of life resulting from such a disturbance would be infinitely small compared to that resulting from violence. It is true that we have to secure justice from a Western people who have firm faith in brute force. Some would, therefore, be inclined to believe that no justice could be secured from such a people without the use of brute force. This argument is a plausible one; but people need not despair of success till all other means have been exhausted, and they need not make any preparations for using brute force. It is a law of nature that a person sorely oppressed resorts to physical force when he becomes desperate and has no other course left to him. To use Mr. Gandhi's phraseology, the idea of using brute force permeates among people just as rapidly as fire spreads in grass. The whole world illustrates the truth of this remark and it requires no elucidation. The question which now arises is whether Indians can find any other way out of their difficulties except that of resorting to violence or whether the British people will force them to resort to their own methods. The history of the world bears testimony to the fact that nothing can control a nation

actuated by the motives of self-respect and independence. It, therefore, follows that Indians will not themselves be at peace or allow others to be at peace till they have achieved independence at any price. If attempts are made to suppress the aspirations of the Indian people and if they become desperate and resort to the ways of the Westerners, the responsibility for it will rest on the shoulders of the British and not on those of the Indian people. These are the times that will try both these nations.

People should await the verdict of the Special Congress on non-co-operation.

Mahrátta (7), 11th July.

12. "It is a matter of regret that the All-India Congress Committee is as yet unable at arrive at a decision regarding the venue of the special session of the Indian National Congress. Never before has the country awaited with greater expectancy the sitting of the Indian National Congress, and never before the country has felt a greater necessity of assembling in a session to deliberate and decide upon important national issues..... In India so far as the Punjáb question is concerned all the elements necessary for inspiring faith in constitutional agitation are non-existent, and it speaks volumes for the faith of the people in constitutional agitation that they still do not harbour any idea of transgressing the ordinary limits, although they are already transgressed by the authorities. The situation has forced the Indians to think of the extreme stages of constitutional agitation, and it is with these feelings of deep disappointment that Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajapat Rai both advocate the policy of non-co-operation. It is no doubt that the Government is solely responsible for this state of things. The findings of the Hunter Committee and the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State proclaim to the world that racial and political bias weighs more with the Government of India than justice, truth and freedom. The Government of India gandiloquently promised the punishment of the officers guilty of committing excesses in the Punjáb; but they have done nothing in the matter, and the presence of Thomsons and Bosworth-Smiths in the Punjáb, even after strong protests, cries indelible shame upon the Government. Naturally, therefore, if anybody is to be held responsible for this state of things or for future consequences it is the Government of India and none else..... The Government have sowed the wind and they have to reap the whirlwind. We are in duty bound to raise a note of warning and ask the Government of India to punish the guilty and remove from India all the officers who were responsible for the Punjáb tragedy. Let the Parliament also read the signs of the times and recall Lord Chelmsford and impeach O'Dwyer and Dyer. It is more in the interest of the rulers than the ruled to satisfy the demands of the country. Whether the Government of itself discharges its duty or not, the country is determined to get justice done. The whole question reduces itself to this: Is there any necessity of adopting the policy of full and complete non-co-operation? And if there is that necessity, then, what is the best form of its practical application?..... The Indian National Congress, in its special session, will have to decide as to the stages of non-co-operation..... The issues are plain; the struggle is obvious. Let us not forget in the midst of the world of wise counsel that India has lost all faith in British justice, and she cannot take for reality the myths of British impartiality and love of freedom created to hypnotise us after the incidents of the Punjáb. India is awake and has a grip upon realities. At present India sees no other alternative but non-co-operation. But the decision to adopt it is not one to be taken lightly. It is one to be taken by the people in mass, by the rank and file, and by the leaders. It must be taken freely and untrammelled by theories or tradition. Hence we urge the holding of the special session as early as possible to decide the issue."

Hindusthán (22), 4th July, Vernacular and Eng. cols.

*13. Dilating at length upon the disaffection prevailing among the people on account of the Khilafat question and the Punjáb affairs, the *Hindusthán* refers to the reformed Legislative Councils and writes:—The hope of the leaders of the people that popular wishes will be respected in the reformed Councils has begun to decline. While Lala Lajpatrai advocates a 'boycott', Mahatma Gandhi inaugurates non-co-operation.*

The position of the people in general has, therefore, become awkward. A large number of people have now begun to think that those who recommended the 'boycott' of the worthless reforms from the beginning were prudent and far-sighted. This being the state of things, we would exhort our readers to wait quietly so long as a decision is not arrived at in the Special Sessions of the Congress in connectian with non-co-operation. [In its English columns the paper writes :—" With due respect to the opinions of Lala Lajpatrai and Mr. Gandhi, two of our foremost leaders, we must say that the suggestion which has been put forward is not to the best interests of the country. Several gentlemen professing to belong to the National Democratic Party of Mr. Tilak have announced their intention of contesting the elections. Does this mean that Mr. Tilak is opposed to Lala Lajpatrai's suggestions ? "]

The public demand for His Excellency the Viceroy's recall.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 6th July, Eng. cols.

14. " It is considered a point of honour not to yield to popular clamour where India is concerned, and acquiescence in the popular demand in India for the recall of Lord Chelmsford would be regarded as a sign of weakness. We take this to be the point of view of the British Government, and we believe we are right..... This demand for the recall of the Viceroy is clearly one to which a powerful Government cannot submit..... .. But the verdict of the country is unmistakeable. Beginning with the resolution of the Amritsar Congress the demand for Lord Chelmsford's recall has been repeated from a hundred platforms. The country is fully and positively convinced that he failed in his duty during the agony of the Punjáb, and that he has never showed a sign of sympathy for the sufferers, or attempted to punish the offenders. He can no longer disguise from himself the fact that all India wants him to leave the country. The crowning verdict comes from Bombay—from its sanest and most circumspect leaders. At the public meeting held on Friday last Bombay deliberately and emphatically endorsed the demand for Lord Chelmsford's recall. Public opinion in India may not yet be strong enough to bring about the recall or resignation of Lord Chelmsford, but it is overwhelmingly evident that he has entirely lost the confidence of the country."

Rájˆ Hansa (84), 4th July.

15. When the whole country with a united voice demands the recall of Lord Chelmsford, he says from his high seat at Simla that Indian public opinion is false and that the opinion of himself, his officials and European members of the Hunter Committee is true. What is said by officials from Lord Chelmsford down to the sepoys working under Dyer is true, while the countrymen of those that were harassed and shot down are false. "A Daniel come to judgment." If such is the justice we are to get we do not want Royal Commissions or anything else. We have had enough of injustice. Hereafter we shall have to seek our own way of justice. It does not appear that we shall be successful if we trust a Viceroy without honour or British officials playing a farce. The love of independence, *swarájya* and justice of the British who follow only the opinions of their officials, rejecting selfishly the opinion of the nation *in toto*, is but a mirage. So long as their kingdom, honour, opinion and money are not harmed, the British people are very good and they are lovers of independence. But if they see that these things or their self is harmed in any way, they will set aside, with determination, truth, justice, religion and morality and follow only the path of self. Realising all this, the Lalaji says that there is no way but that of non-co-operation. Our people should be prepared to follow the Berhampore Congress.

The Turkish Peace terms and the observations of the Grand Vazir thereon.

Kesari (109), 6th July.

16. It is said that the Sultan of Turkey himself does not approve of the observations of the Grand Vazir on the Turkish treaty and that he intends to send a separate note. God alone knows how many of his demands will be conceded. It is doubtful whether the Allies will have the generosity to return Thrace and Smyrna to him. For if they do, Greece will be angry, and such an event is not desired by the Allies. Even if the impossible happens and Thrace and Smyrna are returned, what

portion of the secular and religious authority of the Khalifa will remain? When the sky itself is rent, what can a few patches like these do? On the whole, Turkish rule has been not only destroyed in Europe and Africa but it is also a question whether it will have independent existence even in Asia.

17. "An official communique states that the Spa Conference, having examined the Turkish observations on the Treaty—that is, the precious 'observations' of Damad Ferid Pasha, whom the Allies have made Grand Vazir—has agreed that it is impossible to modify any of the principal clauses of the Treaty 'as requested by the Turkish Government.'..... The important point to note is that the signature to the Treaty will be required within ten days of the presentation of the experts' reply, which means that the Allies are terribly anxious to face the world with a *fait accompli*. But this game can hardly deceive the world which knows that if a treaty is to be made with Turkey which can be enforced, it will have to be a Treaty that is concluded with the Turkish nation whom the present Cabinet does no more represent than the Allied Governments represent it—and that this Turkish nation is in revolt under separate Governments in Anatolia and Thrace. Are the 'Peace-makers,' in their mad pursuit of 'spoils of war,' oblivious to the peril they are preparing for the world not merely by trampling upon the national aspirations of the Turks, not to speak of the Arabs, but also by outraging the conscience of millions of Moslems the world over?"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th July.

18. The Grand Vazir seems to have accepted with some modifications the terms of the Peace Treaty which sign the death warrant of Turkey. But the Sultan is reported to have refused to acquiesce in the reply of his Vazir in spite of his having been reduced to the position of a prisoner of the Allies and to have protested against it and to have sent a separate reply. We shall, in these circumstances, not be surprised if the Allies set aside the claims of the present Sultan, if he continues to be obdurate, and instal Damad Ferid Pasha as the Sultan under their protection. The Allies have adopted that very wicked German principle of might overriding right, against which the war was waged and they will not be said to have gained success if they make a creature of their own sign the Turkish Peace Terms. Such a step on their part, instead of securing tranquillity and peace, will compel them to maintain a huge army and navy at enormous expense for many years to come. The fate of Russia proves that a huge army is unable to win over the hearts of the people, and we, therefore, hope that the Allies will be warned by it betimes and show the courage of giving up their greed. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The Indian Muhammadans will never accept the reply of the Grand Vazir or regard it as the reply of the Turkish people. The Grand Vazir is a nominee of the Allies and is therefore at their mercy. The Indian Moslems will refuse to acquiesce in the Peace Terms even if the Sultan himself signs them. The reply of the Grand Vazir has hurt the religious feelings of the Indian Muhammadans, and a meeting of the Central Khilafat Conference should soon be convened in Bombay to protest against it. The *Bombay Sámáchár* also considers the reply as not in keeping with the sentiments of the Indian Moslems with regard to the Khilafat question and calls upon them to raise their protest against it. It also expresses a hope that the Allied Council will not consider the reply as final but will await the Sultan's reply before arriving at the final decision in the matter. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks:—The sympathies of France and Italy are drawn towards Turkey as they have begun to think that England has assumed the position of the Premier State by virtue of the terms of the Turkish Treaty. A great commotion has been caused in Italy and France by the Mandates England has obtained over Palestine, Arabia and Mesopotamia and these nations have begun to look with envy towards the power acquired by England in Southern Persia. In a further issue the paper, while writing on the Turkish question, remarks:—Bolshevists have become a terror and

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 5th July; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 6th July; *Bombay Sámachár* (58), 7th July; *Akhbar-e-Islám* (55), 6th, 7th, 9th and 10th July.

France and Britain have not been able to break their back in spite of all the efforts they have made in that direction. These Bolshevists have descended into some parts of Persia and Afghanistan and have proved a source of trouble. It is feared that the Bolshevist menace will affect British territory also. In a further issue, while discussing the reply of the Grand Vazir, the paper writes :—It is not surprising that the reply has created greater commotion than the one caused among the Indian Muslims by the hostile policy of the Alllies. The reply will be a blow to the Khilafat movement which is being partly converted into non-co-operation and voluntary emigration, owing to the narrow-mindedness of the Khilafat Conferance. We hope the Khilafat Committee which is shortly to meet in Bombay will give careful consideration to the evil effects of non-co-operation and *hijrat*. Even the Sultan himself does not seriously press for the maintenance of the status of the Khilafat and leaves the question to the discretion and mercy of the Allies! We must, therefore, consider what significance will now be attached to the agitation of the Indian Moslems on this subject. In the subsequent issue the paper exhorts the Indian Moslems to adopt a reasonable attitude towards the Khilafat question.]

19. "Apart altogether from the question of the position of the Khilafat, it seems that the Grand Vazir, Damad Farid Pasha, and others are prepared to acquiesce in the dismemberment of what was the Turkish Empire. It is, however, to be borne in mind that the signatures to the monstrous document have been put by responsible Turkish officials under coercion. Constantinople is in fact, if not also in name, an Allied piece of territory for the time being. The British and French guns overawe the city. The question is how far the Turks may be regarded as having consented to the terms of peace after due deliberation and how far their consent is a virtue of necessity."

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 9th July, Eng. cols.

20. "It would appear that Tabriz has fallen into the hands of the Bolshevists. No wonder! For, who is there to defend it? The British refuse to help Persia with either men or money. Or perhaps they have no wherewithal to help it! But *prima facie* it appears natural to us that a country which is going to be exploited by a people, should be helped by those people, when attacked by another people. It certainly looks that the Persians do not like the British. They consider it, therefore, a good thing to flock to the standard of the Bolsheviks. We do not think that because they are convinced of the greatness of the Bolshevist doctrines that they do so. They do so simply to drive out the British from their country. This is the general feeling prevalent in all Islamic countries either against the Europeans in general or against the British in particular. Neither the Ottoman Turks, nor the Egyptians, nor the Kurds, nor the Persians, nor the Afghans show any liking for the British. The Syrians do not want the French to remain in their country. And the Turks hate the Greeks more than poison."

The feeling in Musalman lands against the British.

Hindusthán (23), 7th July, Eng. cols.

21. At a meeting of some of the Ulemas in Sind held at Karáchi it was resolved that an international Muhammadan Conference should be held in Afghanistan to keep up the prestige of Islam. In the first place it is a mistake to suppose that the prestige of Islam has been destroyed by the dismemberment of the Empire of the Turkish Sultan, now a prisoner in his own palace. Moreover, we are at a loss to understand how a boy of twenty-eight, who usurped the throne of his elder brother and who is suspected of having had a hand in the murder of his own father, is going to maintain the prestige of Islam.

The proposal to hold an international Moslem Conference in Afghanistan.

Indu Prakásh (44), 9th July.

22. Some time ago Mr. Shaukat Ali expressed the opinion that in case India was invaded by the Afghans the duty of the Indian Muslims would be to fight the Afghans, but that if the Afghans invaded India in connection with the question of the Khilafat it would be the religious duty of the Muslims to help the Afghans. This was the opinion which prevailed at the Khila-

What is the duty of Hindus in the event of an Afghan invasion.

Bháratwási (143), 27th June.

fat Conference at Allahabad. Mr. Gandhi however is of a different opinion. He thinks that the Hindus at any rate should resist an Afghan invasion even if it were made in the interests of the Khilafat. We are glad that Mr. Gandhi has expressed a definite opinion as regards the duty of the Hindus in the event of an Afghan invasion on India. The question is a very delicate one and should be discussed freely by those Hindus and Muhammadans who are in favour of non-co-operation. With it is intimately connected one of the stages of non-co-operation. We refer to the proposed resignation on the part of the employees of their posts in the Police and Military departments. Should this step be taken, we know what would be the state of the country, specially of the Punjáb and Sind, in the event of a foreign invasion. We think, therefore, that those Hindus who are in favour of non-co-operation should at any rate disapprove of this part of the non-co-operation programme. They would be lacking in foresight if they did not do so. We hope that the Hindus will pay careful attention to this aspect of the question.

India should ask that Syria, Mesopotamia and the Hedjaz should be given independence.

Bharatwásí (143), 1st July.

28. The Indian Móslem claim all along has been that all the provinces of Turkey including Syria, Mesopotamia and the Hedjaz should be under the Kaliph in view of the precept of the religion of Islam. From the telegrams to hand recently it, however, appears that this contention finds no support in the provinces concerned. Attempts are being made by the people of Syria, of Mesopotamia, of the Hedjaz and of Egypt to be independent in their respective countries of any control, Turkish or European, although they belong to different faiths and races. This only shows that each of the countries above referred to wishes to be an independent nation and that the question of religion is subordinated to that of nationhood. We think that both Hindus and Muhammadans in this country should insist on Syria, Mesopotamia and the Hedjaz being made independent countries and on foreign troops stationed therein being removed from there. It is bad logic for India, herself fighting for freedom, to ask that these countries shall remain under Turkish control.

What Mesopotamia should expect from British Rule.

Kesari (109), 6th July; *Rájj Hansa* (84), 7th July.

24. When British rule is established in any country, Englishmen begin to say that they are born for doing good to others. But those who see the history of their rule while it is being established know that the root of this childish claim lies in selfishness. These benevolent persons are sure to be found wherever raw goods can be had in plenty for the first time. Just as they went to South Africa for the diamond mines, they have entered Mesopotamia for the oil wells. If they establish themselves firmly there, the future generations of Arabs will have to commit to memory the lessons of British benevolence. Today acquire territory for oil, maintain an army for the sake of the territory, spend money for the army and get the money from the Arabs. Dig canals for the sake of revenue, introduce European capital for canals and guarantee intereset in order to induce capital. Charge excessive water-rates in order to have a good return to pay interest. And keep all these developments secretly in mind and go on speaking about your coming thousands of miles far away in order to civilise the Mesopotamians! What took place in India will be repeated in Mesopotamia. [The *Rájj Hansa* writes:—Formerly they began a war and then began to search for reasons why they did so. Similarly it appears that trouble is being taken to advance plausible reasons, after first swallowing Mesopotamia. It is said that Mesopotamia has been occupied for the good of the Arabs and other nationalities. It is also said that the province has been taken for the safety of India. Where lies the truth? India is afraid principally of a naval invasion. To-day Japan may be our Ally, but to-morrow ——? Can there be any other reason for taking Mesopotamia? To-day the English papers are publishing headlines—'Victory of oil'; 'Freedom of oil for the Empire'. Before the war Britain had made a compact with Turkey for 16 annas produce but the Germans claimed 8 annas. There was war. Turkey was defeated. Oil wells are wanted. There are plenty of them in Mesopotamia. What should be done? Grab! ! ! Now the British press mentions this with pride. Bravo, self-determination and humanitarian motives!]

25. "The Khilafat movement has now assumed a serious aspect, and all activities point inevitably to the conclusion that our Moslem brethren are on the eve of translating their words into action. In pursuance of the decision of the special meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee held at Allahabad in regard to the non-co-operation movement, a representation signed by about ninety Sunni Musalmans from all over India has been forwarded to the Viceroy..... Under the present circumstances, the Muhammadans have three courses open to them to mark their 'emphatic disapproval' of the grave injustice that has been done to them. They can resort to violence, they can leave India or they can withdraw their co-operation from the Government..... Non-co-operation is the only form of direct action which can be taken up by the people in this country at present, and Mr. Gandhi has done well in intimating to Government that in the event of the rejection of the demands of the Moslems of India, non-co-operation will begin in right earnest, and Hindus and other small communities also will be asked to join, and thus give a tangible proof of their intimate friendship with the Musalmans of India. Opponents of this step ridicule the idea mainly on two grounds: They aver that such a movement is sure to inflame the masses, and lead to deplorable results. We must unhesitatingly assert we do not share these apprehensions. We hope this final appeal of our Muhammadan brethren will have some effect on the minds of the Allied statesmen. If this pleading fails, there is but one course open to them—the course on which Mr. Gandhi insists—and in that case the Hindus and other communities cannot stand back. They must render their Muhammadan brethren all active assistance, as the salvation of India depends upon indissoluble friendship between the various communities which inhabit this sacred and historic land."

Comments on the 'ultimatum' to His Excellency the Viceroy regarding non-co-operation.

Praja Bandhu (29), 4th July, Eng. cols.

26. As usual, Mahatma Gandhi says in his letter to His Excellency the Viceroy that if non-co-operation is not made to provide an outlet for the feelings of the Muhammadans, their discontent will finally result in disorders. No sensible man agrees with this view of Mr. Gandhi. Although the Satyagraha movement started by him as a protest against the passing of the Rowlatt law had resulted in disorders and although he himself had admitted the fact at the time, he now says that if people had not resorted to Satyagraha the consequences would have been far more terrible. We think this argument is wholly baseless. We doubt whether Mr. Gandhi himself believes in it. If he firmly believes that Satyagraha has the effect of preventing disorders, why did he stop the movement then? He should have allowed it to continue. We are, therefore, of opinion that it is most improper on his part to put forward such a misleading argument and to tell the Hindus and the Muhammadans to have recourse to such a dangerous remedy. [Writing elsewhere, the paper accuses the Extremists of dishonesty in that they seek to be elected to the new Councils although they express their sympathy with the non-co-operation movement. The *Jagriti* also finds fault with Mr. Gandhi for advising recourse to non-co-operation.]

Mr. Gandhi's arguments in favour of non-co-operation are misleading.

Jágaruk (45), 3rd July; *Jâgriti* (46), 3rd July.

27. From Mr. Gandhi's point of view, the time for resorting to non-co-operation has arrived. He deserves to be held in honour, but to act up to his advice before we can see things from his point of view would be to follow him blindly. That the Nationalists are not prepared to do. The non-co-operation movement has been started principally for the sake of the Muhammandans; but as yet it cannot be said how far they are going to support it, and what is known about the matter is not encouraging. The view of the nation will be voiced by the Special Congress, and it would be thoughtless to come to any definite resolve before the Congress meets. If non-co-operation is to be adopted for the sake of the Punjáb, that Province

To adopt non-co-operation just now would be to blindly follow Mr. Gandhi.

Lokasangraha (112), 9th July.

must give its enthusiastic support to it; but it is not yet known whether such support would be forthcoming. The adoption of even the best of means requires due consideration, and it would never be proper to change one's policy, because of the outcry raised by certain talkative people.

28. "We have received a communication alleging that Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor of Jacobabad was beaten on the 28th morning by some military men. Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor is a prominent Khilafat worker, and we request the authorities to institute an immediate inquiry into the matter. We shall await with deep concern detailed information on the subject. Not many weeks have passed since we learnt of Mr. Smyth's strange conduct to a prominent Muslim Zamindar connected with a Khilafat Conference; now comes the report of alleged ill-treatment of a prominent Khilafat worker. What is wrong with Jacobabad? We ask this question with deep concern at this hour,—an hour when it would be an unpardonable folly for officials to lose their head over the Khilafat agitation in Sind. You cannot control the situation by crude coercion."

Complaint about ill-treatment of Khilafat workers at Jacobabad (Sind).
New Times (8), 1st July.

*29. Referring to the renouncement of the title of *Muhiul Millat Waddin* by His Exalted Highness the Nizam, the *Mufid-e-Rozgdr* reproduces the explanation of the *Zamindár* newspaper of Láhore that all that is happening in Hyderabad is Sir Ali Imam's handiwork, and adds that the continued retention of the above-mentioned Councillor shows that His Highness approves of his acts. It condemns the Nizam's acts in connection with the Khilafat question, and declares that if these have been done in deference to the views of any powerful person, the better alternative was to abdicate and not to dishonour Islam.

The Nizam and the Khilafat movement.
Mufid-e-Rozgdr (151), 11th July.

*30. "A meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held in the Bombay Town Hall, under the presidentship of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, to protest against the award of Lord Meston regarding the allocation of provincial revenues. The meeting adopted a memorial which is given in full. elsewhere. The memorial makes out a strong case against the award and insists upon making the income-tax a divided head. The question is of vital interest as it affects injuriously the presidency, as the arrangement proposed to be made is intended to be permanent..... We must not rest content till the decisions of the Meston Committee are upset, and it behoves all public bodies to set up an agitation which will compel the Government to grant the popular demand."

Comments on the Bombay Town Hall meeting to protest against the recommendations of the Meston Committee.
Mahrátta (7), 11th July.

*31. "The public meeting of the citizens of this city, called by the Sheriff of Bombay, to protest against the recommendation of the Financial Relations Committee to credit the whole of the Income Tax proceeds to the Central Government of India, was a great success not so much from the point of view of the size of the gathering as from that of the effective character of the arguments that were advanced against the proposal in question..... Having regard to the weight that will necessarily be attached to the Committee's recommendation by the authorities in England, it will not do to content ourselves merely with entering this public protest and forwarding a memorial to the Secretary of State. We think some arrangement ought to be made to press the views, to which the public meeting gave emphatic expression, upon the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the Secretary of State through some influential and well-informed spokesman or authoritative agency."

Gujarâti (18), 11th July, Eng. cols.

32. We have before this declared that the decision of Lord Meston's Committee in connexion with a pre-eminently industrial province like Bombay is entirely unfair and an impediment to the advancement of Bombay. In yesterday's meeting Europeans and Indians, with one voice, declared

Hindusthân (23), 9th July.

that the injustice done by Lord Meston's Committee is objectionable. It is said that the Government of Bombay themselves have entered a strong protest. Considering that the decision of Lord Meston's Committee is unfair and calculated to do injustice to Bombay, we hope that, having regard to the feelings of the people, the Secretary of State will redress this wrong.

*33. "The public meeting of the citizens of Bombay held last Thursday to protest against the Meston Committee's recommendations was not a day too late. This was a case in which it was clearly the duty of all the leading men of the city, of whatever political party, to unite in raising their voice against the great injustice which is sought to be done to the interests of this Presidency. As has been clearly shown before, the proposals of Lord Meston's Committee threaten to cripple the financial strength of this Presidency in the very beginning of its getting provincial autonomy. By considering Income-Tax as anI mperial head the Presidency would be deprived of its most profitable source of revenue, and would not be able to meet the growing public demands for sanitation, education and development of industries. After the strong protest that has been raised from all quarters against this unfair arrangement, it behoves the Imperial Government to make such modifications in the Financial Relations scheme as will put things on a more satisfactory and equitable footing."

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 11th July; Eng. cols.

34. "As a matter of fact, and it will come as a surprise to most of us, Mr. Sastri is not sufficiently qualified to stand as a candidate for the Legislative Assembly, because he does not pay Rs. 50 as land revenue, nor does his income reach the taxable minimum. The framers of the Franchise rules have betrayed a shallowness and narrowness of mind which is not easily comprehensible. Imagine a man like Mr. Sastri out of the Council simply because he is not in a position to pay a tax which many men much inferior to him in all respects could pay a hundred times over. The fact that the Franchise rules can exclude Mr. Sastri from the Council of which he has been a useful member is of sufficient weight to damn them. It would be difficult to imagine a more luminous commentary on the retrograde character of some of the Reform Rules."

Alleged defectiveness of the Franchise rules which disqualify a man like the Honourable Mr. Sastri.

Sind Observer (11), 25th June.

35. "Severely criticising the diplomacy of the Nationalist leaders of Madras in regard to non-co-operation, the *Janmabhumi*, itself an organ of sturdy Nationalism, thus describes the Nationalists' policy in their own words: 'We must approve of non-co-operation in so far as it will keep us in the vanguard of our political march. And yet we must disapprove of it in so far as it will not stand in the way of our participating in the coming elections.' This truly represents the attitude of the Deccan Extremists also. The latter have set their heart on Council elections, and nothing shall deflect them from it. Non-co-operation they have not the least objection in the world to support, provided it does not keep them out of the Councils. For our part we have nothing but commendation for the legitimate ambition which they cherish; what we do not approve is, to adopt the *Janmabhumi's* words, hunting with the hounds and running with the hare..... The Deccan Nationalists' theoretical approval of non-co-operation is of little value if non-co-operation is not to take effect. They had no objection whatever to urge to any of the drastic forms of non-co-operation which Mr. Gandhi suggested till the latter seemed far off. In fact when Mr. Gandhi advised non-co-operators to suspend all action in pursuance of non-co-operation till a collective decision was arrived at after full deliberation, Mr. Tilak's paper criticised Mr. Gandhi and supported individual action even before the successive steps in the movement were determined upon. This may lead one to think that Mr. Tilak was among the most advanced protagonists of non-co-operation. Nothing of the kind. The sober truth is that as the time for taking practical action is drawing near Mr. Tilak and other Deccan Nationalists are suggesting innumerable difficulties in the way of non-co-operation."

The Extremists and the new Councils.

Servant of India (9), 8th July.

36. A correspondent writes in the *Lokasangraha*:—It would not be wise to boycott the Punjáb Council because it happens to contain men who took part in the Punjáb massacres. The leaders should seek entry into the Council to harass them and to oblige them to tender their resignations, if not for any other purpose. What effect will they be able to produce on the bureaucracy by remaining out of the Council? If patriotic men like Lala Lajpatrai do not enter the Council, the worthless Moderates will get in, and then the bureaucracy will be able to act in any way it likes. To guard against this very danger Congressmen should go into the Council. If the Nationalists lose this opportunity they will be playing into the hands of the bureaucracy. We want the most capable men at this juncture to represent us in the Councils. If anyone allows any consideration to come in the way of his going into the Councils, he will be doing a great disservice to his country. The Lala's advice in this respect does not appear to be sensible.

Lala Lajpatrai's proposal to boycott the Reformed Councils.
Lokasangraha (112), 4th July.

37. Everyone will admit that the Sinn Feiners deserve to be *gurus* in questions of non-co-operation with Government and defiance of Government. But still they captured as many seats as possible in the last election and then kept them vacant. The point is plain. Even from the viewpoint of the success of non-co-operation, non-co-operation by members of the Legislative Councils cannot be equalled by other things. It will have some effect on Government if those whose co-operation they value declare for non-co-operation. Those who stand out of the Councils see only the glaring defects and faults of Government; but if intelligent men enter the Councils, they will find that the administration has been simply riddled by faults and defects. If a discontented man enters the Council he will make his discontent felt there. ["Gradually the conviction that the boycott of Council elections would not serve the purpose in view seems to be growing in the country. We have put before the country our own view in the matter in our last issue. We again repeat that we fully believe in non-co-operation as the only effective weapon left to the subject races, under foreign domination, struggling for freedom..... With all respect for the opinions of both of our leaders, Lala Lajpat Rai and Mahatma Gandhi, we feel that we shall not be able to bring the Government to the knee by keeping ourselves away from the Councils. We must not allow the apologists of bureaucracy to go in the Councils and make themselves merry. If we wish to make the rulers uneasy with a view to obtain reforms we must make the bureaucracy feel the weight and potency of popular opinion."]

Kesari (109), 6th July; *Mahrátta (7), 11th July.

38. The opinions expressed by Lala Lajpatrai and Mr. Gandhi are individual ideas. It cannot be said that they are the views of the nation. We are not cowards enough to say that the agitation of non-co-operation is harmful and that it will not lead to the success of our ideal. We fully trust that there is no other weapon in the armoury of constitutional agitation equally strong. Still it is not desirable to abandon Council elections all at once. Nobody should give up his contest till the Berhampore Congress decides the question.

Ráj Hansa (84), 3rd July.

39. "We earnestly trust the meeting of workers that was held last evening to protest against the manner in which Government have nominated Indian Labour's representative to the forthcoming International Labour Conference, will bring home to them the unwisdom of the step they have taken in direct contravention of the League of Nations Covenant, and the expediency of withdrawing the nomination made. The resolution of sympathy with the North-West Railway strikers passed at the meeting brought in prominent relief the solidarity and unity of purpose that animate the workers in India as well as their capacity to safeguard their common interests. While we cordially and emphatically endorse the resolutions passed at the meeting, we feel it is due to Mr. N. M. Joshi to protest against

Who should represent Indian Labour on the International Labour Conference.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th July.

certain irresponsible and unfortunate remarks made by one or two speakers in regard to Mr. Joshi's work in connection with the Social Service League—and especially against the insinuation that Mr. Joshi has fought or is likely to fight for the privileges of capitalists..... As a Government nominee he will, we have no doubt, not feel himself free fully and adequately to advocate the cause of Indian Labour. And this is the reason why we are strongly opposed to his nomination. But this is not the same thing as saying that he will fight or is capable of fighting for the privileges of Capital. Mr. Joshi's nomination must be fought on principle..... Finally, the exclusion of Mr. Joshi from the Sub-Committee appointed at the meeting to organise an All-India Trade Union Congress was, we think, singularly ill-advised."

Kesari (109), 6th July; *Lokasangraha* (112), 8th July.

40. Commenting upon Mr. Joshi's nomination as the representative of Indian Labour, the *Kesari* says that Government can, under the treaty, nominate only when Labour is unorganised and points out that there are many Labour Unions in cities like Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The bureaucracy, the paper remarks, can never get over the habit of taking away the rights of others. It argues that the Labour Unions should resist in time the blow aimed at their right. The question is not, says the journal, whether the nominee will take care of Labour interests but whether Labour should lose its rights. It refers also to Mr. Kershaw's opposition to the age-limit proposed at the Seamen's Conference and says that it is obvious that the Government nominee will pay more attention to the interests of Government than to those of Labour. It advises Labour to guard its rights very carefully. [The *Lokasangraha* remarks that neither the Government of India nor the Imperial Legislative Council, even as reformed, is fit to select the representative of Indian Labour and suggests that the various Labour Unions in India should hold a conference of their own to elect their own representative.]

Servant of India (9), 8th July.

41. "Much misconception prevails in the country in regard to the appointment by the Government of India of Mr. N. M. Joshi as a representative of Labour under Article 412 of the Peace Treaty. This Article lays down the procedure as to the formation of a panel from which members of a Commission of Inquiry are to be drawn in case such a Commission should become necessary. It has no reference whatever to the appointment of the delegates to the International Labour Conference, which is governed by a separate Article in the Treaty..... Mr. Joshi is nominated India's representative of workers for the next two years on such a panel. The question of appointing a workers' representative to the Labour Conference is a different matter; which must not be confused with the appointment of a representative to a panel for the constitution of a Commission of Inquiry. The Treaty provides that non-Government delegates to the General Conference shall be chosen 'in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries.' This is a direct invitation to Indian Labour to organise itself, if it wishes to have a representative of its own choice. The best method of establishing its claim in this behalf is to form a federation of Labour, as suggested by Mr. Joshi in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 5th instant, a federation which will embrace all the industries in all the provinces. In default of such an organisation, the Government will be entitled, and are even required by the Treaty, to nominate a person to represent the interests of Labour; and no one will be more delighted than Mr. Joshi himself if the workpeople of India acquire the right of election by a wide-reaching Labour organisation."

Government of India should have sent a lascars' representative to the Genoa International Seamen's Conference.

Indu Prakásh (44), 10th July.

42. The *Indu Prakásh* complains that although the Government of India sent European representatives to represent them at the International Seamen's Conference at Genoa, they did not think it necessary to send anyone on behalf of the Indian lascars. It expresses its satisfaction that the P. & O. Company which appreciates the value of these men sent Indian representatives to represent its Indian employés and secured valuable rights for them in respect of hours of work,

etc. It certainly does not redound to the credit of Government, remarks the paper, that they should curb the rights of their Indian subjects whenever an opportunity presents itself to them, while a company run by their own countrymen should endeavour to secure for Indians equal rights with Europeans.

Comments on Sir George Younghusband's views on the Indian administration.
New Times (8), 7th July.

43. "India and Indians, says Sir George Younghusband, 'are perfectly easily governed by those who know how to deal with Asiatics'! Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, we are to understand, knew 'how to deal with Asiatics'! Didn't they bring 'these Orientals' to their senses by showing them that there was the iron fist behind the velvet glove of the Empire?..... And did not the martial law Commissioners order Hindus and Muslim leaders to be taken in procession—in chains—to give the people an object-lesson in Hindu-Muslim unity?..... Sir George Younghusband would have the English public believe that dangers attend the admission of Indians as Officers in the Army. It was a significant truth the great Japanese—Count Okura— uttered when after the Russo-Japanese war he said: 'We have destroyed the hypnotism of Colour'. It is a truth which has not yet dawned upon the apostles of race-imperialism. Who that knows of the valour shown by Indian armies in France and Messopotamia can honestly say that Indians should be shut out of the higher ranks of the Army? ..... Surely, it is too late in the day to ask people to believe that India is meant to be a happy hunting ground for 'God's Englishman'. India has her destiny to fulfil; Englishmen unwilling to serve in this country are welcome to work where they will; the children of the soil will have their chance, and there will be less obstacles thrown in the way of Indians achieving *swarajya*. Sir George Younghusband thinks the Viceroy's authority is undermined by political agitation in England..... He regrets that the Viceroys have not been 'free to govern'! 'Not free to govern' Yet India has been overwhelmed with repressive measures. The Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Rowlatt Act, the Martial Law! Deportations without trial, house-searches, spies, repression of free speech, persecution of men for holding or expressing views on the Khilafat and other matters which the officials dislike, imprisonment of men whose one sin was their love of the native-land, the firing upon an unarmed crowd, the unutterable sufferings and humiliations inflicted on the people under excuse of martial law! Where outside India have such things been permitted in modern times? Yet, Sir George Younghusband would have the English public believe that officials in India are not 'free to govern'"!

Events of 1857 and 1919 compared.
Indu Prakásh (44), 6th July.

44. History records that Indian regiments mutinied in 1857. Government tell us now that there was also a rebellion in the Punjáb in 1919. The outbreak of 1857 was real, but that of 1919 existed only in the imagination of Government. People are emphatically of opinion that no evidence has yet been able to prove its existence. Blinded by racial prejudice the English committed terrible excesses in 1857, and in 1919 also the civil Government in the Punjáb surrendered their power to the Military, and commended the excesses committed by them. The two events, however, differ in several ways: the first and the most striking difference is that the upheaval of 1857 was not a figment of imagination. The Indian regiments had actually challenged British power. But in the so-called rebellion of 1919 the authorities fired on an unarmed people under the pretext of maintaining order. A vast difference is discernible in the mentality of the officials of 1857 and in that of the officials of the present day. The English army committed several excesses after capturing Delhi, but these did not meet with the approval of Sir John Lawrence, the then ruler of the Punjáb. He plainly imformed Lord Canning that such conduct would only make matters worse and immediately put a stop to the misbehaviour of the officials. Lord Canning, too, did not yield to the clamour of the Anglo-Indian journals for terrorising the Indians, and for this he earned from them the epithet of 'Clemency Canning'. He knew that official excesses had tarnished British honour. Although his glorious example was before Lord Chelmsford he gave a *carte blanche* to the Punjáb Government, relying on their cry of rebellion. In 1857 the authorities

safely piloted the bark of the State through stormy weather, but on the present occasion they have brought British rule into disgrace.

The chaotic condition of the world.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 8th July.

45. "From all that has happened after the war it is evident that although Germany has been defeated she has not been crushed, and the victorious Allies have not been able to enforce several of the conditions that were insisted on while the war was in progress..... All the tall talk about punishing Germany remains unfulfilled. A small part of German territory has been temporarily occupied, but no invader or victor has set foot in Berlin, and the spirit of the Germans remains unbroken, while Turkey has been dismembered and bitterly humiliated. Are there signs of tranquillity elsewhere in Europe? Greece is on the war path, and engagements and captures of prisoners and guns are reported. Seeing the chaotic state of Russia, the Poles declared war against Russia and advanced into Russian territory; but their triumph has been short-lived, and the Polish armies are now reported to be hard pressed. The Bolshevik Reds are throwing back the Polish armies, and doubts are expressed about the capacity of the Poles to maintain a prolonged resistance. The situation in Russia shows no sign of improvement, and in fact no reliable information about that country is available. Bolshevist activities have spread to Persia and Afghanistan, and Mr. Montagu stated in the House of Commons that the Government of India were carefully watching the propaganda, which was dangerous in any country. The whole world is passing through a crisis, but nowhere is the situation so grave as in Europe."

Conditions in Ireland and India compared.
Rájakáran (122), 4th July.

46. Brigadier-General Dyer killed hundreds of people in a few minutes because there was *hartal* and some slight disturbance. But how does Ireland stand in this respect? Brigadier-General Lucas is one of the officers attached to the British Army now serving in Ireland. While he was resting in a fishing hut one night he was surprised by the Sinn Feiners and taken to some unknown destination. That human devil Dyer of Amritsar fame was also a Brigadier-General. But while in India a Brigadier-General can fire with impunity on a crowd consisting of thousands of people, in Ireland the Sinn Feiners can even kidnap a Brigadier-General himself. Even when rebellion actually broke out in Londonderry, Martial Law was not declared; but on the contrary Lord French entreated the Sinn Feiners to state clearly what they wanted. No Brigadier-General Dyer there dare massacre the Irish. This is the difference between the condition of Ireland and that of India. While even a *hartal* is called a rebellion in India, in Ireland a policy of conciliation is pursued even when actual rebellion breaks out. We are subjected to such harsh treatment because we are a coloured people.

The Connaught Rangers incident at Jullunder.
Kesari (109), 6th July.

47. The *Kesari* gives the various recent incidents in Ireland and says:— From this it will be seen to what extent the power of the Sinn Feiners is growing. Why is not Martial Law proclaimed in Ireland, though it can be clearly seen that the Sinn Feiners have openly declared war on England? Why does not the British Government employ Dyer and his *guru* O'Dwyer to take the conceit out of the Sinn Feiners? As the Irish Sinn Feiners have in this way raised the flag of *swarajya* and proclaimed a war of independence, the Irish Viceroy, Lord French, is asking them quite piteously: 'Gentlemen, please tell us at least what you want'. But where lies the necessity of this question? The Sinn Feiners want absolute *swarajya* and the British ministry are not prepared to grant it. Be it what it may. But the patriotism of Irishmen and their abstention from treason to the nation are really indescribable. As soon as the news became known in India that troops were sent to Ireland and that repression had begun there, three-fourths of the soldiers belonging to the regiment called the Connaught Rangers in Jullunder laid down their arms and said plainly that they, too, would not perform military service. A little disorder took place in the Irish regiments at Jutogh and Solon near Simla also with the same idea and two soldiers were killed and one wounded. Now other soldiers are guarding these soldiers on strike. Where stand these Irish patriots who, on

hearing the news from six thousand miles away of repression exercised over their compatriots, decline to serve such a Government, and where stand the Indian sepoys who shot down their innocent countrymen and children, at the devilish order of Dyer? If we bear this difference in mind, it will be understood why massacres take place in India even when there is no rebellion and why in Ireland, even when one party publicly proclaims war, it is not called rebellion and martial law is not proclaimed, and why it is coaxed.

Comments on the political situation in Ireland.
Hindu (144), 28th June.

48. Ireland is up in arms to obtain freedom. Some time ago she wanted Home Rule; to-day she wants complete independence. Not that she wishes for independence believing as she does that freedom cannot be had by begging, but that she declares her independence. She has brought into being institutions by means of which the administration of any country can be conducted. She has also expressed her determination to fight with those who will come in the way of her becoming free. She refuses to accept the Home Rule Bill which is being passed by British Parliament. Men, women and girls are all exerting themselves night and day to secure freedom for their country. Ireland's sword is now out of the scabbard in the cause of her independence and the fight is between herself and England who in the late war posed as a saviour of nations. Instances are on record of Irish women releasing their patriots from jail by beguiling the watchmen with their amorous advances and ferreting out secrets from British Officers to facilitate the operations of their own country. No power in the world can hold under subjection a country whose women place their patriotism above their chastity and whose youths are ready to sacrifice themselves for their country.

Comments on the Shah of Persia's recent tour.
Mufid-e-Rozgdr (151), 2nd July.

49. After wandering in the forests for a long time the Shah of Persia has returned to his capital—Teheran. He began his journey when the Anglo-Indian Agreement was on the tapis, and it came to a close when discontent was widespread in Persia. Such pleasure tours are suitable for those rulers only whose kingdoms are tranquil and whose subjects are prosperous. But what will you say about a ruler whose kingdom is on fire while he is enjoying a trip to London and Paris? His Majesty the Shah has acknowledged the great good which his European tour has done him in a letter to His Britannic Majesty handed over to the British Ambassador at Teheran. Would that his kingdom had benefited proportionately! [Elsewhere the paper advises the Amir of Afghanistan to lead a pure life and work hard for the glory of Islam in contrast to other pleasure-loving Moslem kings and princes. It also condemns the reported despatch of dancing girls to Mussourie, where the Afghan Delegates are in residence.]

Wanted a fresh inquiry into the Indian currency policy.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th July.

50. "At the last sale of reverse councils on the 1st instant the amount of tenders received by Government aggregated £106 millions against the one million that was offered, and the offer will be repeated next week. Government apparently hope that by persisting in the sale of telegraphic transfers, week after week, at rates a few pence higher than the market rates, the speculators' thirst for profit and remittances will be appeased, and that the need for propping up the Exchange will shortly disappear. But we do not think that this hope is warranted by the course trade is likely to take in the near future, and Government's policy of making the importer of goods and the remitter of funds abroad a free gift of a few pence for every rupee to be remitted, at the expense of the country, has not much chance of success. In the midst of the dull season which is on us, the exports of Indian commodities will not materially increase while the imports will continue on a pretty large scale. How is exchange going naturally to rise under these circumstances? And how is Government's weekly sale of reverse councils going to help in the matter? But somehow or other, Government seem to feel that it is a fundamental principle of the Indian currency system that a weak exchange must be supported by the sale of reverse councils, by whatever cause the divergence between its fixed rate and the market rate may have been

brought about..... Even those who were inclined to approve of the policy recommended by the Currency Committee, are now feeling that circumstances have arisen which necessitate a reconsideration of the whole currency and exchange system of the country..... From the very beginning we have urged a closer and more comprehensive examination of the Indian currency problem, and have deprecated the kind of tinkering and patching that is being attempted. No artificial systems of currency and exchange can succeed or prove beneficial in India. No underpinning and propping of improvised arrangements, designed, in theory, to give the Indian people 'what currency they want', gold, silver or paper, but calculated, in practice, to flood the country with a token currency, chained to a quantity of gold or sterling, will do as a remedy. We want a free and an automatic system of currency and exchange. So long as the Secretary of State and his London financial counsellors are not prepared to give that to us, any number of committees may sit and report without any tangible results that will be acceptable to the people. It will, however, be something if Government realise that a reconsideration of the problem is immediately necessary."

Protest against the proposal to fix the value of the sovereign at Rs. 10.

Sindhi (51), 26th June.

51. We understand that in September next a measure will be introduced in the Viceroy's Council fixing the value of the sovereign at rupees ten. Every Indian member of the Viceroy's Council should oppose this measure tooth and nail. If it is passed our country will be poorer still and the people will suffer a loss of 20 crores of rupees. The loss will, in the first instance, affect the agricultural classes and through them the whole population, agriculture playing such an important part in the life of the country. It is a pity that the Government has not become the wiser for its mistake in the past. The country has suffered a loss of 8 crores of rupees and yet it is said that Reverse Council Bills will continue to be placed on the market. How long is the present topsy-turvydom in the Currency Department of the Government of India going to continue? We think that until our exports increase, there can be no prosperity for our country. We hope that the people will be wide-awake in time for the September session. Indifference in this matter may entail untold sufferings on the country.

How high prices affect the political situation.

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 6th July.

52. Dwelling at length upon the distress prevailing among the people on account of high prices, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—The distress on account of high prices has now become acute. It is this dearness of articles that adds to the unrest among the people. Government are in duty bound to relieve the poor and the middle classes from this economic crisis. Rice is the staple food of a large majority of the people of this country. It is produced abuntantly in India and Burma. If Government adopt the policy of exporting only surplus rice after meeting the needs of India, the price of rice, at present so high and beyond the means of the poor, will surely fall. According to our humble opinion, the cause of the present labour unrest is nothing else but the excessively high prices. A large number of political movements, such as the proposed boycotting of the reformed Legislative Councils, non-co-operation with Government, etc., are now afoot. It is possible that these will excite the people and the atmosphere is likely to be filled with disaffection. This being the state of things, there is a possibility that the enemies of Government will find no difficulty in utilising this opportunity afforded by the existence of high prices for turning the heads of the people. It is, therefore, desirable that Government should take immediate steps for putting an end to the prevailing high prices, which are the real and main cause of discontent.

Comments on the regulations regarding the flying of aeroplanes over sacred and religious places.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 11th July, Eng. cols.

*53. "The broad-minded and liberal principle of religious toleration and respect for the religious feelings of the people of whatever race, caste or creed, laid down in the memorable Proclamation of 1858, has been adhered to in the recent order issued by the Air Force authorities at Simla in connection with aeroplanes flying over places of worship and other sacred localities. According to this order pilots are forbidden to fly low over any church, temple, mosque, towers of

silence, etc. With regard to these last it is particularly enjoined that they should be avoided. This brief but comprehensive order removes all possibility of any controversy arising in future, and as for the Parsi community it sets at rest any uneasiness that may have existed. By the way, we notice that the order is dated 7th March; that is to say, it was issued some time before the aeroplane controversy started. As this is a subject in which all communities are concerned, we wish the order had been published in the press as soon as it was issued."

Strong agitation must be undertaken to stop the slaughter of cows.
Gorakshan (106), 1st July.

54. The *Gorakshan* is exceedingly sorry that, in reply to Mr. Lavangia's petition to stop the export of cows and cow-killing in India, the Government of India should have declined to interfere in the matter. It goes on:—The reply will utterly disappoint Indians. The serious falling off in the number of cows in the country has already adversely affected India's health and also her prosperity. If, in spite of this, Government fail to take due steps for the betterment of the condition of their subjects, it would be a terrible blunder on their part. It is widely known that the slaughter of cows in India has been going on in the interests of European factory-owners and, for their sake, the interests of the poor people of India are being overlooked. The people must, therefore, embark on such strong agitation as will awaken Government to a sense of their duty.

Bombay Muhammadans should help in stopping the slaughter of cows at Bandra.
Lokasangraha (112), 6th July.

55. That religious sentiments are treated as worthless by those in authority is a fact that is now well known both to the Hindus and the Muhammadans. And it is for this reason that the two communities, crushed down under the roller of the oppressive rule of the bureaucracy, have now joined together. Just as the Hindus are taking part in the non-co-operation movement for the sake of the Khilafat, the Muhammadans should come forward to stop the slaughter of cows, and as a beginning we would request the Bombay Muhammadans to put a stop to the cow slaughter that daily takes place at Bandra. The Honourable Mr. Pursbottamdas is going to move the Bombay Corporation in the matter, and we feel certain that the Gujarati merchants of the city will be able to induce the Muhammadan merchants to co-operate in the matter. The Bombay Corporation is a popular body and we earnestly hope that the Hindus and Muhammadans of the city will successfully unite to put a stop to the cow slaughter at Bandra and thus help to wash off a stain on Maháráshtra.

Comments on Lord Milner's reply to the East African deputation.
Bombay Samáchár (58), 6th July.

56. Commenting upon Lord Milner's reply to the deputation of the Indians in East Africa, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—Lord Milner's reply will undoubtedly carry the Indians a stage further; but the Indians will have to continue their efforts all the more strenuously, because there is nothing in Lord Milner's reply which is binding either upon the Colonies or the Imperial Government. The Indians in East Africa have put up a strong fight against the policy of greed adopted by the whites, relying upon the help of their compatriots in India and the Indian Government. It, therefore, behoves the Indian public and the Government of India to lose no time in taking sides with them in the contest.

The proposed repatriation of Indians from South Africa.
Dnyán Prakásh (17), 8th July.

57. Referring to the recommendation made by the South African Asiatic Commission for the voluntary repatriation of Indians in South Africa, the *Dnyán Prakásh* fails to understand why the Commission went out of its way to make the recommendation as the matter was not included among the questions referred to it for report. It, however, says that as Mr. Andrews and other well-wishers of the Indians in South Africa had suggested the course in view of the utterly wretched condition of thousands of Indians residing in the country, it has nothing to say against it, but urges that the manner in which the Commission's recommendation is carried into effect will have to be carefully watched to see that there is no compulsion made use of. It expresses the hope that acceptance by the poor Indians of the concessions

granted to them for their return to India will not be taken advantage of to deprive them of their right of domicile in South Africa as was done in the case of the Indians repatriated in 1913-14. It, therefore, asks the South African Government to make a public statement in the matter.

*58. What is there in a name? No attractive description can alter the real character of a thing bad in itself. Although the term 'voluntary repatriation' used by the South African Commission in its *interim* report is above reproach, it is not far removed from eviction. It is a moot point whether it is within the competence of the Commission to make such a recommendation. But even supposing that they were right, why did they make such haste and issue an *interim* report? Why are the European Colonists so very anxious to extend every facility to the Indians and send them back to this country? The reason is not far to seek. The European merchants have no quarrel with the peaceful coolies but wish to get rid of the Indian traders who reduce their gains. The Indians want to return only because they do not wish to be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'. But they should note Mahatma Gandhi's advice not to lose their right of domicile. This is a question of principle and we trust they will make every sacrifice to uphold this. With this skeleton in the cupboard, is it not futile for General Smuts to talk of high principles?

Kesari (109), 13th July.

59. "Two cases in which Europeans were the accused have lately been decided in the Courts. For the theft of a motor launch worth Rs. 20,000 and belonging to an Indian of high position—Sir Mahomed Yusuf of Bombay—James Fauld escaped with a ridiculous fine of Rs. 150! Again, a European Jury declares a soldier 'not guilty' for shooting dead one Raghoo Das, a Sanyasi! The plea advanced by the defence is that the gun went off 'accidentally' when Raghoo Das came out to 'protest against his peafowl being killed.' 'Enlargement of spleen'—when punkha coolies are kicked to death! 'Gun going off accidentally'—when a soldier kills an Indian! Such the pleas advanced in defence of Anglo-Indian culprits! The glaring fact is that though several deaths of Indians have taken place at the hands of Europeans, not one European has been hanged for murder in India since the establishment of the British rule. But we forget; race-prestige must be preserved at all costs! The scandal of European juries acquitting white-skinned offenders is become intolerable."

Comments on the recent cases in which Europeans were the accused.

New Times (8), 2nd July.

60. "There is welcome change in the Government review of the latest Forest Administration Report. It is too much, however, to expect Government only to acknowledge the glaring blunders of the immediate past before initiating a new policy. Under the mistaken notion that it is their duty to say that whatever was done in the past was right, they seek in a way to justify the old policy. The defence, however, is a lamentable failure. The marked forward policy of which Government speak with obvious satisfaction is in no sense due to their initiative. It is due, as they themselves candidly state, to the war demands and the increasing value of forest produce. The forest railway from Alnavar to Dandeli itself is the result of pressure of war, and but for the war it is extremely doubtful whether Government would have moved in the matter for another hundred years..... Much valuable time has been lost, and measures which should have been undertaken when the Department was first established, are proposed to be adopted now. Who is responsible for this hopeless muddle and delay? One thing the Forest Department has stuck to, and it is protection. Forest property being perishable, protection by itself would never be a success. In the name of protection, the Department has devised a series of harassing rules and has unwisely and oppressively administered them. The Department starts with the principle that people have no rights as regards forests; what they can claim are only privileges hedged round with many restrictions and

Comments on the Forest Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th July.

liable to be withdrawn on the slightest pretext. As the Collector of Belgaum says, it is essential that people should not come to look upon the Forest Department as an oppressor..... As Government remarks, everything will depend on the sympathetic interpretation of rules. The Forest Department has been known never to infuse sympathy into its administration, and a rigid enforcement of rules, even to the verge of absurdity, has been the prominent feature of this administration..... Government announce pompously that while they will inquire patiently into local complaints and apply a remedy where possible, they will not yield to popular clamour. The revenue authorities are not generally known for their advocacy of the rights of rayats. When even they are moved to intervene and to try to protect the rayat from the greed of the Forest Department, Government may rest assured that the grievances are thoroughly genuine. Kánara, where the forest grievances are extremely acute, has been universally spoken of as a very quiet district, unwilling to agitate even when it ought to. When such a generally submissive district speaks out as it did in the recent Conference, Government may take it that the forest grievances are in no way exaggerated. It would be a grievous blunder to ascribe the recent agitation to popular clamour and departmental jealousy. It is not a question of mere differences between the Forest and Revenue Departments. A mere Conference of officials cannot decide the question at issue. A third party is most intimately concerned, and that is the patient and long-suffering rayat, and Government must protect him..... Nobody intends any organised attack on the forests. The people are as anxious as Government themselves to preserve the forests, but they want to utilise them. What the people want is the provision of reasonable facilities hitherto denied to them by a short-sighted department unacquainted with its legitimate duties and responsibilities. It is something to know that Government are aware that much remains to be done. They hope to hand over the Department to the Minister, with a quickening spirit infused throughout and with the main lines of development clearly marked out. We trust, however, that the hands of the Minister will not be unnecessarily tied down. The reformed attitude of Government comes a little too late when the Department is about to be transferred to popular hands. A rich future no doubt awaits the Department, but it will have to be mainly fashioned by the Minister himself."

61. Discussing the Forest Administration Report, the *Kánara Vritt* writes:—Government say that much remains to be done. It would have been better if Government had given details. Will only trading in the wealth of timber continue or will fresh industries, as in Mysore, be started? Or will the Minister have to begin the A. B. C. of these industries? We do not think that the new grazing rules afford ample grazing for cattle or give many concessions to forest villages. Grazing fees should be altogether abolished and pasture areas should be doubled. Government intend appointing a special officer to assist agriculture and they want to settle their policy. These are welcome things, but a threat has been held out that Government will resist clamour. Have Government ever heard of such a clamour? It would be a mistake and an injustice to reject the piteous cry of helpless rayats as mere clamour. We do not think the experiment of entrusting to the Forest officials revenue work has succeeded anywhere in our district. We do not know why Government are so much in its favour.

Kánara Vritt (39), 24th June.

62. Though it is a matter of pride for India to be included in the League of Nations, this country has practically derived no benefit from it. India has the right to have a permanent representative in the Council of the League. But our British Government is a perfect Jew. It says that India cannot bear the expense of a separate representative, as if the expenditure on the civil and military bureaucracy is extremely light and can be easily borne like a flower! Somehow Government do not want the thing. It has been also ruled that only questions between

Protest against India not being allowed to have a permanent representative in the Council of the League of Nations.

Kesari (109), 6th July.

nations can be placed before the Judicial Committee of the League. Thus the harassed people do not get any independent Court where they may prefer their complaints, whatever terrible excesses the British bureaucracy may commit in India, Ireland, Egypt, or such other places. Are we then to understand that India was included in the League only to get a partner to bear the expenses of the League?

63. Referring to the reported destruction of the guns of the forts on the Bosphorus, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* comments as follows:—Bravo! What great heroism it is! If there had been open opposition, there would have been some manliness in it. But to overpower someone by attacking him suddenly and surreptitiously like a thief—is this the valour and civilisation of Europe? What sort of Armistice is this? "God is the over-lord of the Kafirs, but the majority of people do not know this". [Elsewhere the paper refers to the campaign of the Greeks in Asia Minor and says:—Observe your injustice, oppression and faithlessness, O just and kind-hearted Allies! Does the Armistice justify the murder of Moslem refugees, the banishment of the innocents, and the inducement of that enemy of Islam—the Greek people—to attack the patriotic Turks by furnishing the former with munitions and military and naval reinforcements? Be it so. O Moslems! Do not despair of God's blessing. Continue your efforts. God willing, (victory) is at hand. How many small bodies have overpowered large bodies! In another place the paper reports:—'Mustafa Kamál Pasha (may God make him victorious!) rejected the peace terms with disdain and contempt.']

Comments on the military operations by the Allies against Turkey.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (151), 2nd July.

64. Adverting to one of Mr. Churchill's letters in connection with Russia published in the *Daily News*, the *Hindusthán* writes:—The army of the Soviet Government in Archangel came into possession of several letters. They were handed over to the representatives of the Labour Party who had been to Russia. These letters have cleared up the mystery of Mr. Churchill's plan for opposing Russia. By these letters Poland was promised help in men and munitions for opposing a Bolshevik invasion and it was undertaken that as much delay as possible would be made in evacuating Archangel. Mr. Churchill is said to have entered into an agreement of this nature for nipping the present political power of Russia in the bud. It is not known as to how many members of the Cabinet approved of Mr. Churchill's plan; but it is scandalous to enter into such secret agreements and to resort to indirect means in order to strangle a growing popular political power, for the majority of the English public have openly expressed condemnation of such attempts. It is disgraceful on the part of England, which took up arms for safeguarding the independence of smaller states, to try to defeat the political experiment being made in Russia by obtaining the assistance of Finnish, Hungarian, Rumanian and Servian troops, the Cabinet keeping the members of Parliament in ignorance about the real state of affairs. What sort of justice is it that England should spare funds for assisting Poland? It is not possible for England to force Russia into a state of siege by indirectly keeping other countries alienated from her. Now that this matter has come to light, it is hoped that England will refrain from pursuing this scandalous project.

Mr. Churchill and his dealings with Russia.
Hindusthán (23), 7th July.

65. Articles published in the *Daily Express* of the 26th and 27th of May disclose several secrets in connection with Arabia. This paper proves to the hilt how the British Government has been assisting two mutually hostile Arab Sirdars to fight each other. The British Foreign Office has helped Shah Hussein, the King of the Hejaz, and the Government of India, Ibn Masud of Najd. It may, therefore, be said that the war between the Hejaz and Najd is a war between the British Foreign Office and the Government of India. Commenting on this the *Moslem Outlook* says that Government knows its business best and directs its policy as it suits its purpose, which is:—(1) By creating disorder in the country to prevent union among Arabs, as such union is calculated to pre-

British intrigue in Arabia.
Al-Wahid (142), 3rd July.

judice British ambitions in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Palestine and Syria; (2) to set up a man against Sharif Hussein so that the latter may always be in need of British help as against his enemy; (3) that Musalmans may see, apart from the questions of the Khilafat and the Jazirut-ul-Arab, that the holy places of Islam are in danger and seeing that may help Shah Hussein. This is the game which is being played. It explains the help given to Shah Hussein by the Foreign Office and the monthly subsidy of £10,000 given to Ibn Masud by the Government of India at a time when neither the British Treasury nor the Indian Treasury is able to bear the burden. These disclosures will prevent Musalmans being deceived, as they are now wakeful and know how to meet intriguers.

66. "It is as yet too early to prognosticate what the attitude of the New Persian Cabinet will be towards the Anglo-Persian Agreement..... Prince Firouz, who figured so largely all these months as Foreign Minister and who was instrumental in compelling the Council of the League of Nations to justify its existence by turning its attention to Persian affairs, has been superseded by Moshar-es-Sultan. Prince Firouz evidently has ceased to be a *persona grata* with the British Foreign Office, and we shall not be surprised to hear that the downfall of the old Cabinet had not a little to do with the independence displayed by Prince Firouz and his colleagues in insisting on appealing to the League of Nations Council, over the head, as it were, of the British Foreign Office, which does not appear to have relished the idea of the Persian Government seeking any other counsel, but that of the British who are proposing to constitute themselves as the special advisers and protectors of Persia. Though the Council of the League had to declare that the action of the Persian Government in opening negotiations with the Soviet Government was quite within the sovereign rights of Persia, evidently the whole episode has proved too unpleasant for the Allies to appreciate. If the fall of the Ministry has been due to sinister influences, having the elimination of all truly independent elements in view, then the Mejliss that will be convoked will not at all be a truly representative national body, and any decision by it in respect of the Anglo-Persian Agreement, which is not in conformity with the national will, may engender serious consequences for the future."

The situation in Persia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th July.

LEGISLATION.

67. The Government of India deserve to be congratulated upon their belated decision to introduce the Corrupt Practices Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council. Those public servants only who are in any way engaged in the work of preparing voting papers, etc., are defined as public servants and are prevented from taking part in the Council elections. But looking to the way in which Government servants influence elections, this provision cannot be considered to be adequate to meet our requirements. All Government servants without exception should be brought under the category of "public servants" and they should be expressly told not to take any direct or indirect part in the elections.

Comments on the Corrupt Practices Bill to be introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council.
Bombay Samáchár (58), 7th July.

EDUCATION.

68. Commenting upon the new rules framed by the Director of Public Instruction in connexion with the Vernacular Text-books Committees, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—We are compelled to say that the proportion of one-third non-officials in the several Vernacular Text-books Committees is very small. The educated leaders of the people know better what type of education should be imparted. Now that Government have, under the Reforms, admitted a large proportion of the democratic element in the Legislative Councils, there can be no doubt

Comments on the new rules for Vernacular Text-books Committees framed by the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.
Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 4th July.

that the popular element should be conspicuously larger than the official element in bodies concerned with a popular subject like education. It behoves the Educational Department to give up its old methods and to be guided by popular opinion in its policy. We specially invite the attention of Government and the elected members of the Legislative Council to this subject, hoping that the necessity of having a popular majority on these Committees will be recognised.

MUNICIPALITIES.

69. "The indifference—not to say, callousness—of the local Municipal authorities to the cry of distress proceeding from residents in the city owing to the shortage of water-supply in many of the tenements inhabited by poor and middle class people, is well illustrated in the letter from the residents of one of the buildings in Girgaum which we published on Saturday..... Scores of other cases can be cited where repeated appeals both to the Health and Water Departments have failed to evoke any response in spite of the gravity of the situation. How long is the Municipality going to tolerate this state of things? How long are the ratepayers and the public of this city going to put up with such municipal ineptitude and apathy? Crores are being wasted in 'improving' the water-supply of the city, but with every year that passes the hardships of the poor and middle class residents of Bombay, instead of diminishing, are being aggravated. Whether it is the roads, the footpaths, the sewers, or the general sanitary conditions in the majority of the tenements, there are everywhere signs of neglect and deterioration in a degree worse than Bombay was accustomed to experience a decade ago. Is this, we ask, the progress that the citizens of this city are to take pride in?"

The shortcomings of the Bombay Municipality.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th July.

RAILWAYS.

70. Protesting against the report that the various railway companies propose to increase third-class fares, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—While the people of India have naturally been expecting the Railway companies to make improvements in the conditions of travelling, etc., the news that the Railway authorities have assembled at Bangalore for considering the question of an increase in third-class fares has come upon them as a surprise. If this proposal is carried out, there will be an addition to the complaints against the Railways. There is not a single Indian member, either elected or nominated, on the Railway Board who could place before it the grievances of the Indians and put up a fight for them. We would, therefore, request Government to fulfil the long-cherished desire of Indians by so altering the constitution of the Railway Board as to permit of a popular representative being appointed to it.

Comments on the contemplated increase in the third-class railway fares.
Bombay Samáchár (58), 8th July.

71. "It is reported that the Railway authorities are sitting in Bangalore to discuss an increase in the fares paid by Third Class passengers. If the Railway magnates had met to discuss the total abolition of the Third Class fares there would have been some sense in their deliberations..... The Railway authorities have no justification whatever for their proposed action. At the present time, in spite of definite penalties attaching to the offence of permitting overcrowding, the lot of the poor third class passengers crowded like maggots is so intolerable that any attempt to make it worse will provoke a serious agitation. Anyone similarly packing animals in a truck would be proceeded against immediately under the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act..... Both workmen and the public should see to it that Railway companies no longer gorge enormous profits at the expense of paying starvation wages, on the one hand, and permitting horrible, disgusting and heartless methods of travel on the other. We do not doubt that such iniquities could not easily be perpetrated were the Indian Railways, catering to the Indian public, run by a predominantly Indian staff, under the control of a Railway Board with Indian members."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th July.

72. The *Lokasangraha* dwells upon the grievances of the third class Railway passengers about overcrowding, etc., and condemns the Railway Board for its disregard of their complaints, and goes on:—To the many grievances of the third class railway travelling public is to be added another grievance, *viz.*, increase in the fares. The war is alleged to be the cause of the proposed increase, but it is altogether a false pretext. It is merely a cunning stratagem to fleece the poor travelling public. The war has brought no loss to the Railways; on the contrary, the G. I. P. Railway is reported to have this year given the highest dividend to its shareholders in its history. In such circumstances, increasing the third class fares would mean only screwing out money from poor people in the name of the war. This high-handedness should not be allowed. If the Ceylon railways are restoring the pre-war concessions to the public, why should not the Indian railways also do the same? The railways must be brought under popular control and an association should be started for fighting on behalf of the third class passengers.

Lokasangraha (112), 9th July.

73. The G. I. P. Railway Company unjustly takes about a rupee more per head from pilgrims to Pandharpur during the Ashadhi Ekadashi fair. It can safely be said that the poor people are being openly looted by the company. It had announced before the fair that tickets for stations between Dhond and Sholápur would not be issued as it had not sufficient rolling-stock. No one would have complained if there were really a shortage of the means of locomotion. But this is not so. The company manages to take all the pilgrims to Pandharpur by running special trains. Why should the company do so after once declaring that it has not sufficient rolling-stock? The company knows that in spite of its anouncement people will leave for Pandharpur and that it will have to take them there. The farce of this announcement is only enacted to screw more money out of the people who have to take tickets for Dhond or Sholápur as booking for intermediate stations is stopped, and thus pay about a rupee more per head. It is clear that the plea of dearth of rolling-stock is not real but is put forth to extort more money from the people. It is strange that Government have tolerated this injustice so long. We trust they will put a stop to it now.

The G. I. P. Railway is unjustly levying extra fares from the Pandharpur pilgrims.
Jágaruk (45), 3rd July.

NATIVE STATES.

74. Commenting on the exclusion of the non-Káthiáwádi students from the Junagadh College, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"No one knows the crime committed by the students. Rumour has it that the Khilafat agitation is at the back of this mad order. The Hindu students have been thrown in to cover the shame of the deed. Personally I welcome this expulsion. The barefaced injustice of it would show the people the true nature of the subtly hostile forces arranged against the Khilafat agitation..... My purpose is to show an easy way out of the impasse. The Principal of the College is reported to have resigned by way of protest against the extraordinary order. He deserves the warmest congratulations of those who want to see justice and purity in the Empire. But have not the Káthiáwadi students a duty by the State and their comrades? In my opinion they should leave the college in a body after lodging a respectful protest. They will buy their free education at too dear a price if they have not the manliness to show their sympathy to their fellow-students by leaving the college. The Nawab Saheb may not still come to his senses. That is matter of no concern to them. They will have done their duty by withdrawing from the college."

Comments on tne exclusion of non-Káthiáwadi students from the Junagadh College.
Young India (13), 7th July.

75. "Unfortunately, Junagadh is now under an unhappy star. The Nawab is young; he ascended the *gadi* only in March last; his European tutor, now elevated to the position of Private Secretary, is believed to wield great influence over the State; and we understand

New Times (8), 2nd July.

the Khilafat ghost is on the brain of the men responsible for the order issued against the students. 'Only Kathiawad students are to be admitted to the College', says the Order. Sindhi students must not carry to Kathiawadi students the contagion of the Khilafat..... Muslim colleges, in the days of Islam's glory, gave shelter and knowledge to Christian students coming from different parts; to-day, 'Christian' officials consider the sending away of students with railway fare as the height of statesmanship. What is the crime of the Sind Muslim students? We understand these Sindhi students, like some Sindhi Muslims, have suffered because the officials hold them as suspects."

Duty of the Imperial Government to enquire into the charges brought against the Kolhápur administration by Mr. Belvi.

Lokasevak (113), 7th June.

76. Referring to the Honourable Mr. Belvi's condemnation of the Kolhápur Darbar administration before a meeting at Sankeshwar, the *Lokasevak* suggests that the Imperial Government should take due notice of the charges brought against the Darbar administration and advise the Darbar to wash off the stain on its name by taking legal steps against Mr. Belvi. It further says that if the charges made are proved to be true, the Maharaja should be asked to abdicate and relieve himself of the responsibilities of administration as has been done in similar cases before.

J. E. SANJANA.

Acting Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 16th July 1920.

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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "Parliament for whose verdict some of us—despite foreboding—were waiting with baited breath has spoken. The verdict is a vote of confidence in Mr. Montagu—which means an endorsement of the eulogy of Lord Chelmsford and Michael O'Dwyer and a rejection of the Indian demand for reparation and guarantees..... The cables that we have been receiving since Saturday night have come in spasmodic intervals. Evidently there is somewhere an attempt to manipulate the report of the debate. However that may be, it is clear Mr. Montagu rode off on the general proposition as to whether India is to be ruled by domination or in partnership: for 'the choice of the House was fundamental to the continuance of the British Empire and the connection between Britain and India.'..... Mr. Montagu concluded his speech by saying that the alternative policy which he commended to the Commons and which the Commons supported was to put a coping-stone on the glorious work of Britain in India by leading India to the full partnership in the British Commonwealth and to say to the Indians: 'We hold British life sacred, but we hold Indian lives sacred too. We want to safeguard British honour by safeguarding Indian honour; at the same time all our institutions shall be gradually perfected whilst protecting them and ourselves against anarchy in order that they may commend themselves to you.' No words (as words) could be more unexceptionable. But India is sick of words. And words have no meaning if they have no relation to actuality. Besides, what is there that Mr. Montagu or Mr. Churchill says that is new or was not embodied in that charter of Indian liberties—the Great and Good Queen's Proclamation—which has never yet been fully observed in spirit and which has been shattered to pieces by the Chelmsford-O'Dwyer-and-Dyer *regime*. The basic idea of Imperialism which has prompted this *regime* is that whatever the worth of Indian life, it is not as valuable as an European life—that the 'honour of Britain is not always dependent on the honour of India'..... We are convinced that this verdict by Parliament—which does nothing more than corroborate the Secretary of State's action—will be received throughout India with the keenest disappointment and disgust. If Dyer's crimes were such as to shock the world, if unheard of cruelties were practised by men who are still holding responsible positions in the Punjáb, if the verdicts of Martial law tribunals were wantonly unjust and men are still in prison because of them, if, in short, deeds were committed by an administration which forgot that it was civilised—then is it sufficient, as Mr. Montagu has done, merely to inflict slight punishment upon Dyer and expect India to take this as a grand and benevolent act of justice? India will consider this as a gross and humiliating act of injustice, sealed by Parliament. Apparently, although Mr. Montagu has condemned the crawling order and the salaaming order there is nothing in the atrocities committed last year, which calls for action on his part—nothing except this, that out of 37 acts of firing he has discovered one which must be punished! If this is the view of Parliament then the sooner Parliament is cleared out the better for the cause of humanity in every corner of the British Empire..... Sir Edward Carson asked 'whether Dyer would receive a fair trial before being broken and sent to disgrace'. How many of those murdered in cold blood received a fair trial from Dyer before being broken and sent to their terrible death? This great champion of the Empire put in a passionate plea for the 'Butcher of Jallianwalla Bagh' urging that the man ought not to be punished for dealing with a situation 'to the best of his ability'. Did not Bissing deal with the Belgians to the best of his ability, and what did Sir Edward Carson say of him?..... Perhaps the few members who defended our outraged humanity from the Labour benches gave Sir Edward the reply he deserved. We have not yet received a word of the speeches of the Labour members with—as the latest cable shows—the solitary exception of Mr. Ben Spoor, though we have been promptly informed of Sir Edward's 'passionate plea'. But we can quite well believe that they must

Comments on the debate in Parliament on Punjab affairs.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th July.

have voiced our feelings and warned the House of Commons that India has placed her trust in Parliament, and that a breach of that trust will have consequences none can foretell. It is of great consequence now that we should have faith in ourselves in this hour of disillusionment. Parliament, the tool as it is of the Cabinet, has failed us; and we should demand without hesitancy the immediate scrapping, not by alterations here and there of 'obsolete law' as Mr. Montagu puts it, but lock, stock and barrel, of a system which has displayed its dangerous unfitness to the whole world. Nothing less will satisfy India. Nothing less is due to her..... The Punjáb atrocities have revealed to British statesmen no less than to a shocked world the ugly features of Imperialism as understood and practised by some Britishers. British statesmen like Mr. Montagu and Mr. Churchill are naturally anxious emphatically to repudiate this species of Imperialism. The world may, perhaps, be satisfied with their protestations. India is too far disillusioned to be so satisfied. She demands not words but deeds. Mr. Churchill pointed to the example of Egypt where the relations between the British and Egyptian peoples had broken down and he seemed to confess what the cause of the rupture was. Let that be a warning to Britain."

*2. "The Dyer debate in the House of Commons was not as satisfactory as it looked from the summaries of the speeches of Ministers which Reuter had sent in the earlier messages..... That such a considerable body of politically-minded Englishmen and Scotchmen should, on an issue so plain as the conduct of General Dyer in ordering and directing the Jallianwala massacre, have voted against Government for deciding not to give him any more opportunities of displaying his qualities, is, we may put it to fair-minded men and women of whatever race or creed, not calculated to convince the Indian people that there is no danger of a repetition of the Punjáb excesses. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in his powerful speech at the Punjáb meeting three weeks ago, showed that the general principles enunciated in the Secretary of State's despatch were no safeguard against a recurrence of the gross abuses of the Martial Law regime. The voting in the House of Commons on Sir Edward Carson's motion does but confirm this fear. It is the imperative duty of Indian leaders, therefore, to concentrate their efforts on securing statutory guarantees against any future repetition of Prussian 'frightfulness' in India. An Act of Parliament, we know, is no absolute safeguard, but it is more than the speeches of statesmen which are buried in the pages of Hansard as soon as they are spoken. An equally imperative duty lies on Indian leaders to have his responsibility brought home to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and to insist on a change in the viceroyalty. These two measures will, perhaps, prove to be more potent safeguards against a repetition of the horrors of last year, even than an Act of Parliament..... General Dyer's was the blunder of a military megalomaniac, but Sir Michael O'Dwyer's was a cold, calculated policy of humiliating and breaking the spirit of the people of the Punjáb. To punish the one and leave the other to glory in his wicked perversity, is not even-handed justice. The least that ought to be done is to deprive Sir Michael O'Dwyer of his dignities which are tarnished by being borne by one who so infamously discharged his duties to his King and King's subjects. Lord Chelmsford must go. The Indian people find it impossible any longer to regard him as a suitable representative of His Majesty the King whose memorable declaration uttered some years ago that what India needs is sympathy, His Excellency has so grossly neglected. It is our painful duty to tell His Excellency that his continuance in his high office is neither to the benefit of India nor of Great Britain. The most that could be said of His Excellency's part is that he has been the victim of circumstances. India at this juncture wants a Viceroy who can mould circumstances to his will."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 18th July.

3. Commenting on the debate on Punjáb affairs in Parliament the *Servant of India* writes:—"It is inconceivable that the Government would condone the various acts of oppression which they themselves and the

Servant of India (9), 15th July.

Hunter Committee have censured. Exemplary punishment must be meted out to those who are proved to have done wrong. Besides General Dyer, General Campbell, General Beynon, Colonel Johnson, Captain Doveton, Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith and Mr. Jacob are among the officers who have been censured by name, or whose acts have been condemned more or less by the Hunter Committee, the Government of India or the Secretary of State. Major Smith, Colonel Macrae, Major Braid, Mr. Marsden, Lala Sri Ram Sud, Captain Flowerdew, Major Carberry and Lieutenant Dodkins are others who have been condemned by the Minority Commissioners. We hope, for the good name of Britain, that all these wrong-doers will be visited with stern official punishment. It is such punishment more than any amendment of martial law to which the people look for an effective guarantee against the repetition of such atrocities in the future. Above all, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the inspirer of the policy pursued during the martial law *régime*, must be dealt with in a deserving manner. There is nothing to show that His Majesty's Government has yet seen the enormity of the mischief wrought by him, or the share of responsibility which must rightly be assigned to the Government of India. Public opinion in India will not be appeased till all the principal miscreants receive condign punishment, and Sir Michael's and the Government of India's responsibility is brought home to them in a suitable manner."

*4. "The recent debate which took place in the British Parliament on the report of the Hunter Committee is one more dismal proof, if one were necessary, of the incompetence of the British Parliament to give due and proper attention to the Government of a distant dependency, or to consider in a calm and dispassionate manner a matter where British prestige or British interest is concerned. The debate which was to have taken place on June 10th was delayed for more reasons than one, thus increasing the tension of the Indian public which was awaiting with eager anxiety the debate upon a matter fraught with such immense consequences to themselves. But whatever the tone of the speeches or the solemnity of the occasion, not even a casual reader will fail to notice that the Indian point of view has been completely ignored..... The Punjáb debate has come and passed but it has taught an object-lesson which the Indian leaders may well take into account. More than a year has passed since the Punjáb massacres were perpetrated. During this time, as a result of the investigations made by an official and a non-official commission, grievous things have been brought to light and the unequivocal demands of every section of the Indian public, unanimously expressed, as they have never before been in recent times, for the recall of Lord Chelmsford and the trial of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. But, in spite of all the agitation, the Punjáb debate has shown the supreme indifference of the British democracy as represented by their chosen representatives in Parliament, to the unanimous and formulated demands of Indian opinion. It has left unhealed the sores left in the Indian heart by the Punjáb massacres. It has given a rude shock to the public confidence in the British sense of justice, and has demonstrated that all such phrases as 'a change in the angle of vision' and 'equal partnership in the British Commonwealth' are a sham invented by astute politicians to serve their selfish ends. The only permanent solution for the recurrence of such mishaps in future would lie in the establishment of such a form of government as would make the officers of Government directly responsible to the people whom they govern."

Mahrátta (7), 18th July.

5. The *Kesari* holds that the debate was a disappointing one and draws the inference that there are more champions of oppressive officials in England than upholders of justice and supporters of the helpless : it also thinks that if India wants to obtain redress it should become self-reliant. It praises Mr. Montagu and Mr. Churchill for their speeches but holds that, with all that, Lord Chelmsford's prestige was in no way touched and that India got nothing beyond Dyer's resignation as a punishment for the outrages. It says that in one way the days of the East India Company's rule were better. It adds:—There is no doubt that the mind of the British public was more

Kesari (109), 13th July.

sensitive about doing justice to India then, whether it be due to hatred of the Company or to the indignation felt owing to a true sense of justice. Now the British rulers have lost that sensitiveness and their minds have become more hardened. They have sunk more in the morass of wealth. They have tasted the pleasures of ruling over countries, blood-stained though they be; and their hunger is increasing, and not diminishing. It has become more difficult to get a disinterested and able champion like Burke now. Indians have no other recourse but to give up goodness and be as severe and selfish as possible in dealing with Government on the principle of "tit for tat." The Punjáb debate is over, but the Punjáb outrages and their memory are still fresh and will not be forgotten early. The British public which is said to be justice-loving does not go beyond the resignation of Dyer. People should begin now to consider what they should do in the future.

6. Although the debate on the Punjáb affairs in Parliament was eagerly awaited, no one expected that it would have the effect of compelling the Cabinet to modify its original decision. On the other hand, owing to the attacks made on Mr. Montagu by the reactionaries, fears were entertained that the debate might lead to some untoward result. Systematic attempts were made to prejudice the judgment of the British public; but it is satisfactory to note that the decision of the Army Council in respect of General Dyer was not interfered with. The whole debate centred round the firing at Amritsar, to the exclusion of the other equally important questions, which is much to be regretted from the point of view of Indians. They will be disappointed to see that the attention of the Commons was not directed towards the sins of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Government of India. If the British public really desire that Indians should get justice, they should insist upon inquiries being made into the responsibilities of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Government of India in connection with the occurrences in the Punjáb. [The *Lokasangraha* says that General Dyer should have been severely dealt with and that Mr. Montagu's utterances in Parliament, instead of conciliating public opinion in India, will only have the effect of exacerbating it. In subsequent issues the paper says that Mr. Montagu's remark that Indian lives are as valuable as English lives was insincere, since he did not bring about the resignation of of Lord Chelmsford and the trial of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. He has incurred the displeasure, it remarks, of Europeans and Indians alike, although for different reasons, and that he could have satisfied at least one party if he had taken suitable notice of the offending officials in the Punjáb. The *Indu Prakásh* says that the debate in Parliament has shattered all the hopes of Indians to get justice at the hands of the British Government. The *Prakásh* says that Mr. Montagu simply indulged in tall talk and that people will not feel secure unless he translates his professions into practice.]

Dnyán Prakáih (42), 14th July; *Lokasangraha* (112), 13th, 15th and 16th July; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 13th July; *Prakásh* (121), 14th July.

7. The report to hand about the discussion on the Hunter Committee's Report in the House of Commons leads us to say in an unhestitating manner that India has not at all secured the justice it desired to get. The Indian people are not satisfied with the decision of the Army Council in respect of the dismissal of General Dyer. Mr. Montagu and Mr. Churchill have no doubt deprecated the terrorism practised by Dyer in the Punjáb, but mere words cannot heal the wounds of India. Mr. Montagu and the Cabinet have failed to give justice to India, and even the Parliament on which we rested our last hope has deceived us. This disagreeable incident will tend to spread feelings of bitter discontent in India. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—We wish Sir Edward Carson had succeded in his attempt to compel Mr. Montagu to resign. We would have been glad if he had resigned as he has disappointed us in respect of the Punjáb affairs. Indians will now be compelled to continue the agitation for securing justice in the matter of the wrongs of the Punjáb. The form which this agitation

Sánj Vartamán (32), 12th and 15th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 14th July; *Bombay Sámachár* (58), 14th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 12th, 13th and 14th July.

will take will be decided by the Special Congress at Calcutta. The Parliamentary debate on the Hunter Report will tend to give firm support to the non-co-operation movement that is proposed to be started from the 1st of August next. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is also of the opinion that the discussion has failed to give any satisfaction to India and presses for the punishment of the officers responsible for the Punjáb incidents. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—It is to be regretted that Parliament has disappointed the hopes entertained by India. It has not expressed its condemnation of the action of those officers who were responsible for the Punjáb incidents and has merely supported the decision of the Cabinet in the matter. However, the high ideals of administration which were enunciated in Parliament will not fail to improve the position of India. Indians should, therefore, let bygones be bygones and should not enter into further activities for avenging the wrongs done to them but should now direct their energies towards realising the high ideals placed before them by Mr. Montagu and Mr. Churchill. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—It can be said without exaggeration that the speech made by the Secretary of State in the debate will give some solace to Indians in their grief. We would now ask our Indian brethren to rely upon British justice and perform their ordinary duties in a peaceful manner. In the subsequent issue the paper expresses gratification at the defeat of the vote of censure on the Secretary of State proposed by Sir Edward Carson in Parliament and exhorts Indians to bear in mind the high ideals propounded by Mr. Montagu and to give up further agitation with regard to the Punjáb affairs. In a further issue the paper eulogises the spirit of liberality shown by the Opposition members in supporting Mr. Montagu and impresses upon Indians the advisability of expressing their confidence in the Secretary of State.]

8. "The Amritsar Debates in the Commons will not help in relieving the tension of the situation in India. No one will, for a moment, think that the chief authors of the tragedy have been dealt with according to their deserts. To place General Dyer on the retired list is not the way to punish this murderer of his King's innocent subjects. General Dyer has already put in 34 years' service and should, in the natural course of things, have retired soon. He has been let off easily; Sir Michael escapes justice; and Lord Chelmsford is not recalled. Not one of the country's demands in the matter has been satisfied. India has failed to receive justice, and Sir Edward Carson's 'passionate plea' for General Dyer only indicates how the Mother of Parliaments has degenerated with the progress of British imperialism."

New Times (8), 13th July.

***9.** Referring to the debate on the Hunter Committee's Report in Parliament, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"Mr. Montagu has done a great service to this country by laying down the principles which ought to influence the future policy of Britain towards India..... These are indeed fine and noble sentiments, and we are indebted to Mr. Montagu for having expressed them so well. But, alas! how often do we see in this country principles and practice at variance with each other? When Indian executive officers will adhere both in the spirit and in the letter to the noble principles laid down by British statesmen, such as Mr. Montagu, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill, it will be a glorious and happy day indeed for India." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"We hope this is the last we shall hear of Dyer. We do not want to hear anything more of him. Let him go and rusticate in some English village, passing the remaining years of his life in chewing the cud of bitter memories, and if remorse or penitence can touch his heart even on his deathbed, let him be forgiven. He will sink to his grave unhonoured and unsung, but not forgotten, because his infamous deed will, in the words of Mr. Asquith, be recorded for all time as one of the greatest outrages in British history."]

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 18th July, Eng. cols.

10. "General Dyer is 'broken and disgraced' by the united condemnation of the British Cabinet, the Army Council and the Government of India. ..... Had he not been condemned outright the world might have said that

Dnyánodaya (40), 15th July, Eng. cols.

Britain which had defeated the Prussian Army had itself been overcome by the Prussian spirit. As for Sir Edward Carson's defence of the unhappy soldier we should like to request the 'lawgiver of Ulsterite politics' to keep his hands off India, for he has made enough trouble in Ireland to make us distrust him. Mr. Montagu puts the issue truly when he says Britain's mission in India must be based on partnership not terrorism, on good will not racial humiliation."

Comments on the Army Council's decision in General Dyer's case.
Hindusthán (23), 11th July, Eng. cols.; *New Times* (8), 11th July.

11. "The considered judgment of the British Cabinet has condemned the action of General Dyer, and it is little consolation to learn that the Army Council has unanimously pronounced him unworthy of holding any post in the Army in India or the British Empire..... None can deny the truth that Empires do not rest upon, and are not retained by 'brute force', but mere polished rhetoric will not soothe the bleeding hearts of India. If the British statesmen are sincere they will readily yield to the barest demand of justice, which has manifested at hundreds of meetings in this country. It will not avail to make a scapegoat of General Dyer and to draw a veil on the misdeeds of the ex-Governor of the Punjáb and his myrmidons who brought about the massacre unheard of since the Crown took over the reins of the government in India." [The *New Times* remarks:—"So Dyer escapes with dismissal and a comfortable pension. Yet they talk of punishing the German war criminals! Is there among the Germans a worse criminal than this Dyer who killed his own King's peaceful subjects?"]

Bombay Samáchár (58), 13th July; *Deshodaya* (63), 15th July.

12. The decision of the Army Council in respect of General Dyer brings support from an unexpected quarter to the agitation of Indians in the matter of the Punjáb and it will not fail to create a deep impression on the British public and convince them of the reasonableness of the demand made by Indians for justice in the Punjáb affairs in spite of the refusal of Parliament to improve upon the decision of the Cabinet. It is a serious blow to those who advocated the inauguration of a reign of terrorism in India with a view to keep the population in check. But the decision will be considered to be defective until the British public secure the punishment of all the officials guilty of the atrocities in the Punjáb. [The *Deshodaya* considers the decision of the Army Council quite unsatisfactory.]

Mufid-e-Rozgár (151), 18th July.

*13. Referring to the dismissal of General Dyer from the Army, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* says:—What good and reasonable punishment is it for such a heinous crime! To think of such imparalleled justice! Why should it not be so? After all, there is some difference between a white and a black man. The question is—had a non-Christian black man been held guilty of such a crime, would he have been awarded such a light punishment? On the ground of being guilty of the murder of Armenians the Moslem patriots, Mustafa Kamal Pasha, Ghazi Anvar Pasha and others, who prefer death to capture by the powers of Europe, have been ordered to be court-martialled. To-day this General Dyer (is only removed from the Army) in spite of the fact that he has killed hundreds of innocent men, simply because he is a European and a white man.

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre is worse than the German atrocities.
New Times (8), 8th July.

14. "Is there a parallel to the Amritsar atrocities in the pages of modern history? We know of none. It is fashionable to-day to abuse Germany; Germany lost the War, and the cheapest thing is to abuse the vanquished! But when did a German General deal with his Emperor's subjects as General Dyer did with Indian subjects of King George? Were such a deed done in England, the men responsible for it would be tried for murder. And we easily understand the anxiety of Sir Michael O'Dwyer to secure sympathy for himself and his comrades by telling the British public that there was in the Punjáb an 'organised conspiracy' to overthrow British rule in India!..... The one

thing the British official in India seldom forgets is that he belongs to a 'superior' race, and he conveniently ignores the fact that he has to deal with a refined people, a people that has made rich contributions to the higher life of humanity..... And it is the higher instincts of Asiatic humanity which the British official's race-imperialism has ruthlessly trampled upon, again and again. The Amritsar atrocities have unmasked the real mentality of race-imperalism."

15. "There is a sharp difference of views upon the issue arising out of the proposed visit of the Prince of Wales. Mr. Gandhi would 'boycott the visit or reception'; Mrs. Besant urges that such a 'boycott' would be 'a direct blow at the British connection'! Is the British connection such a fragile thing?..... The Khilafat and Punjáb grievances have plunged India into profound sorrow; India is, to-day, as a house in mourning. What enthusiasm can a Prince's visit arouse? Mrs. Besant says the people should avail themselves of the visit to appeal through the Prince to the Throne for redress of the Punjáb wrongs; strange enough, she omits a mention of the Khilafat wrong! She asks the people to appeal through the Prince to the Throne..... The King, to whom such splendid devotion was shown by India during the War, can do little for us, as under the British constitution he must not interfere. The misdeeds of his Majesty's ministers and officials in the Punjáb are a source of wide-spread sorrow and indignation in the land; and if the Prince visit us now, can we have the heart to participate in the Reception? Can we as honest men go forth to greet him with joy to our house of sorrow? Think, too, of what the effect of our rejoicing at the Prince's visit would be on the world-opinion and world-conscience. Would it not be said: India is happy; India has no great grievanance; the Khilafat and Punjáb grievances are spurious?..... Can we honestly take part in *tamashas*, *jashans*, and receptions at this hour? Shall we, by participating in joy-festivals, be strengthening or demoralising public life?..... Indians fain would give an enthusiastic reception to the Prince; but to do it now, to do it as long as the Khilafat and Punjáb grievances remain unredressed, would be a psychological impossibility..... If, indeed, Indian and British Governments have yet some statesmanship, they should arrange for the Prince's visit at some other time when the people's grievances are removed, and when the Prince could be greeted by Muslims and Hindus with glad and grateful hearts. A visit by the Prince at this time may be attended with fine shows and pageants; but it will be robbed of its meaning and message for a people who have still something of the ancient Idealism which paid the highest homage to the king just because the king was believed to be the servant of his people."

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' forthcoming visit to India.
New Times (8), 10th July.

16. The *Dnyán Prakásh* opposes Mr. Gandhi's view that the Prince of Wales should not be welcomed in India and says that there is no reason to suppose that the Prince of Wales would believe that everything was all right in India on account of his welcome. It also points out that this attitude will only foil any intention that the Ministry may have of announcing some important concession at the time of the Prince's visit. If the tour is given up, it continues, the cause of the bureaucracy would be served.

Dnyán Prakásh (17), 16th July.

17. It is but natural that the adherents of the Khilafat movement should welcome with joy the proposal to boycott the visit of His Royal Highnes the Prince of Wales proclaimed by Messrs. Jinnah and Gandhi as an excellent remedy to bring the rulers to their senses. But all Extremist leaders do not as yet appear to have agreed to the proposed boycott, and the reasonable section of the public do not wish that they should agree to it. If this boycott of the Prince of Wales is meant as a sort of counterblast to the injustice done by the Allies to the Khilafat it would be simply stupid as it would punish the wrong party. If, likewise, the boycott is meant as a counterblast to the whitewashing of the Punjáb officers by Government, it would be extremely

Indu Prakásh (44), 15th July.

mean and ungrateful, for the sole credit for the release of the Punjáb leaders belongs to His Majesty the King-Emperor. It is India's great misfortune, therefore, that some of the Indian leaders should be disposed to come in the way of welcoming the Prince, for it does not seem reasonable that the public feeling against the bureaucracy in India should be allowed to prejudice the welcome to the Prince.

Lokasangraha (112), 15th July.

18. There cannot be a single Indian who does not grieve to find the English officials who persecuted Indians in the Punjáb walking with their heads erect. Similarly there cannot be a single Mussalman who does not regret having fought against his Khalif relying on the pledges of British statesmen. While this is the state of the public mind, the British Government and the Government of India wish Indians to indulge in festivities on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales and thus show to the world that there is peace and contentment everywhere in India. Mahatma Gandhi has seen through this device and is advising his countrymen not to fall victims to their cunning. He says that Indians will gladly welcome the Prince if their wrongs are redressed ; but if you try to make the world believe that they are happy while they are actually in mourning, they will try their best to defeat your object. It is quite plain that he assails not Royalty but the British Government and the Government of India. It is noteworthy how even an out-and-out Nationalist is deceived by outward appearances. Mr. Baptista is a fearless champion of the popular cause, but, like all courageous men, he is simple-hearted. We all know that the Prince is not concerned with politics and that he cannot in any way interfere in the administration. We do not object to giving a welcome to the Prince, but we object to the authorities using the occasion to show that we are happy. Mr. Baptista must be mistaken if he thinks that the Prince will abandon the visit owing to the prevailing gloom in India. It is quite certain that the authorities will parade the Prince throughout India with a view to screening their misdeeds. They will not hesitate to place him in an awkward position to gain their object. We only wish that the people will not be blamed if the festivities lack enthusiasm on account of the obstinacy of the authorities. Mrs. Besant's attitude in this respect is most intolerable. She argues that to withhold welcome from the Prince is to wish for the termination of the British connection. The resolution passed by the Ahmedabad Home Rule League against giving a welcome to the Prince has upset her, and she declares that this amounts to an insult to the future occupant of the Throne. She advises us to place our grievances before the Prince when he comes here. Is she prepared to give a guarantee that the authorities will not object to this? And what is the use of placing our grievances before the Prince who is not at all in a position to redress them ?

His Excellency the Governor's visit to Dhárwár.

Ráj Hansa (84), 9th July.

19. Referring to the visit of His Excellency the Governor to Dhárwár in connection with the opening ceremony of the Karnatak College, the *Raj Hansa* remarks that it was a little disappointing that he did not consent to perform the opening ceremony of the new College at Dhárwár the same day, when approached. It further says that the disappointment caused to the Karnatak Education Society was quite undeserved and that His Excellency's action showed partiality. It thinks it to be the duty of Government to encourage private efforts and that it could not be anything else than partiality that His Excellency gave more importance to the ceremony at the Government College.

Comments on the appointment of the Honourable Mr. Sarma as a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th July.

20. "The appointment of the Honourable Mr. B. N. Sarma to the Viceroy's Executive Council will cause little surprise and less enthusiasm. It has been for a long time an open secret that he was in the running. And the expected and not the desired selection has been made. Mr. Sarma's capacities are of a mediocre and plodding nature. As the present members of the Executive Council are not remarkable for outstanding ability, this fact, however, will not be noticed. The

test of Mr. Sarma's appointment, however, is: Will he be able adequately to represent Indian interests in the Executive Council? We confess we are not able to say with any certainty that he will do so though, for aught we know, he may—and, we hope, he will. Mr. Sarma has not, in his public life, distinguished himself by a display of the essential qualification for the task—sturdy independence of character combined with decisiveness of purpose. This was strikingly demonstrated by the strange manner in which he resigned his membership of the Imperial Legislative Council as a protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Act, and almost immediately withdrew his resignation."

Comments on the alterations made by the Joint Parliamentary Committee in the draft rules under the Reform Act.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th July; **Mahratta* (7), 18th July.

21. "Some of the alterations made by the Joint Committee in the draft rules submitted to it by the Government of India are announced, and it may be at once acknowledged that the majority of them are concessions to the demands made on behalf of the various provinces. ..... The committee has rightly upheld the award of Lord Meston with regard to non-Brahman representation in Madras, and the modification made by it regarding distribution of seats in Bombay City is equally sound. Regarding representation of wage-earners in Bengal, the Committee has committed an injustice, against which there will be emphatic protests. The two seats, which were assigned to the Labour constituency, are now proposed to be filled up by nomination. What is the justification for this reactionary step?..... .. It is to be hoped friends of Indian Labour in Parliament will be able to secure a reversal of this unwarranted piece of injustice. In Bombay Labour will not be adequately represented by the nomination of one member. It should have been given at least two seats, both elected. The injustice done to Labour in Bombay is emphasised by the fact that Capital, with its six seats (five by election by special constituencies and one by nomination), has been given representation in excess of what it deserves, having regard especially to the fact that prominent capitalists will get more than their due share in the general constituencies. In fact, we, for our part, would have liked to see these relics of the past, the strong-holds of vested interest—special constituencies like those of the Sirdars, the mill-owners or Chambers of Commerce, with the exception of the University seat, swept off altogether. Again the franchise should have been put on a much broader basis. If the qualifications necessary for the franchise proposed in the draft rules have been maintained, a large number of people quite fit to exercise the vote will remain without it. We are glad to see that the residential bar sought to be imposed, in certain provinces, on candidature to general constituencies, against which repeated protests have been made throughout the country, will be removed." [The *Mahratta* also approves of the alterations though criticising some details.]

Bombay Samáchár (58), 15th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 13th July.

22. Commenting upon the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in connection with the draft rules and regulations governing the Reformed Councils, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—Some small, though important, changes have been effected by the Committee in their revision of the draft rules. It is satisfactory to note that a recommendation of the Government of Bombay with regard to the allocation of seats reserved for the Mahratta community has been accepted. We hope that the changes made by the Committee will to a certain extent be instrumental in lessening the constant dissatisfaction and grumbling against the Reform Act and the rules under it. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—We are thankful to the Committee for the important changes that they have made in the draft rules. The omission of the seat reserved for the Maratha community in the southern portion of Bombay city is welcome particularly because such an arrangement will be beneficial to the Parsi community who are strong in numbers in that part of the city.]

Lokasangraha (112), 16th July.

23. The *Lokasangraha* says that the rule that a candidate who stands for election for a certain district must be a resident thereof is most objectionable and that the Joint Parliamentary Committee were not well-advised in

allowing it to stand. Similarly, it regrets that the Committee has introduced the principle of communal representation in such provinces as Behar and Orissa where it was not much in request.

Comments on the advice of the Labour Party to Indians not to boycott the Reforms.

Sind Vásí (149), 11th July.

24. Commenting on the advice of the Labour party to Indians that they should take the fullest advantage of the present reforms, prove their fitness, and thus pave the way for further reforms, the *Sind Vásí* remarks:—Not to speak of Musalmans for the present, we are at a loss to understand why Hindus should be indifferent to the interests of their country in order to work in the cause of the Khilafat. We think that they will be committing a great mistake if out of sympathy with their Musalman fellow-countrymen they will not mind the interests of their country. There is no doubt that we can promote the well-being of our country, to some extent at any rate, by taking part in the reformed administration of our country. Is it patriotism, then, if we disregard it and take a leap into the unknown of non-co-operation? We think that Hindus may by all means sympathise with Musalmans in the matter of Turkey and the Khilafat because of the violation of promises made to their brethren, but that they should not be prepared to sacrifice the good of their own country. Our Labour friends who have always stood by us recommend the same course of action. Let us see how their advice is received in the country.

Comments on the Meston Committee's recommendations.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th July.

25. "The recent meeting of protest against the recommendations of the Financial Relations Committee affecting most adversely the prospects of success of the new Legislative Council and of the economic and social development of this Presidency gave unmistakable evidence of the unanimity of feeling with which the treatment proposed to be meted out to Bombay is being resented by the public at large. There is complete accord among the people of all classes, creeds and views that, in recommending that the whole of the income-tax proceeds should be credited to the Exchequer of the Government of India instead of being left to the Provincial Government or being shared with them as at present, to the manifest injury of the interests of this Presidency, the Meston Committee has perpetrated a serious injustice and has most light-heartedly left Bombay to make the best of a bad bargain..... The recommendation of the Committee is so glaringly absurd and so obviously unjust and untenable that we hope the Joint Parliamentary Committee will have summarily rejected it. The protests that have gone up from every side against it ought to show the depth of resentment which has been roused in the public mind against the proposed iniquity; and if they are not given the consideration they deserve, the chances of the success of the much-belauded and much advertised reforms are very small indeed."

Servant of India (9), 15th July.

26. "We are glad the citizens of Bombay have entered a vigorous protest against the scheme of the Financial Relations Committee so far as it takes away from the Government of this Presidency its share in the proceeds of the income-tax, and hands over the whole source of revenue under this head to the central Government..... The case is so clear that it has only to be placed before any reasonable body of people to convince them of its reasonableness. And the wonder of it is that the Meston Committee should have brushed aside the contentions of the Bombay Government and the public, and deprived this Presidency of its only growing source of revenue. The Secretary of State and the Joint Parliamentary Committee, we trust, will not accept the recommendation of the Committee, and will leave the income-tax to Bombay."

Bombay Samáchár (58), 12th July; *Deshodaya* (63), 13th July.

27. Adverting to the Town Hall meeting of protest against the recommendations of the Financial Relations Committee, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—We trust that the Secretary of State for India and the Joint Committee will sympathetically consider the just

protest that the people of Bombay have raised against the recommendations of Lord Meston's Committee which are one-sided and calculated to endanger the future of the Bombay Presidency. We hope that the Secretary of State will at least do partial justice to the local Government by dividing the revenue from income-tax equally between them and the Government of India, and thus safeguard the interests of both. [The *Deshodaya* writes:—We wish Mr. Montagu would endeavour to remove the grave injustice that is being done to the Presidency by taking into consideration the representation made by the meeting.]

28. "The Provincial Governments and important Political Associations of the United Provinces, Bombay, Bengal, Madras, and the Punjáb have protested against the new provincial settlement scheme of Lord Meston. Nobody seems to like his Lordship's arrangement. The only remedy lies in the Government of India depending on its own resources without taking contributions from the local Governments for its maintenance. It must live independently from the beginning of the 'Reforms'. This system of provincial doles is unsound in principle and in policy."

New Times (8), 8th July.

29. Referring to the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay announcing that the subjects of Native States in British districts will be admitted to the franchise in connection with the Reformed Legislative Council, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The fight for the rights of the subjects of Native States residing in the Bombay Presidency has at last been won. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd appears to take delight in respecting public opinion. As on several occasions in the past he has given justice to the subjects of Native States at last by taking public opinion into consideration. His Excellency deserves to be congratulated on the far-sightedness and tact he has exhibited by respecting public opinion, and the subjects of Native States should feel thankful to him for removing the cause of their dissatisfaction.

Comments on the Press Note regarding grant of franchise to subjects of Native States in connection with the reformed Councils.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 17th July.

30. "The telegram sent by the Parsi Central Association to the Secretary of State appealing for a reconsideration of the question of special representation will appear to be rather late in the day, but as it is never too late to mend we hope that it will still have some effect, and that the Secretary will forward it to the Joint Parliamentary Committee with his recommendation. It has already been pointed out how the Parsis, owing to their small number, are in danger of being swamped at the general elections. That a community which has taken such an active and leading part in the political, social and commercial activities of this Presidency should now lose its foot-hold through no fault of its own would be very unjust indeed." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—The Parsis are not advocates of communal representation, but if other communities are given special rights, Government must give such rights to the Parsi Community also. The Council of the Parsi Central Association has sent a message to the Secretary of State for India praying that either the Parsis should be given special communal representation or that a certain number of seats from Bombay City should be reserved for them. This is quite a reasonable demand, and it behoves the Secretary of State and the Indian authorities to do justice to the Parsis by granting it.]

The claims of the Parsi Community to special representation on the Reformed Legislative Council.

**Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 18th July, Eng. cols.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 12th July.

31. The *Karnátak Mitra* complains that many of the names given in the Belgaum list of voters for Council elections do not bear surnames. It says that persons are known by surnames in the Karnátak and that it would create confusion if surnames are not mentioned. It, therefore, requests the Collector of Belgaum to revise the list, whatever labour it may cost.

A complaint about the list of Council voters for Belgaum.

Karnátak Mitra (38), 8th July.

32. "The Councils will not remain empty if the Congressmen boycott them, and the Government would be glad all the more if they remain out of them. Besides we fail to see how keeping aloof from the Councils will make the British public or the outside world realize the depth of our feeling in the matter. If, on the contrary, it is impossible for self-respecting Indians to co-operate with a Government that does not show any sign of abandoning its old methods and manner of government, and if we want to make it clear to the British public, the best way would be to first enter the Councils and then to boycott them. ..... If the boycott of the Councils is to be resorted to, it would be a thousand times better to first see that the Councils are full of men who will refuse to co-operate with the Government till the Punjáb wrong is righted and then to adopt it. More important and efficient than this political boycott would be the economic boycott, and it is a thousand pities that the attention of our leaders is not attracted to it. A weapon that can bring about the revision of such a 'settled fact' as the Bengal partition in times when the Government of India was more autocratic and when public opinion was, comparatively speaking, feeble, should be preferred to such a suicidal course as the boycott of Councils."

Comments on the suggestion that the New Councils should be boycotted.
Gujaráti Punch (20), 11th July, Eng. cols.

33. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes to the *Navjivan*:—We should make up our minds, for the present, to boycott the Councils. Both Government and the people will be impressed in no uncertain manner if no one from Gujarát comes forward as a candidate for the Council elections. Boycotting the Councils does not mean merely sitting quiet, but it implies educating the voters in that direction, and let Government know the plain facts. Everywhere resolutions should be passed without any delay to the effect that the hearts of the people have been lacerated by the injustice done in the matter of the Punjáb affairs and the Khilafat question, that no co-operation with Government is, therefore, possible on the part of the people and that they will neither stand as candidates for the council elections nor elect anyone who comes forward as a candidate for election. We need not wait for the special meeting of the Congress. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* deprecates the movement advocated by Mr. Gandhi for boycotting the Councils and draws the attention of the public to the advice given by labour leaders in England to the people of India not to boycott the Councils. It expresses the hope that the said advice and warning will open the eyes of those who are advocating the boycott of the Councils.]

Navjivan (68), 11th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 13th July.

34. "There is one aspect of Mr. Montagu's reply to Mr. Rupert Gwynne which will cause wide-spread and intense alarm throughout the country. He said 'he was prepared to support any steps which the Government of India thought necessary in the present difficult conditions,' because the British Government had 'complete confidence' in them. And who are the Government of India? Are not they presided over by Lord Chelmsford in whom the people of the country have lost confidence? Has Mr. Montagu learnt nothing from the Punjáb? What did his brave words in Parliament about governing India with 'the growing goodwill of the people' amount to? And does Mr. Montagu, after his declaration in Parliament that 'any obsolete ordinance or law infringing in India the princples of British liberty must be revised,' consider the destiny of India safe in the hands of the Government of Lord Chelmsford who used 'any and every' weapon from the armoury of repression last year—before the obsolete ordinances and laws he mentioned are revised? Evidently the forces of reaction have been too strong for Mr. Montagu who, in his tenacity to retain his post, has succumbed to them."

Comments on Mr. Montagu's statement in Parliament about his readiness to support the Government of India in their steps to maintain public peace.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th July.

*35. "Mr. Montagu's methods are more those of a clever political tactician than those of a statesman with a grasp of first principles. Perhaps, like many others, he too holds that there are no principles in politics, only management of members of Parliament. That is why Mr. Montagu speaks with two voices, one passionately eloquent in vindication, the other coldly indifferent to the claims of freedom..... We do not agree with Mr. Gandhi in all his methods, but we feel bound to say that Government will be committing the gravest blunder—graver even than those of last year—if they contemplate forcible restriction of his activities. We know that there is a revival of the irritating activities of the Criminal Investigation Department. If relying on such agency, Government contemplate restrictive action against Mr. Gandhi, several Indians who do not see eye to eye with him, and who, we may say, have been quietly working to convince the public of the practical objections to some of his propaganda, will be forced into situations which they have not contemplated and do not relish. And, if we judge rightly, there may be some Englishmen too in the same predicament. Mr. Montagu referred to what has happened last year. That cuts both ways. Does he think that last year's happenings justify his declaration that he prefers 'to leave the proper treatment of the situation to those charged with the maintenance of law and order in India,' and that 'he was prepared to support any steps which the Government of India thought necessary in the present difficult conditions?' If he does, after his own denunciations in the debate on the Hunter Committee's report, we can only exclaim: 'We have never seen such faith, no, not in Israel!' The members of the Government of India have just resigned and been immediately reappointed under the Reform Act with the addition of Mr. B. N. Sarma as second Indian member. Lord Chelmsford continues to be Viceroy."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 18th July.

*36. "The Secretary of the Central Khilafat Committee of Bombay has sent us the account—received from Moulvi Abdul Gaffur, General Secretary, Khilafat Committee, Peshawar—of a most unfortunate incident in connection with a party of Muhajirin (emigrants) at Khachagarhi (Peshawar). Local official reports are not always necessarily the last word in truth—especially where the conduct of the military is concerned. If the account given by Moulvi Abdul Gaffur is true, or even partially true, the tragedy constitutes a most horrible atrocity. Moulvi Abdul Gaffur says the whole city of Peshawar was plunged in grief, observed a *hartal* on the day after the incident and, at a mass meeting, passed a resolution expressing its horror and indignation at what had happened and urging that the case be tried in a regular court of law as the people had no confidence in the military. What has the Associated Press Agency been doing? For obvious reasons, we withhold publication of the detailed accout of the incident given by Maulvi Abdul Gaffur. But already rumours regarding it are afloat, and, in the public interest, we ask the Government of India immediately to institute an independent inquiry into the matter and publish a detailed account. Meanwhile, the Central Khilafat Committee, we think, will do well to make full independent enquiries on its own account."

Immediate inquiry necessary into an alleged tragedy at Khachagarhi (Peshawar) in connection with Musalman emigrants to Afghanistan.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st July.

37. "To-morrow some hundreds of our Muslim countrymen leave Sind for Afghanistan. They have sold their lands and property; they have sacrificed their all on the altar of their Faith; they are leaving their Homeland on *Hijrat* for the Land of the Afghan. The majority of them are poor peasants; a few of them are Pirs; one at least—Mr. Junejo—is a well-known Barrister and a rich zemindar of Larkana..... Men inspired by such noble motives are worthy of all respect; and to the Muslims moving out on *Hijrat* to-morrow, we offer our salutation and love. The *hijrat* is a voluntary suffering the Muslims are imposing on themselves as a witness to their Faith. And the Sind Muslims, be it said to their credit, have suffered for the Khilafat bravely, silently. Can their sufferings go in vain? Will they not rise as a rich memorial to the Throne of Mercy bringing from above new strength to the Khilafat cause, new blessings to the faithful sons of Islam, and this, their land of Sind?.....

Reflections on the *Hijrat* movement in Sind.

New Times (8), 9th July.

Our Muslim brethren have answered the official challenge with silent sufferings..... We salute them as heroes of the struggle for justice and faith. Their sacrifice is the promise of our future."

Comments on the emigration of 700 persons from Sind in connection with Khilafat agitation.
Mufid-e-Rozgar (151), 18th July.

*38. Referring to the emigration of seven hundred Musalmans from Sind, the *Mufid-e-Rozgar* says that a province where such movements were not heard of before is leading the whole country to-day. It states that the emigrants were well-to-do persons, and that they have gone to Kabul, the city of Islam, for the maintenance of the honour of Islam. It was impossible for them to live a life of ease here when the Khalifa was in trouble, the Shaikh-ul-Islam was imprisoned, the holy cities of Islam were under alien rule, and Mecca and Medina usurped by rebels.

Non-co-operation.
Sindvási (149), 3rd July.

39. It is absurd to expect that the Viceroy will espouse the cause of the Khilafat in response to the notice sent to him by Mr. Gandhi and about 90 Musalmans. It may, therefore, be assumed that the 1st August will witness the beginning of the first stage of non-co-operation. How many people, whether Musalmans or Hindus, will enter on the first stage of non-co-operation, how far the movement will serve the desired purpose, and how it will affect the country are questions which we have already discussed. We would repeat in a few words that the movement will do harm to India, whether it succeeds or fails. In the one case there is the fear of anarchy in the country, and in the other there will be, owing to our proved weakness, greater indifference on the part of the authorities toward us.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 14th July.

40. "Momin" writes to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi*:—The Central Khilafat Committee is now ready to begin non-co-operation against Government. But it is now high time for Muhammadans to practice non-co-operation against such of them as pose themselves as angels of purity but who in reality are sowing the seeds of disunion in the community. Non-co-operation should be practised against those who are giving a wrong lead to the people and are trying to convert their loyal and poor brethren into a disloyal set of people. Non-co-operation should also be practised against such as are misappropriating trust monies and are squandering the public funds.

Indu Prakásh (44), 17th July.

41. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's invitation to the public to commence the non-co-operation movement on the 1st August, the *Indu Prakásh* expresses its doubt as to how far the movement is likely to succeed in achieving its end if all the concessions now allowed to the people are sanctioned on every occasion when non-co-operation has to be resorted to. The initial programme, in its opinion, appears to be all right, but it would wait to see how far it is carried into effect.

Indu Prakásh (44), 17th July.

42. The *Indu Prakásh* is of opinion that all should support Lala Lajpatrai's campaign of non-co-operation and that it is not proper to evade the point by arguing that it applies only to the Punjáb. Promotion to those, it says, who made the Punjáb cry out in agony by military oppression and expulsion of a revered leader like Lala Lajpatrai for a certain term by underhand means are plain signs of the irresponsible policy of Government and, in its opinion, support of the Lalaji's non-co-operation movement is also advisable on the principle of tit for tat.

Indian Muhammadans should agitate for the right of electing their own Khalif.
Akhbár-e-Islám (55), 12th and 13th July.

43. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* exhorts the Indian Muhammadans to tone down their demands in respect of the Khilafat question in view of the reply given by the Grand Vazir to the Allies, and remarks:—Never in the history of the world were the Indian Muhammadans accorded the privilege of giving their consent or opinion in respect of the appointment of the Khalif. They should, in the present circumstances, give up the agitation they have been conducting in the past and raise the question of securing the right of electing their own Khalif. The Government of India

and the Native States of India will, we feel sure, support such a movement if it is started. [In the subsequent issue the paper suggests that the Indian Muhammadans, if they are asked to elect their Khalif, should elect a man of Arab descent as their Khalif because the Prophet Muhammad was an Arab by race and because the Jazirat-ul-Arab and the Holy Places situated therein are in the possession of the Arabs.]

Exhortation to the Muhammadans not to give up hope.
Al-Wahid (142), 29th June.

44. To-day, O Musalman, you are not in a position to live. Every day fresh efforts are made to annihilate you. Aliens, alas! are night and day concerting measures to deprive you of what you hold dear and without which it is impossible for you to live—to deprive you of your faith. They wish that the Crucified Jesus and a dead God should have victory over an ever-living God. Oh, the pity of it. O Musalman, you who are ever ready to sacrifice your life for your faith, the cablegrams received from day to day serve only to electrify your heart! You have been hearing that the possessors of material power taking aim have hurled shots and shells from their rifles and guns at the resting place of your illustrious Master and forced their unclean feet into the house of God, which was kept by persons like Abraham—may God's peace be on him—and our illustrious master, the Prophet—may God's salutation be on him—and where Hussain in the name of Islam sacrificed his life, his beloved sons and wives. In whose hands is that place to-day? Your spiritual head is to-day like a prisoner at Constantinople under the surveillance of a few Commissioners and surrounded by a cordon of long range guns. These are events which must bleed your heart and drive you to despair. One treasure, however remains to you, and that is hope. With it you can bring about great changes in the world. To oppose material power you have spiritual strength. Do gird up your loins with "Allah-o-Akbar" on your lips. It does not matter if the Dardanelles and other places have gone out of your hands. Gird up your loins remembering that "war is a calamity". If you do so you will succeed, for despair is a sin according to Islam. Remember the early beginnings of Islam and see how an orphan boy inspired by hope succeeded in vanquishing kings and monarchs and how breaking the idols of Mecca he proclaimed the one God and declared: "turn the polytheist out of the Jazirat-ul-Arab."

The Nizam and the Khilafat movement.
Muslim Herald (152), 16th July.

45. The *Muslim Herald* reproduces an article from the *Vakil* newspaper of Amritsar, in the course of which the latter journal quotes the following reply, said to have been received by the Nadwat-ul-Ulema of Lucknow when that body offered the title of *Muhiul millat waddin* to His Exalted Highness the Nizam:—'Kindly convey the sincere thanks of H. E. H. the Nizam to your co-religionists for the title which the community has offered to him, and which he values highly.' The *Vakil* also points out that the late Nizam starved himself for four days when Maharaja Sir Kishan Parshad joined hands with Lord Curzon in wresting Berar from him, and inquires if it is proper for the ruler of the premier Moslem State to be proud of his ancestral titles and to condemn his community when the treasures of the Khilafat are being rifled. The *Muslim Herald* adds that His Exalted Highness the Nizam is a true Muslim at heart, but political expediency obliges him to adopt a policy opposed to the views of the general body of Musalmans.

Akhbar-e-Islám (55), 15th July.

46. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* reproduces the manifesto published by Tilavat Jung, a member of the Executive Council of the Hyderabad State, and remarks:—The manifesto makes it clear how His Exalted Highness the Nizam has incurred the wicked wrath of the Khilafat agitators in trying to do his duty in the matter of safeguarding the interests of his subjects by keeping them aloof from the non-co-operation and *hijrat* movements. We would make a strong appeal to the Muhammadans to come forward to give due honour to His Exalted Highness and to think a hundred times before disregarding the instructions issued by him to his subjects on the Khilafat question.

47. Writing about the Irish and Khilafat questions now facing England for solution, the *Rdjakdran* dwells upon the chaos at present prevailing in the southern districts of Ireland owing to the activities of the Sinn Feiners, and after giving a short *resume* of the arguments put forward by them for demanding the recognition of Ireland as an independent Republic, remarks that it remains to be seen whether the British Government succeeds in crushing the movement for complete independence or the Republicans in the end achieve their own aims. Referring to the Turkish and Persian questions and Kamal Pasha's activities, the paper mentions the intrigues of the Bolsheviks in Central Asia and Northern Persia and their endeavours to foil England's efforts to make her own Empire safe from Moslem attacks. It also gives an extract from the Soviet Blue Book on Indian affairs which declares that England joined the war only for the safety of India and not for protecting small nationalities as England was nothing without India and that for that very reason England was refusing to grant India even the most moderate autonomy. The paper remarks that the tendency shown by the Central Asian Musalmans to make common cause with the Russian Bolsheviks has been causing grave anxiety in England as all efforts to put down the Bolsheviks in Russia have utterly failed.

Two serious questions before England.
Rdjakdran (122), 11th July.

48. Though so many outrages are daily taking place in Ireland no O'Dwyer has as yet been sent there to proclaim martial law. Our imbecile Indian minds never imagined that the flames in Ireland would reach the Irish Rangers in India. But as all this has to do with patriotic sentiments, the Rangers have decided not to co-operate with Government even in this country and have, therefore, laid down their arms. When Indians declare themselves in favour of non-co-operation it is instantly proclaimed to be an unwise step. But is not the Irish Rangers incident instructive in this connection? Ireland and India are alike mendicants in respect of *swardjya*. But the Irish mentality, by coming into contact with England, has been inspired with high patriotism. In our case, however, our mendicancy alone comes out every now and then. Might not this be due to climatic differences?

Comments on the Connaught Rangers incident at Jullunder
Prakdsh (121), 7th July.

49. A homicide is no homicide when the victim is an Indian. Why so? Because the Indian has none to protect him! Because the Indian has none to listen to his complaints! If a knife is passed through the throat of an Indian in the name of peace and order it is no murderer's knife. If the land gets red with blood, the blood is no blood! The murder of an Indian is no murder in India. The murderer Dyer may secure his acquittal by appealing for justice. His co-adjutant O'Dwyer may get the approbation of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. The wisdom and justice of their leader, Lord Chelmsford, may be eulogised. But an Indian's blood is not to be regarded as blood. This state of things has been in our midst since India fell on evil days. A recent instance has come to our notice of an unfortunate person who fell a victim to the bullet of a European. We refer to the case of a fakir who was shot by a European on the Allahabad side. The European was acquitted. The fakir was to die the death he died and the European was not to blame. The accused in defence said that his gun went off on the fakir striking him with a lathi on the hand, adding that if this plea was not accepted as sufficient, he fired his gun in self-defence. Such pleas are heard of only under a lax system of administration. How could both pleas be accepted by a British Court of justice? The accused was let off on the ground that the death was caused by accident. We fail to understand how this was so. But supposing that it was so, the question is whether the fakir did strike the European. Three Indians deposed to the fakir not having struck the European. A European witness, who was related

The murder of an Indian is no murder in India.
Hindu (144), 7th July.

to the accused deposed to the fakir having done so. The jury and the judge gave weight to the evidence of the interested European witness, ignoring the evidence of the three Indian witnesses. What kind of justice is this? But never mind. This is one more instance of how the connection between England and India is being strengthened.

Hindusthán (22), 11th July.

50. A soldier recently accused of murdering an Indian was acquitted of the crime by European jurors in spite of the evidence of Indian gentlemen against the accused and on the unreliable evidence of the friends of the accused. A Settlement Officer of Tanjore was similarly acquitted of assaulting a telegraph peon merely on the statement of the accused and in spite of the evidence of respectable witnesses. The judgments of courts in cases between black and white people often form a subject for discussion among the people. People had hardly ceased commenting on these two cases when the Silchar shooting case has come up to cause a great deal of excitement among the thinking population of India. A planter called Reed made improper overtures to a girl working on his farm who resented them. The man went to her house at about ten o'clock at night and in a quarrel with her father shot him with a revolver. The jurors, who were all European planters, accepted the plea of the accused to the effect that he had gone out for deer shooting and killed the man by accident. The Police Superintendent declared that he had never heard of anyone going out for deer shooting with a revolver. All these cases are referred to as mere accidents! India is a land of accidents, and we come across many cases in which spleens burst, and accidental shots are fired. It is to be regretted that such pleas of accident are accepted by the courts of law. Perhaps these may be providential accidents!

Cases of Satyagraha in Ahmedabad in connection with the fine levied for damage done during the disturbances in April 1920.

Gujarátí (18), 11th July.

51. The *Gujarátí* describes how Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Barrister-at-Law, and Dr. Kanuga of Ahmedabad refused to pay their share of the fine levied on the inhabitants of the city in connection with the disturbances in the city and how the authorities attached the till of the doctor and a sofa belonging to the barrister in satisfaction of the claim, the sofa having been sold by auction. The paper dwells on the injustice of levying the fine from these two persons, for, although Satyagrahis, they did all they could to assist the authorities in putting down the disturbances—a fact which is acknowledged by the authorities themselves. The paper concludes as follows:—These two Satyagrahis deserve to be congratulated on their refusal to pay the fine. To-day there are only these two. But it is certain that as time goes on there will come forward two hundred, two lakhs, nay two crores, to stand up against injustice. In course of time, the small seed will not fail to grow into a great tree. And then the authorities may well issue thousands and lakhs of attachment orders.

The Pandharpur Dharmashála Fund.

Kesari (109), 13th July.

52. Referring to the Pandharpur Dharmashala Fund, the *Kesari* says:—It is welcome news that officials will have henceforth no connection with the collection of the fund. But why should not Government hand over the fund already collected to the new Committee? The name of the memorial is not changed; the character of the memorial is the same and the object of erecting the Dharmashala is maintained. Then why this Diarchy? Why should Government consider it *infra dig* to hand over to the non-official Committee the fund collected under the inspiration of Mr. Simcox? It would be unnecessary waste to have two Dharmashalas, one built with the old fund and another with the new fund. The Collector should arrange that Government hand over the old fund to the new Committee if it works enthusiastically and see that this useful memorial of the Maratha heroes is soon erected.

53. Dr. Mann holds that fencing of fields is very costly, and he recommends that pigs should be hunted, and that every pig thus killed costs annas 6 per head. He further remarks that gun licenses have been given in the Kánara District for this purpose and that the results have to be watched. While this war against pigs is going on, the rewards given for killing wild animals, snakes, etc., have been withdrawn. Has what was withdrawn during war-time for the sake of economy been permanently stopped? The village officers have even informed the agriculturists of the new order that those who kill pigs would be rewarded and none else. Can we not say that operations are being conducted only against pigs and that a sort of treaty has been concluded with serpents and other wild animals? It is quite necessary to kill wild animals that are responsible for the destruction of cattle, and we suggest to Government to revive the practice of rewards in this connection.

The rewards given for killing snakes and other wild animals should be revived.
Kánara Vritt (39), 8th July.

54. Referring to the representation already submitted to Government praying that the Dharamtar (Kolába) creek should be dredged and a wharf constructed at Dharamtar on the Pen side, the *Kolába Samáchár* reports that no steps have so far been taken in the matter and complains that the people are consequently being put to numerous hardships. It appeals to the Wharfage Committee to take the matter into early consideration and thus try to save the hundreds of passengers from the untold hardships which they have at present to undergo.

Necessity of a wharf at Pen side at Dharamtar (Kolába).
Kolába Samáchár (111), 10th July.

55. Referring to the disbanding of the Bengali Regiment, the *Gujaráti* remarks:—Bengal had supplied nearly 7,000 youths for this force. It has been proved that many of them did good work in Mesopotamia, Palestine, Kurdistan and other places. But now, as the saying is, when the patient is cured the physician is looked upon as an enemy. For those young men who, in the enthusiasm of doing military service, abandoned their studies, there will be nothing left but to sit idle at home. Looking to the present situation it is quite possible that the Bolsheviks, Afghans, Persians and others might give trouble and, therefore, it is not a wise step to break up this regiment. It is better to keep alive the desire, prevailing among the people, of doing military service by means of such organisations rather than to put faith in the Germans. It is likely that the Bolsheviks may come down (upon India) from Armenia, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkestan and other countries. Again, the disbanding of this regiment may add to the discontent prevailing in India. The wiser policy is to have regard for the feelings of the people rather than be swayed by considerations of expense. This regiment will prove useful as the nucleus of a Territorial Force.

Comments on the disbanding of the Bengali Regiment.
Gujaráti (18), 15th July.

56. Reviewing the political situation in Europe the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—Matters have not yet been settled between Germany and the Allies when a danger has arisen of a war with Russia. The Allies have not been able to weaken the present Government of Russia in spite of their direct and indirect assistance to its opponents. In the last resort, Poland was instigated to wage war with Russia and the result is that Poland is likely to lose a large portion of its territory. The Allies may have to fight with Russia for the sake of Poland. Another event which is dragging the world into danger is taking place in China. Japan has a hand in the internal feuds in China, and if Japan directly interferes in the affairs of China, America can hardly be expected to remain silent. What will England do if America protests against Japanese interference? Will England fight on behalf of Japan according to the agreement existing between them? Although the tendency of the English public is

Reflections on the present political situation.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 15th July.

to avoid entering into a conflict with America, still we doubt very much that England will be able to remain neutral in the event of a war between America and Japan; and it is this which makes us fear that there will be another world-war.

There is no danger of the Bolsheviks invading India.
Bharatwasi (143), 7th July.

57. Will the Bolsheviks invade this country? This is the question which is generally asked. Very few people know what this bugbear of the Bolshevik is like. A letter in the *Times* reports publication of a book on the situation in India by the Foreign Department of the Bolshevik Government which shows that endeavour is being made in Russia to drag India into the current of Bolshevism in co-operation with the Musalmans of Central Asia. We do not think that the Bolshevik efforts will succeed. In the first place Russia is too disorganised for the task that the Bolsheviks have proposed to themselves. Secondly, France and Japan whose Governments are also based on capitalism will stand by the side of England who will put up a hard fight to retain India. The Bolsheviks cannot bring into the field an army strong enough to meet the combined forces of these powers. Thirdly, as the Bolsheviks want to do away with the present order of things which encourages capitalism they will meet with opposition at the hands of the capitalists in India. Fourthly, the Indian leaders for the most part are of opinion that even though efforts should be made to put an end to the present bureaucracy, India's well-being lies in the maintenance of British connection (not the present connection of master and slave but that of partner and partner) until such time at least as the country is in a position to maintain a navy of her own to defend herself against foreign attack.

Seriousness of the position in Asia Minor.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th July.

58. "While the whole world is sighing for peace, which it has not known for the last six years, the 'statesmen' of Europe masquerading as 'peace-makers' have succeeded in plunging it again in a new war, the end of which no man can foresee. This time the torch has been relighted in Asia Minor, and apparently all the three Great Powers, Britain, France and Italy, and one minor Power, Greece, have entered into an alliance against the Turkish Nationalists of Asia Minor led by Mustapha Kemal..... What madness is it that is luring France and England and their Allies into these fresh sacrifices of blood and treasure which they can ill spare? Greece, the least damaged among the belligerants of the last war, is no doubt in a position to expend some blood and treasure for what she believes to be a profitable war. But both France and Great Britain are badly in need of peace, which would enable them to recoup their exhausted manhood and national resources. And yet, we find them launching into a campaign which might assume proportions of another world war..... It is not Turkey alone that is likely to be affected by the present blaze in the Near East. The Allies have not as yet patched up a truce with Soviet Russia. Is it likely that Lenin and his comrades will remain with folded hands while the Turkish Nationalists are waging a war of independence?..... Is there any guarantee that the Soviet Government will not make common cause with the Turkish Nationalists? With North-West Persia affected with Bolshevism and Georgia and Armenia helpless against Bolshevist intrigues, Soviet help for the Turkish Nationalists will not be a remote contingency. Even apart from the Bolsheviks, the Arabs of Syria and Mesopotamia, under British and French occupation, are also likely to cause trouble. Emir Feisul has recently declared that his people will refuse to be under any 'mandate' but will, if need be, fight for full independence. Will the French and the British be able to keep Emir Feisul and his restive Arabs under control when the Allies' hands are full with the new mad adventure? In spite of all reports to the contrary, the conciliation of the Arabs of Northern Mesopotamia appears to be as distant as ever. In view of all these circumstances and portents, it would be hazardous in the extreme for any one to assume that the new conflagration will be confined to Anatolia or even Asia Minor, and that it will not spread to the whole of Mid-Asia and possibly also to the Far

East. In fact the outlook for Asia and the world is of the gloomiest and most alarming character, and no human vision can foresee what is in store for the millions who are being plunged once more into the orgies of mutual slaughter to satisfy the greed and blood-lust of a few individuals."

Alleged massacre of Turkish troops by Greeks in Asia Minor.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th July.

59. "According to the *Morning Post* correspondent the Greeks, after the fall of Balikesari, put to death 15,000 troops of the defeated Turkish Army. This was done on the ground that the Kemalist troops do not constitute a regular army and by international law are bandits liable to death. We do not care to know what the international law on the subject is, but it is an outrage on all ideas of humanity and decency that the Nationalist troops, whose crime is that they are defending their own country against aggressors and fighting for their national existence, should even be regarded as bandits, let alone being shot in cold-blood as such. It is true that the Turkish Government has proclaimed the Nationalist Army as a rebel army. But will the conscience of the civilised world—which alone is the sanction of all international law—recognise the authority and genuineness of this proclamation by a Sultan who is a prisoner in his own Capital and whose Government has lost its own title as Government by the mere fact that the majority of the Turkish people are in revolt against it? Further, does the conscience of the world reconcile itself with the iniquity of the Treaty against the signature and enforcement of which the Turkish Nationalists are fighting? If the victorious Allies cannot recognise the grim tragedy of the fact that the Turkish Nationalists are now fighting for the principle of nationality and self-determination which was at stake in the war, let them, at least, fight the Nationalists according to laws of civilised warfare..... The British Government at least owe to their own reputation as well as to the Moslem subjects of His Majesty at once to condemn the Greek outrage and take steps against its repetition."

Comments on the proposed voluntary repatriation of Indians in South Africa.

Gujarâti (18), 11th July; *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* (30), 12th July.

60. Mr. Gandhi sees no harm in the voluntary repatriation of Indians from South Africa. But we have our own apprehensions in the matter. For, as the saying is, 'once bit, always shy.' We are inclined to believe that the suggestion of voluntary repatriation is a plan on the part of the South African Europeans to deceive the Indians. What shall we do if the South African Indians are deprived of their right of domicile and if the African ports are closed against them the moment they set sail from that country? The South African Government, instead of persuading the Indians to return to India, should appoint a Commission consisting of Indians to examine the Indians who are willing to return to India, and should confine their own action to merely providing facilities for their return voyage to India. [The *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* writes:—The arrangements made by the South African Government to repatriate Indians are highly objectionable and derogatory to India. These arrangements are accompanied by certain vexatious regulations, and we are grieved to see that the Government of India more or less acquiesce in them and advocate their adoption. Indians will firmly oppose the injustice that is being done to them in South Africa and will never accept the arrangemeuts that are being made for their repatriation. We are glad that the Honourable Mr. Chanda has given notice for moving a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council for adopting a policy of reciprocity towards the Colonies.]

Indian Social Reformer (6), 18th July.

***61.** "We print to-day the text of the *interim* report of the South African Asiatic Commission, recommending voluntary repatriation of Indians from South Africa, and the Government scheme to give effect to that recommendation..... The *interim* report says that owing to the high price of rice and other causes, several Indians at present are willing to go back to India. The Committee have gone beyond their terms of reference to propose that the difficulties of Indians should be taken advantage of to

facilitate their repatriation. With all respect for those who approve of this on humanitarian grounds, we adhere to our view that this is not an arrangement which India should endorse. Of course, these men who are sent back cannot be turned back. All the talk about their finding employment here is humbug. They may or may not do so: what the Union Government are anxious about is to do as many Indians as possible out of their birthright in return for a free passage."

62. "The *interim* Report of the South African Committee of Enquiry into Indian grievances is a document of deep interest to this country. The Committee recommends that Indians should be allowed to return to India with their earnings and jewellery, and that shipping facilities be provided them for that purpose..... The motive of this policy of repatriation is not laudable, but the proposal to provide shipping facilities to Indians, and let them return to this country with their earnings and jewellery may well be regarded as a welcome step..... An important question, however, with regard to this policy is, does it force returning Indians to forego the rights of domicile in South Africa? If it does, it is unfair to Indians..... It is only fair to urge that repatriated Indians must be admitted into South Africa should they choose to go there again. May we hope that before adopting the course suggested in the *interim* Report the Government of India will give due weight to this important point and protect the Indians' right of domicile?"

New Times (8), 6th July.

63. The *Raj Hansa* doubts the authenticity of the Asiatic Commttee's Report and says that the statement made in it that Sir B. Robertson and Mr. Corbett possess the confidence of Indians is quite false inasmuch as they are the nominees of the Government of India. The report, the paper thinks, wants somehow to praise Indians and drive them out of the country and hold the country as a white preserve. It also condemns the prohibition of the removal of gold and jewels from South Africa and says that when a country is to be settled, Indians are welcomed and when it is rendered suitable for colonisation, Indians are driven out and the country is held for the whites, and it feels that the same attempt is being made in this connection.

Raj Hansa (84), 16th July.

64. Referring to the Asiatic Commission's recommendation for the voluntary repatriation of Indians from South Africa, the *Subodh Patrika* writes:—"The suggestion of the Commission strikes us as a flank movement intended to drive, in the long run, every Indian out of South Africa. Voluntary repatriation, we suspect, is but a prelude to compulsory repatriation, in its proper time. We should, therefore, do our best to dissuade our countrymen in South Africa from taking advantage of the facilities that will be easily placed within their reach to return to this country. The leading political associations in this country should lose no time in conveying to the Indian community in South Africa the views of their countrymen here, on this question, which if not wisely handled threatens to extinguish our right to domicile in any part of the British Empire."

Subodh Patrika (47), 11th July, Eng. cols.

65. Reviewing the proceedings at the public meeting held on Tuesday, the 13th July, to protest against the ill-treatment of Indians by the white Colonists of East Africa, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—We wish that the resolutions passed at the meeting would be effective enough to awaken the Government of England. We hope that Government will try their best to satisfy the people by co-operating with them in the solution of this East African problem just as they did in connection with the abolition of indentured labour in Fiji. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* says:—The situation in East Africa, as described by Mr. C. F. Andrews from his personal experience, is indeed such as to cause much anxiety. The Government of India are in duty bound to safeguard the rights of the Indians in the Colonies as British citizens by securing the removal of the restrictions against them. The whole of the country is eager to see what steps the

Grievances of Indians in East Africa.

Bombay Samáchár (58), 16th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 15th July.

Government of India propose to take in order to pacify public opinion in India, which has become very much excited over this subject.

66. "Tuesday's public meeting has made it clear that no solution of the East African Indian problem will prove satisfactory which does not recognise the equality of status, civil as well as political, of Indians in comparison with those of the European settlers there. We were told the other day that the Indian question has been left unsettled in the new constitution which has been conferred on the Protectorate. Apparently the game of the Whites is to shut out Indians from, or at least keep them merely as hewers of wood and drawers of water for them in, the new 'Colony' which they have succeeded in carving out of the uplands of the B. E. A. Protectorate, and to confine the Indians to the lowlands which will remain a mere Protectorate..... The Viceroy's pledge to our countrymen is in unmistakable terms: Indians must be accorded an absolutely equal status in Protectorates, and Kenia can no more become a 'Colony' by any clever device than India can become a 'European Colony.' If His Majesty's Government, or any Government acknowledging allegiance to the British Flag and the Crown, are prepared to disown and dishonour the solemn pledge given by His Majesty's representative in this country, let Indians be plainly told so, so that they may learn to appraise at their true worth the pledges of British statesmen. But pledges or no pledges, India, in her own inalienable right, is determined to fight for her dues in all parts of the Empire, whether 'colonies' or 'Protectorates.' Regarding our countrymen in Fiji, it is difficult to understand why the Government of India are persisting in maintaining a sphinx-like silence over the disturbances of February last..... As Mr. Gandhi stated at the meeting, there is every reason to fear that there has been a re-enactment of the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy in Fiji. Are the Government of India afraid that a fresh disclosure of the ugly manifestations of British 'imperialism' in another quarter of the Empire would not be quite welcome at this juncture?..... Their silence, in the face of the gruesome details of the Fiji tragedy, that have been trickling in, is likely to be misconstrued into apathy, if not something worse, having regard to their attitude in connection with the Punjáb. The facts should no longer be withheld from the public, who have a right to know what treatment is being meted out to their countrymen abroad, and what protection their Government have been affording them in their sufferings."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th July.

67. "The public will whole-heartedly endorse the frank statement of the position of our countrymen in British Africa, which the Honourable Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee has addressed to Lord Milner on behalf of the deputation which recently waited on his lordship. Lord Milner's reply to this deputation was, as our readers have seen, entirely non-committal..... The only reply which the Colonial office has given to the deputation is that the Governor of East Africa has been instructed as to the treatment to be meted out to Indians. That is to say, our countrymen are again to be left to the tender mercies of the very Government which has embarked on a campaign of despoiling them of their civic and trade rights and, if possibe, also, of hounding them out of this Colony, which is to be declared henceforth as a 'Whiteman's preserve'. Whether it is in the case of Ceylon, South Africa, Fiji, Egypt, or East Africa, the Colonial Office, during the *régime* of Lord Milner, has never been conspicuous for its defence of the rights and liberties—and, in one instance at least, the lives—of the non-White races inhabiting these territories of the Empire..... All past pledges by responsible statesmen and Ministers, all war-time assurances of generous recognition of and reward for the Indian troops' unstinted sacrifices on the battle-fields of East Africa, all considerations, based on unchallengeable historical claims, for favourable treatment of Indians who were the pioneers of civilisation in East Africa—all these are cast to the winds, because the 'whites' are out to grab the fruits of other people's labours in this corner of the earth..... The question of the real status of Indians, whether it be in the mother-country itself or elsewhere in the Empire, will have to be solved and solved finally and definitely at once. Everywhere in the Empire attempts are being made to press the Indian

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th July.

down and keep him in a state of semi-helotry. And yet, the world is given to understand that India is an equal member of the League of Nations. The anomaly and the sham of this position cannot continue long, and Indians will have to struggle continuously to put an end to this intolerable state of things. Our countrymen in East Africa may be assured that our sympathies will be with them in their righteous struggles to secure a redress of their grievances. In reality, the cause for which they are fighting is part and parcel of the greater cause for which our countrymen in all parts of the Empire are called upon to struggle at the present day."

68. The English could settle in East Africa simply because the Indians had preceded them there. But now when they are firmly established there they have begun ousting the Indians. It does not appear to be possible that our protests, like those made at the recent Bombay meeting, will avail us. Indeed, it looks more and more foolish to make these protests at all. How can the *zoolum* be stopped by weeping? German East Africa has passed under the domination of the English, and they are now driving out the Indians therefrom also. Indeed, the German rule was better than this.

Lokasangraha (112), 17th July.

69. An anonymous correspondent writes to the *Bombay Chronicle*:— "Nine hundred and twenty-five Indians returned from Fiji on the 3rd of July. A representative of the *Bharatmitra* of Calcutta interviewed some of these Indians from Fiji. Here are some of the questions put to them and the answers given by them:—Question.—'What is the number of Indians killed during the recent disturbances?' Answer.—'The exact number is not known, but probably it is between nine and twenty. The number of the wounded is large. Arrests were made after firing had taken place'. Q.—'Was there any harshness practised in making these arrests'? A.—'Awful atrocities were committed at the time of these arrests. Men were handcuffed while the chastity of many women was violated. Later on even women were arrested. They were put on their trial and were sentenced for sedition. While the trials were going on in the courts, Martial Law was proclaimed in Suva.' Q.—'Is Martial Law still in force?' A.—'It was in force upto the 7th of June when we embarked. We do not know whether it is still in force or not'. Q.—'How many Indians were arrested?' A.—'Two hundred men and some women. They were made to stand in the sun from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M., and crumbs were thrown to them as if they were dogs. This was a most harrowing sight beyond your imagination. Other forms of atrocities were also committed. The Europeans and Fijian soldiers stripped men of their clothes in front of women and women were made naked in front of men and thus these soldiers made a fun of it. The soldiers would tear open the *Lahgas* (lower garments) of the women with their bayonets. There is no end to these atrocious acts. Even the machine guns would tremble before these horrors.' These are very serious allegations indeed, and they remind us of the Punjáb tragedies. It seems that they have played the Punjáb Drama in Fiji in some of its details with certain original variations. The wonder is that the Colonial Office has up to this time refused to make independent investigations on the ground that these allegations have not been confirmed. But who is going to confirm them? Surely not the Fiji authorities who have been responsible for these acts. Why has the Government of India been silent about Fiji? But the most important question is, what have we done for our countrymen in that colony? We should at once send a Commission of Enquiry to Fiji to report on the so-called open rebellion in that colony."

Alleged atrocities recently practised against Indians in Fiji.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th July.

70. Some rayats of Mouje Chándkhed, taluka Máwal (Poona), complain in the *Kesari* that three instalments of assessment and all tagai dues having been collected, their condition has become very precarious and that they are starving. They further complain that a fine of 25 per cent. was also imposed on those who did not pay up in time and pray that this fine should be remitted

Alleged precarious condition of the rayats of Chándkhed (Poona) owing to levy of assessment.
Kesari (109), 13th July.

as there was famine last year and that assessment should be collected according to anna valuation. They also suggest that the fine taken may be credited as part payment of next year's instalment. The *Kesari* requests the Collector to inquire and redress the grievance if found true.

A forest complaint from Mouje Darumbare (Poona).
Kesari (109), 13th July.

71. Some rayats of Mouje Darumbare, taluka Máwal (Poona), complain in the *Kesari* that much inconvenience is being caused because passes signed by Patils and Talatis have to be produced before fuel is allowed to be removed from their *malki* forest, as Talatis cannot be had access to in time, as they have to manage many villages each. They ask: Why should we be saddled with the pass system needlessly since our village has no Government forest?

Protest against grazing fees in Kánara being recovered by Forest officers.
Kánara Vritt (83), 8th July.

72. Originally there was no grazing fee, but now the Forest Department are making lakhs by it. The fee was formerly collected by the village officers at the time of the payment of assessment according to the convenience of the rayats and the Forest Department was not troubled with its collection; but of late foresters and guards are taking charge of the collections, and if the money is not paid within two or three days when they are on circuit, a double fee is levied. The work is done during June when the department has no other special work. It is a busy season for agriculturists, and while some know of the tour of the foresters, some do not, and those who do not pay have to pay double. If this practice has been followed in order to save the small payment made to village officers, the result is that the rayats have to suffer heavy loss and pay double.

Advice to Hajis not to perform the Haj this year.
Mufid-e-Rozgar (151), 15th July.

73. The *Mufid-e-Rozgar* dissuades the intending pilgrims from performing the Haj this year, and gives the following reason for its advice:—This year the Sharif of Mecca will lay claim to the Khalifate and the Hajis will be made to sign a document to that effect. O Hajis and true believers! Will you admit a rebel to be Khalif, or will you refuse to do so? If you refuse, you will be imprisoned in Malta like Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan of Deoband. If, however, you comply with the Sharif's request, and repudiate your consent on your return you will be playing the hypocrite. No, we true believers will never admit a rebel to be our Khalit.

LEGISLATION.

The Corrupt Practices Bill.
Kesari (109), 13th July.

74. Commenting upon the Corrupt Practices Bill, the *Kesari* says:—The Bill is defective, considered from the point of view that it is better to have a mild law and to enforce it strictly rather than to have a very strict one and to be lax in administering it. It will be very difficult for a candidate to escape from the clutches of the present measure. The local Government have the power to take steps under the law and there will be the fear that it will be used against candidates obnoxious to the bureaucracy and that the parasites of Government might escape.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the published correspondence regarding the Royal Institute of Science, Bombay.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 14th July, Eng. cols.

75. Referring to the correspondence between the Government of Bombay and the Bombay University on the subject of the Royal Institute of Science, recently published, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—"The scheme for its organization is still before the Secretary of State, though the inception of the matter dates back to ten years ago. The progress of the Institute is an edifying illustration of the tremendous pace at which things move in this country. The Muhammadan College of Sir Mahomed Yusaf is another..... The Syndicate, in their letter to Government, have made out a clear case for transferring the

Institute to the University..... It seems to us that ordinarily it would be hardly necessary to labour the case for giving the control of an educational institution to the University. No other controlling authority is conceivable. Since the Universities Act of 1904, the Indian Universities are no longer merely examining bodies, but their function includes making provision for the instruction of students as well..... The Government's reply does not make it clear why in their opinion the time has not yet come for the Bombay University to fulfil its 'natural function.' Why is the University not yet fit to assume control of a School of Science? Is it still in a state of infancy when it cannot be trusted to manage an educational institution? We are surprised that the Government of Sir George Lloyd should have taken so narrow a view of the rights and capacities of the University. The reasons given for refusing or postponing the transfer of the Royal Institute of Sicence to the University are far from convincing. There is some talk of the delay which the proposed transfer might entail in opening the Institute. This is unmeaning in view of the delay that has already occurred and that is likely to occur. Despatch has never been a strong point of Government departments. Schemes have hung fire almost indefinitely under the fostering care of Government. Then it is said that the sanction of the donors, or their heirs and of the High Court would have to be obtained to the proposed transfer. We see no difficulty in that. It would be a purely formal matter. We do not think Sir Vasanji Tricumji, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Sir Jacob Sassoon and Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, or their heirs, would have the slightest objection to transferring the Institute to the University. And the sanction of the High Court would be a matter of course. Thus there is nothing in the reasons put forward by Government for refusing to accede to a very natural and reasonable demand of the University..... It now remains to be seen when and how soon the Royal Institute of Science enters upon its activities under the direct control of Government. We hope it has in store a more fruitful and inspiring destiny than that of the Institute of Research at Bangalore."

MUNICIPALITIES.

76. The *Ráj Hansa* complains of bad roads and bad lighting in Dhárwár, and says that while the streets in the city are neglected, the roads used for motor drives by Europeans are taken good care of, and remarks that though full autonomy has been granted in the case of municipalities, the slavish habit of cringing to Europeans is not yet abandoned. Out of an income of a lakh and a quarter, it remarks, Rs. 50,000 are spent on waterworks, and fuel worth Rs. 25,000 is consumed because the engines are defective; and still the water-supply is not good.

A complaint against the Dhárwár Municipality.
Raj Hansa (84), 15th July.

RAILWAYS.

77. "Indians have not a happy experience of Committees and Commissions. And the announcement of a Comission of nine members to enquire into the Railway administration of India will be received with mixed feelings. ..... Indians have been in an insignificant minority on these Committees, the majority consisting of capitalists, exploiters and bureaucrats..... The Railway Commission is to consist of nine members. It is easy enough to understand that the vested interests in England and India will do their best to pack it with their own men; Indians should urge that their representatives should not be in a minority on the Commission. .. .. An impartial Railway Commission is what we need. The treatment of the third class railway passengers would be a disgrace to any country in the west; foreign imported goods are favoured and carried more cheaply than indigenous good; prohibitive railway freights stand in the way of the development of Indian industry; the avenues for higher employment are practically closed to the children of the soil; an Indian can rise to the position of a Law or Education Member of Council, but has an Indian ever risen to the position

Comments on appointment of a Commission to inquire into the Railway administration.
New Times (8), 10th July.

of an Agent of a Railway? And how many Indians have become D. T. S.'s? ..... The Railway Company is responsible to none except its share-holders in England who care for their fat dividends more than for the conveniences and comforts of Indians. Indians should fight this irresponsibility of the Railway Administration. They should see to it that the new Commission is fully representative of Indian opinion, that its terms of reference are as wide as possible, and that its recommendations are in consonance with the enlightened opinion of the country."

78. The Bombay Municipal Corporation has rendered a public service by recording its protest against the proposed increase in the third class railway fares. The increase in the fares will add to the hardships of the people who live in the suburbs of Bombay and thus endanger the health of the city. We hope Government will not allow the railway fares to be raised as proposed by the railway companies. [The *Deshi Mitra* also protests against the proposed increase in the third class fares and dwells upon the hardships of the third class passengers and the indifference and callousness of the railway authorities towards them.]

Comments on the proposed increase in the third class railway fares.
Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 17th July; *Deshi Mitra* (62), 15th July.

NATIVE STATES.

79. Last month the Maháraja of Kolhápur tried to answer by a private circular the *Purusha Sukta*. The origin of the four castes given in the *Purusha Sukta* is well known, but the Maharaja has declared on the authority of *Sahyadrikhand* and *Brahmanda Puran* that Chitpawans are born of Kaivartakas, Karhada Brahmins are the issue of an adulterous woman and Deshasthas owe their birth to a Shudra woman! The family of Shivaji belongs to Kshatriya Marathas and it can trace its descent unbroken from Rama and Krishna! All these details have been told because the Maharaja intends to replace Brahmin priests by Marathas for worshipping his household gods! But if that only was his object, what necessity was there for taking such a roundabout way? The Maharaja is the master of the religious rites in his own household and he could have stopped Brahmins from worshipping his gods, without giving any reason. Our only point is: what necessity was there to calumniate a particular caste for the purpose of doing a thing which was entirely within one's powers? But the argument applies only when one is straightforward. When that is not the case, even the Devil can quote Scripture.

Protest against the alleged calumny of Brahmins by the Maharaja of Kolhápur.
Kesari (109), 13th July.

J. E. SANJANA.
Acting Oriental Translator to Government

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 23rd July 1920.

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. Commenting upon the warning uttered in Parliament by Mr. Montagu to Mr. Gandhi, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—Unfortunately the officials in this country have not yet understood the aim of the non-co-operation movement. Had they understood it, Mr. Montagu would never have given the warning to Mr. Gandhi. Is the movement to resort to *hartal*, fasting, prayer and asking for justice a mischievous movement? Is it mischievous to give up Government titles and Government service? If it is so, the Government of India should immediately issue an order that the non-co-operation movement is an unlawful movement and that those who take part in it will be considered as disloyal and will be severely dealt with. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—There is no truth in the allegations made by Mr. Montagu against Mr. Gandhi. It is not proper on the part of Mr. Montagu to leave it to the Government of India to take whatever steps they think proper to cope with the non-co-operation movement. We have not yet forgotten the outrages that resulted from leaving such matters to the discretion of local Governments, and Mr. Montagu has had some bitter experience during the recent disturbances in the Punjáb. The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, on the other hand, considers it very opportune on the part of Mr. Montagu to have issued the warning to Mr. Gandhi. It asks Mr. Gandhi to consider the dangers involved in launching the non-co-operation movement and exhorts him not to involve the country in it without ascertaining public opinion on the question and to wait for the decision of the Special Congress in the matter.]

Comments on Mr. Montagu's strictures on Mr. Gandhi.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 19th July; *Hindusthán* (23), 22nd July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 19th July.

*2. "Mr. Montagu, while paying a high tribute in the House of Commons to the personal character of Mr. Gandhi and the high services done by him to India, said that it would not be possible to take the same view about his activities as had been taken last year..... Mr. Montagu further pointed out that he would give his unhesitating support to any step that the Indian Government would feel itself called upon to take in the present difficult circumstances. We have our own estimate about the Indian Government and the reactionary officials of whom it is composed. Are we to understand then that Mr. Montagu is going to give a free hand to a policy of terrorism and repression which the public is accustomed to associate with the Government of Lord Chelmsford? If that is so, Mr. Montagu's talk of co-operation and mutual good-will comes with ill-grace with his recent utterances in this connection."

Mahrátta (7), 25th July.

*3. "Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Kitchlew have gone to the Punjáb with the evident object of preparing the ground for non-co-operation. On the other hand, the Secretary of State for India has made a statement in Parliament which forbodes repressive action against promoters of this movement. The position of the country at this juncture is aptly connoted by the familiar phrase 'between the devil and the deep sea'. While non-co-operation is bound to be a failure, there is the possibility to be guarded against of its leading to local ebullitions on the part of the ignorant populace, involving, it may be, the loss of innocent lives. On the other hand, almost all sections of the public have been hit sorely by some phase or other of the recent measures of Government, and the consequent and cumulative dissatisfaction is so widespread that any measure of forcible repression directed against a much-respected Indian like Mr. Gandhi, misguided as his course is in this instance, is sure to lead to a conflagration. We feel it incumbent on every patriotic Indian in this difficult situation to declare plainly the dangers of non-co-operation on the one hand and of forcible repression by Government of its advocate on the other."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 25th July.

4. Though we are of opinion from the first that Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement is undesirable, we cannot agree with Mr. Montagu in calling it mischievous. Mr. Gandhi possesses too high a character to allow

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 21st July.

anybody to doubt the purity of his motives. We, indeed, regret that, despite last year's experience of the *Satyagraha* movement, Mr. Gandhi should again have now started a similar movement. Mr. Gandhi will no doubt duly consider Mr. Montagu's warning. But we have to remark that Mr. Montagu's declaration of his willingness to support the Government of India in whatever they may do in this connection forebodes trouble. Mr. Montagu has got last year's experience just as much as Mr. Gandhi has got it, and Mr. Montagu knows very well what calamities befell the country when the local Governments here were given the fullest powers to take any steps they liked to maintain order. It is, therefore, regrettable that even under these circumstances he should have allowed the Government of India the fullest liberty in the matter of maintaining peace and urged the House of Commons not to interfere. It is really strange that Mr. Montagu, who has been appealing to Mr. Gandhi to remember what took place last year, should have himself forgotten his own experiences.

5. Not satisfied with the existing repressive laws, Mr. Montagu wants to give additional and unnecessary powers to the Viceroy who has completely lost the confidence of Indians and whose recall is being demanded by telegrams after telegrams and meetings after meetings. We regret very much that the days have come when British statesmen themselves want to dishonour British justice. We do not know what danger is threatening India. We fully hope that so long as General Dyer lives who said that he would make no distinction between Flanders and Amritsar, the Government of India will never be afraid. Mr. Montagu should now at least consider calmly. Our object is that the new policy adopted to establish peace may not end in a still worse situation. [The *Vijaya* says that public opinion is already excited in Northern India on account of the Khilafat and the Punjáb and it hopes that Government will not cause a conflagration by restricting the liberties of Mr. Gandhi. It will lead only to a very bad situation, continues the paper, and public opinion will not be pacified. It wants Government to consider a thousand times before drawing the sword against Mr. Gandhi.]

Raj Hansa (84), 20th July; *Vijaya* (87), 19th July.

6. Commenting upon Mr. Montagu's reference to Mr. Gandhi in Parliament, the *Kesari* says:—Mr. Montagu's remarks would mean giving free scope to the fiend of bureaucratic repression. It only befits bureaucracy to pass the Rowlatt Act and hold agitators responsible for the result and to despoil Turkey to its heart's content and hold a righteous and peace-loving Mahatma like Gandhi responsible for the terrible consequences! Gandhi warned the Government to modify the Turkish Treaty and not to wound Muhammadan feeling and he asked Muhammadans to follow non-co-operation if Government did not accept the suggestion. What outrage has he committed thereby? How far his non-co-operation movement would be practicable and successful is an independent question. The nation has come to no unanimous decision and it cannot be said what view the coming Special Congress will take. On principle Mr. Gandhi's advice and action are in every way in consonance with constitutional and peaceful methods. If, in spite of it, Government will needlessly restrict his liberties, the whole of India will not hesitate to be at his back, forgetting all differences. We thought that Government had learnt this much wisdom at least from the movement of *Satyagraha*; but that hope was destroyed by Mr. Montagu's threatening speech. Still we trust that the local Government has become wiser by experience and that it will not again commit the childishness of throwing stones at a wasp's nest. [The *Indu Prakásh* warns Mr. Gandhi and his followers to consider fully and take every step very carefully. It does not doubt that every agitation of Mr. Gandhi is inspired by a very noble and righteous object, but it holds that his associates are not equally noble. It requests the leaders to consider the matter from all sides before hurling the poisonous arrow of non-co-operation and to bear in mind that they will be the cause of the miseries of the people if they falter even a little. In its issue of the

Kesari (109), 20th July; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 19th and 21st July; *Lokasangraha* (112), 19th July.

21st instant, the *Indu Prakásh* says:—All India holds that the Allies have committed injustice in the case of the Turkish Treaty. We do not support any illegal agitation; but it is our duty to give an idea of their injustice just as it is our duty to warn the people in time of their illegality. The rights of Indians are being downtrodden wherever they exist on the face of the earth. In the case of the Punjáb, confidence in the Government's love of justice has been shattered. Government may sing the praises of the Reforms in these circumstances, but that is not worth much. Government should adopt any means to stamp out anarchy if it spreads in the country. But the seeds of anarchy lie in the faults of the administration. Until they are altogether removed there is no hope of Government freeing themselves from the trouble of public agitation. Both Government and the people are on their trial now. The *Lokasangraha* says that it is very regrettable that Mr. Montagu holds Mahatma Gandhi responsible, ignoring the unanimous view of Indians that the Punjáb disorders were not born of *Satyagraha*, but that their fatherhood is to be attributed to O'Dwyer, the wielder of the bludgeon. The supporters of non-co-operation have recognized the repressive policy of Government and have adopted quite constitutional and peaceful methods under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. There is no reason for them or the Mahatma to care for Mr. Montagu's threat.]

7. It appears from a reply, given to Mr. Rupert Guy, by Mr. Montagu in Parliament, that the Government of India are about to adopt a policy of repression and to lay restrictions on the freedom of the leaders who are taking a prominent part in the Khilafat movement. A grave injustice has been done to the public in the matter of the Punjáb disturbances and extremely bitter feelings have been created among the Muhammadans on the Khilafat question. It is very likely that Indian Muhammadans would have been carried astray had it not been for Mr. Gandhi who has exerted himself to keep them on the right path. Nothing but evil will result from any restrictions placed on Mr. Gandhi's activities and the responsibility for the same will rest on the shoulders of the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 20th July.

8. "Mr. Montagu proceeded to characterise 'Mr. Gandhi's efforts' 'as thoroughly mischievous'! Mr. Gandhi is a patriot of 'high character' and has rendered 'great services' to India, but his movement is 'thoroughly mischievous'! Mr. Montagu's diplomacy is at considerable pains to look respectable; but it will not deceive the nationalists. The Government of India and the local Governments, Mr. Montagu said, were watching the situation closely and were taking precautions! This is no news to us. We know what Sind officials have been doing to put down the Khilafat movement; Mr. Smyth of Jacobabad fame has already put forth heroic efforts! And Sind Moslems have answered the official challenge with *hijrat*! 'Maintain order', says Mr. Montagu; but who told him the Khilafat movement had any the least idea of breaking peace and order? And is not Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement pledged to non-violence? But Mr. Montagu says the movement is 'mischievous'! And he would 'support the measures which the Government of India thought necessary in the present difficult situation'! Nor would he let the House of Commons 'suggest', 'dictate', or 'interfere' with measures of the 'Government of India and the local Government'. For once Anglo-Indians will welcome Mr. Montagu's words with a whoop of joy! Mr. Montagu champions the theory of 'trust-the-man-on-the-spot'! Mr. Gandhi is not the man to be frightened by such brave methods of Government. Nor can the Khilafat movement and the spirit behind it be broken thus. The weight of repression will consolidate, but will not break the spirit of the nation."

New Times (8), 21st July.

9. "Sir George Lloyd's Government have given a warning to Sind that 'if the campaign of untruthful and inflammatory speeches which has commenced in certain districts is persisted in', they 'will have no alternative but to apply to the whole province of Sind or to such parts of it as may be necessary the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act.'..... Sir George Lloyd,

Bombay Government's warning to Khilafat workers in Sind.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th July.

we hope, realises that never in their history have Moslems been more sore in mind than they are now, and that justice and right are with them. Is it statesmanlike to take or even contemplate taking any steps that will prevent them from giving expression to their feelings at a time when there can be nothing more dangerous than the stifling of those feelings? Besides, has Sir George Lloyd given adequate consideration to the fact that the Executive in Sind has contributed no little in inflaming Moslems in Sind by instigating and supporting a most mischievous anti-Khilafat movement propaganda? What India needs, according to Sir George Lloyd, is leaders. What India needs really is Governors who bring a really new angle of vision to their task, who realize that India has changed with the times, that the 'present difficult conditions', to use Mr. Montagu's recent phrase, are mainly of Government making, and who, therefore, see the futility and danger of resorting to weapons of repression and coercion to deal with situations, however grave, but not too grave to be dealt with by the ordinary law of the land. The Executive in India has always been prone to be panic-stricken and is not too slow in demanding the use of repressive measures. It is for Sir George Lloyd to lead them to new and statesmanlike ways of handling grave situations. Let him visit Sind, mix with the people, talk to them and their real representatives, and we have no doubt he will see no need to enforce his warning. To give a blank cheque to the Sind administration—with its antecedents and its notorious stamp of being mediæval—will be to court danger—and disaster."

*10. "We earnestly trust that the hope expressed by the Government of Bombay in their Press Note regarding Khilafat meetings in Sind will meet with ready response from those concerned. Sir George Lloyd's Government have earned, by virtue of their proved moderation and sobriety in dealing with popular movements, the right to command the co-operation of all persons when they appeal for it on the grounds set forth in the Press Note. To ignore advice tendered in such admirable spirit is to put a premium on administrative methods which wrought such havoc in the Punjáb last year. At the same time, we trust that Government will severely check any tendency on the part of the Criminal Investigation Department to develop into a Criminal Evolution Department. When the public mind is perturbed as it is to-day, it is the interest and the duty of Government, not to find inmates for its jails, but to remove all possible causes of irritation, to disseminate correct, impartial and reliable information, and to multiply the points of sympathetic personal contact between its officers and the people. In this connection, we ought to say that the Bombay Government's Bureau of Information is a costly fiasco. Major Dawson is an excellent man, but knowledge of and information about India is not his strong point, and, as the saying is, you cannot get into the ladle what is not in the pot."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 25th July.

11. Commenting upon the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay warning Sind to guard itself against indiscreet speeches, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The Government of Bombay have issued a Press Note warning Sind in connection with the Khilafat movement in that province. The note accuses the Sindhis of using language calculated not only to engender ill-feeling between one community and another but also to excite religious fanaticism and to give rise to unrest and disturbances. The note also alleges that some of the speakers have openly charged British soldiers with unworthy conduct in the Muslim Holy Places; which charge, the note points out, is entirely baseless, because British soldiers have not entered such Holy Places at all. We would be sincerely sorry if the allegations made in the note are correct, because if reckless speakers do not exercise any restraint over their language, there is the danger of the Khilafat agitation receiving a great blow; but if Government have relied upon the reports of the police and the C. I. D. for the veracity or otherwise of the accusations levelled against the Sindhis, we must say that Government have committed a mistake in doing so. All the same, we would strongly recommend it to the Khilafat Committees in Sind and the leaders of that Province that they should use all their influence in putting a strict check upon the language used in public meetings, so that the authorities may not have any excuse for suppressing the Khilafat movement. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd is a reasonable and wise ruler. We are thankful

Sánj Vartamán (32), 23rd July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 24th July.

to him for the freedom he has allowed in the matter of giving publicity to reasonable popular opinion in connection with the Khilafat; but we would, at the same time, point it out to him that it would not be just to punish the whole of Sind if language transgressing the limits of the law were used in some meetings only. If the Seditious Meetings Act will be applied to the whole of Sind, it will deal a deadly blow to legitimate agitation on the Khilafat question, and a suspicion will arise among the Muhammadans that Government are unlawfully suppressing their just fight on behalf of the Khilafat. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses gratitude to Government for the note and proceeds:—The note points out to the people what course they should follow. We would urge it upon the leaders of the Khilafat Conference and the Khilafat Committees that they should select speakers who are moderate in their language and are conversant with the law for addressing Khilafat meetings, and that if any speaker of the contrary type persists in speaking, he should be handed over to the police. By adopting this course, they will protect their district or province from the stain that would be brought upon them by the application of the Seditious Meetings Act.]

12. "We regret the country is being thrown into further turmoil by the most unhappy zeal of Mr. Gandhi. He has directed a general hartal on the 1st of August. We are reproaching the autocrats and the bureaucracy for having learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. It is sad that this reproach will be cast into the teeth of a Hindu leader like Mr. Gandhi. The bitter lessons of the agitation over his pseudo-Hindu doctrine of Satyagraha seem to have been all lost upon him. He has revived his mischievous propaganda under the new incarnation called non-co-operation. The Musalmans cannot, from the religious point of view, unite with the Hindus on a question of purely Islamic concern. But such is the state of the Moslem mind, towards which sympathy is obvious and natural, that some of them have elected Mr. Gandhi to champion their cause in the matter of the Khilafat."

Comments on the proposal to observe a general *Hartal* on 1st Aug.
Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 21st July, Eng. cols.

*13. Referring to the proposed *hartal* on 1st August, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"We have already dealt with the various phases of this movement and shown how dangerous and harmful it will prove to the best interests of this country if carried out to its utmost limits. The good sense of the Muhammadans themselves has revolted against the absurd and injurious counsels given by the apostles of non-co-operation, and Muhammadan leaders all over the country have sounded a note of warning to their co-religionists which ought to pierce the ears of those misguided ones among them who are led away by false prophets. Troublous times are ahead; never was there a greater need for calmness, clear-thinking and mutual forbearance. Our prayer is that the Almighty may give wisdom and good judgment both to the people and to their rulers."

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 25th July, Eng. cols.

*14. "The 1st of August is fast approaching, and we all feel anxious about the happenings in connection with the non-co-operation movement which is announced by Mr. Gandhi to begin on that day. On the one hand Mr. Montagu has declared his readiness to support the Government of India in anything they may do to deal with Mr. Gandhi as the leader of the movement. On the other hand Indian public opinion has declared its readiness to support Mr. Gandhi if Government take the ill-advised course of rudely laying their hands on him. Humanly speaking, nothing untoward could happen during the course of the first two stages of the non-co-operation movement..... Fortunately Mr. Gandhi has not pledged himself to terminate these stages after numerically fixed intervals. He can go on and on with these till he launches upon the other and more serious stages in the movement, *viz.*, resignations of military posts and the non-payment of taxes. If anything, he has indicated an inclination not to even formally launch upon these till he has received substantial response in the first stages. There is, therefore, absolutely no reason for Government

Mahrátta (7), 25th July.

to intervene. No breach of peace or order is immediately or even remotely involved, unless Government open their own mouth to put their own foot in it. It is perfectly legitimate to preach non-co-operation. Mr. Gandhi cannot, will not, and need not unsay what he has said in this matter. The civil right of constitutional agitation certainly does cover all the stages of the non-co-operation movement as propounded by Mr. Gandhi; and Government have no right to stop him or anybody in preaching it. To this extent the whole country will be, we think, immediately at the back of Mr. Gandhi; and it is sincerely to be wished that Government will refrain from making the mistakes it made last year in dealing with him. But there is something which we would like to say to Mr. Gandhi himself. And it is this. It is now decided to hold the special sessions of the Congress where the question will be specially discussed. The judgment of the Congress will, one may say, be only the sum of individual judgments of men who vote at the Congress. But they will be judgments of men who have cross-examined others and been themselves cross-examined in the Subjects Committee or outside. They will be judgments of men who have either dared and faced opposition and stuck to them or have allowed the better judgments of others to rule their own..... Mr. Gandhi, therefore, may postpone the actual inauguration of the movement till after the special sessions of the Congress."

Hindusthán (Weekly) (22), 18th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 21st July.

15. Attempts are being made to conciliate the Russian Bolshevists with a view to subjugate the Turks. Negotiations between Russia and Poland will be carried out in London. The Turks will be placed in a sorry plight if order is restored in Russia. It is, however, reported that the Bulgarians and "Red" Bolshevists are going to help Mustafa Kamál Pasha and that Emir Feisul is to fight for freedom. In these circumstances there is more likelihood of a general conflagration than a peaceful settlement on the question of the Khilafat. It is but natural that the Indian Muhammadans should feel very anxious on the question. It has been resolved to observe the 1st of August as the Khilafat *Hartal* day, and it is to be seen how the day is observed throughout India. The observance of the day will enable India to announce what it feels on the Khilafat question and to influence the decision of the Special Congress. Lala Lajpatrai has rightly said that all possible attempts should be made to protect the Khilafat in the interests of humanity. We are anxiously waiting to see what hearty response the people make to the movement and how they ignore the vituperations of cowardly and interested parties. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, considers the non-co-operation movement to be impracticable and fraught with mischief, and expresses gratification that at Lahore Mr. Gandhi has recognised the wisdom of asking the agriculturists to keep themselves aloof from it. It expresses the hope that better counsels will prevail and Mr. Gandhi will see the necessity of asking the public not to participate in the movement.]

Exhortation to voters not to vote for those who stood as candidates for the seat in the Bombay Legislative Council resigned by Mr. Bhurgri.

Al-Wahid (142), 16th July.

16. Mr. Ghazi Khan Talpur, Zamindar of Nawábsháh, writes as follows:—For the seat on the Bombay Legislative Council vacated by Mr. Bhurgri several gentlemen have stood as candidates. It is certainly a pity that while Islam is in danger these gentlemen are seeking election to that Council. We think that the candidates in the field are for the most part sycophants of Government officials and are devoid of sympathy with their people. It is not likely, therefore, that such men will safeguard our interests in the Council. I would, therefore, once more warn our zamindar voters to be very careful in the selection of their representative. I would also ask them to consider whether they should not practise non-co-operation and refuse to vote for the dishonourable candidates who now want us to vote for them. Musalmans more than others need to non-co-operate. It is Moslem holy places and Moslem faith that are in danger; for did not aeroplanes hover over the mausoleum of the Prophet and were not photographs taken of it from the air? A greater insult to Islam is inconceivable. If we refuse to choose our

representatives by way of non-co-operation we shall succeed in every undertaking that we may embark upon. This is only to shut the mouth of the blustering Mr. Lloyd George and to give a blow to his arrogance. [*Note.*—The voting has been completed, though the result has not yet been declared. It is hoped that the candidate who has been elected will resign his seat and thus give proof of his sense of honour as a Musalman.—Editor].

Strange ways of Khilafat workers.
Indu Prakásh (44), 19th July.

17. We cannot have any idea as to what extremes the strange sports of the devil of Khilafat now affecting Indian Muhammadans will be carried to. Thoughtful people are wonderstruck and they pity the agitators. The proper advice given by the Nizam was ridiculed and irresponsible people did not hesitate to accuse him of 'Kafar' leanings. It is a sign of the bewildered state of the Muhammadans that a proposal was made recently of appointing a Shaikh-ul-Islam. Prayers were offered at a Simla meeting for the Amir of Afghanistan on the ground that he does not care for the British. If that means love of and pride in the Khilafat, the Khilafatwallas will have to offer daily prayers for the Irish rebels, Bengali dacoits and frontier freebooters. It is the primary duty of Indian leaders to guide Muhammadans well in their delicate situation.

Comments on the rejection by the Allies of the counter-proposals of the Turkish Government with regard to the Peace Treaty.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th July.

18. "The rejection by the Allies of the counter-proposals embodied in the Note of the Turkish Government—or rather the Note of the Turkish authorities in occupied Constantinople—is not surprising. They are determined on enforcing the iniquitous Treaty at any cost..... The plea offered by the Allies in justification of these atrocious terms—that Turkish intervention in the war prolonged the conflict and that Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Armenia showed the necessity for ending the Empire of the Turks over other nations—comes with singular ill-grace from the Powers who are using their 'victory', gained with the help of Arabs and other Moslems, to force the 'emancipated' Arabs at the point of the bayonet and the threat of the aerial bomb to accept the subjection of 'Mandates', to trample upon the deepest sentiments of the followers of Islam, and, lastly, to shock the outraged conscience of mankind by the brutally frank manner in which they are dividing the 'spoils of war' among themselves in open violation of the principles of nationality and self-determination..... Here is the note delivered by the Allies to Turkey which 'recalls the atrocities by the Turks in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Armenia as shewing the necessity for ending the Empire of the Turks over other nations.' The statesmen who talk thus represent the countries whose rule is responsible for Punjáb atrocities, Congo horrors, Denshawi terrors, massacres of Turkish prisoners, Martial Law iniquities in Morocco and Tunis—in fact for the very acts imputed to the 'unspeakable' Turk. What is happening in Anatolia, in Syria and Mesopotamia? Is it the process of the 'emancipation' of the people from the tyranny of the Turks that is going on there? Let Britishers, who are not dead to a sense of honesty, of honour, who have not outlived that moral idealism which sent millions of men from their peaceful homes in India as well as in Europe to resist the menace of German militarism, answer. Let the searchlight be turned to their hearts as they contemplate what to the Eastern mind is the most sickening process of prostituting the war-aims to ignoble and sordid purposes. If they do so, they will realise the depth of the indignation that is burning at the moment in the hearts of millions of Eastern people at the growing tyranny of Europe."

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 25th July, Eng. cols.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 20th July.

*19. "It is sorrowful to see that the Allies in their reply to the Turkish Treaty have assumed such a stern and severe tone. They decline to modify the clauses relating to Thrace, Smyrna, the Syrian frontier of Armenia..... Admitting the truth of the strictures passed upon Turkey,—though the Turks also have something to say on their side,—still we cannot refrain fron expressing a wish that, taking into consideration the

feelings of millions of Muhammadans living in the British Empire, the Allies should have tempered mercy with justice, and should have acceded to such modifications as should have soothed troubled and agitated minds. There was just a hope that some such modification would be made, and great joy would have been felt had it been realised. It is a pity that the Allies, instead of following the Christian doctrine of love and forgiveness, should adopt the old-time barbarous tenet of *væ victis*. [The *Sánj Vartamán* considers the ultimatum given by the Allies to Turkey in the matter of the signing of the peace treaty as very harsh and remarks :— The Crown Council may or may not sign the peace treaty; but it will never be acceptable to the people of India. The treaty rings the death knell of the Turkish Empire. It is horrifying to think of such a sad end for the Empire that had adopted a policy of religious toleration and free trade. The end of the Turkish Empire is a calamity for Moslems throughout the world. The Turkish treaty will sow the seeds of unrest in Asia and it is impossible to gauge of its consequences. The nations of the world have been sadly deceived in placing reliance on the tall talk about high ideals indulged in by the representatives of the Allies.]

Mufid-e-Rozgár (151), 25th July.

***20.** The *Muslim Herald* says that its readers must have seen the demand made of the Turks that if they do not agree to the inhuman and unjust terms of peace they will have to vacate Constantinople and the Dardanelles. This notice, inspired by pride, must have caused uneasiness among the Musalmans. Does Europe intend, the paper asks, to drag Moslem honour in the dust by forcing Turkey to accept such a degrading notice and such contemptible terms? Elsewhere it declares that an arbitrary peace dictated by force cannot last, and that the world will be set on fire again.

Al-Wahid (142), 17th July.

21. The dreaded unhappy day has arrived. The threatened verdict of death has been drawn up. The Allies have shown the Turks no consideration whatever. The British seem to treat Moslem loyalty with utter contempt. The Christians would not budge an inch from their resolve to keep our holy places and the Jazirat-ul-arab under their sway as mandatories. No modifications seem to have been effected in the Turkish Peace Treaty. This day, the 17th instant, the Turks will be called upon to sign the Treaty and the Turkish delegates who are to sign the Treaty will not hesitate to bow to the dictates of the Allies as Damad Farid Pasha and his colleagues are the creatures and nominees of the Allied Ministers. They are the representatives neither of the general mass of Musalmans nor of the Turks. Damad Farid Pasha in particular is a confirmed partisan of the Allies, a supporter of Christianity and a rebel against the great Khilafat. But how can a heart inspired by Moslem sentiment accept this Treaty which has for its object the extirpation of Islam? Islam demands today at the hands of Musalmans their discharge of bounden duty as a last resort. Moslems have to warn the British plainly that the times have gone by when they sang songs of our loyalty gleefully. We are sure we shall clear the brains of the British and their Allies of the cowdung with which they are stuffed and put them in order by making a firm stand on the right course of Islam and acting up to the Qoranic teachings in consultation with the leaders of the land and thus see the star of Islam in the ascendant once more. [The paper then exhorts all true Moslems to act up to the instructions issued by the Central Khilafat Committee for the observance of *hartal* on 1st August.]

The *Hijrat* movement.
Lokasangraha (112), 22nd July.

22. Commenting upon the *Hijrat* movement in Sind, the *Lokasangraha* writes :—This is the second occasion in the history of the English on which British subjects have left their country for the sake of their religion. In the seventeenth century their own countrymen left England to escape persecution on account of their religious faith. But now even in the twentieth century an attempt is being made to wound the religious feelings of British subjects and they are thus compelled to leave the country. Pledges were given to us that our religious feelings would be

respected and that we would be treated with justice and equity, but the present movement has proved that all those pledges have been broken. The Khilafat question has proved that religious feelings are not respected in the British Empire while the events in the Punjáb have proved that life and honour are not safe therein. We are afraid this will create a feeling of distrust in the minds of the people for the English.

23. Mr. Mahomed Muaz of Nawábsháh (Sind) writes to *Al-Wahid*:—Philosophers of Europe, you, who have invented so many wonderful things, forget that the creations of your brains are after all transient things and that what is not liable to extinction is God, the Creator of the universe. Do you think you have a right in virtue of your inventions and your armies to crush your weaker brethren all over the world under your savage cruelties? Not long ago you paraded before the world the ideas of liberty and equality and in this way gained your object. You now want to make a morsel of the whole world. You must, however, remember that the morsel is too much for your stomachs and may lead to disorders therein. Mammon-worshippers of Europe, you have acquired our holy places, you have given trouble to the spirit of our Holy Prophet, you have confined our guardian at Constantinople, and you have committed atrocities in Thrace and Smyrna. Possibly your heart contains no blood. You subjected men, women and children in the Punjab, who had helped you to conquer countries, to the horrors of Martial Law administration, and claim that you were in the right. We put up with all this, thinking that it was retribution for our sins. We now find that Government has turned its attention to the destruction of our faith. Will not Musalmans, I ask, be moved by the present humiliation of Islam, their cherished possession? With what face will they stand before their Holy Prophet on the day of resurrection if they do nothing for the religion which he gave them? One good remedy, recommended by the founder himself, remains to us to put new life into our dying faith. It consists in our leaving the country where we cannot enjoy religious freedom, and migrating to a country where we can enjoy such freedom and worship God in our own way. Here in India, as every fair-minded person will admit, we have no religious freedom. People are deprived of their honours because of their association with the Khilafat movement, and workers in the cause of the Khilafat are regarded as seditionists or badmashes. At present Muhammadan officials must not stay after the Friday prayers at a mosque where a Khilafat sermon is to follow; and it is apprehended that before long there may be interference with the daily prayers enjoined by Islam. It will thus be seen that there are good reasons for us to leave the country.

Al-Wahid (142), 16th July.

24. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"Dr. Sapru delivered before the Khilafat Conference at Allahabad an impassioned address sympathising with the Musalmans in their trouble but dissuaded them from embarking on non-co-operation. He was frankly unable to suggest a substitute but was emphatically of opinion that whether there was a substitute or not, non-co-operation was a remedy worse than the disease. He said further that Musalmans will be taking upon their shoulders a serious responsibility if whilst they appealed to the ignorant masses to join them they could not appeal to the Indian judges to resign, and if they did they would not succeed. I acknowledge the force of Dr. Sapru's last argument. At the back of Dr. Sapru's mind is the fear that non-co-operation by the ignorant people would lead to distress and chaos and would do no good. In my opinion any non-co-operation is bound to do good. Even the Viceregal door-keeper saying, 'Please Sir, I can serve the Government no longer because it has hurt my national honour', and resigning is a step mightier and more effective than the mightiest speech declaiming against the Government for its injustice. Neverthless it would be wrong to appeal to the door-keeper until one has appealed to the highest in the land. And, as I propose, if the necessity arose, to ask the door-keepers of the Government to dissociate themselves from an unjust Government, I propose now to address an

The duty of high Government officials in the matter of the non-co-operation movement.

Young India (13), 21st July.

appeal to the Judges and the Executive Councillors to join the protest that is rising from all over India against the double wrong done to India, on the Khilafat and the Punjáb questions. In both national honour is involved. ..... When the people have faith in the Government, when it represents the popular will, the judges and the executive officials possibly serve the country. But when that Government does not represent the will of the people, when it supports dishonesty and terrorism, the judges and the executive officials by retaining office become instruments of dishonesty and terrorism. And the least, therefore, that these holders of high offices can do is to cease to become agents of a dishonest and terrorising Government..... I would submit, too, to our distinguished countrymen who occupy high offices that giving up their offices will bring the struggle to a speedy end and would probably obviate the danger attendant upon the masses being called upon to signify their disapproval by withdrawing co-operation. If the title-holders gave up their titles, if the holders of honorary office gave up their appointments and if the high officials gave up their posts, and the would-be councillors boycotted the Councils, the Government would quickly come to its senses and give effect to the people's will, for the alternative before the Government then would be nothing but despotic rule pure and simple. That would probably mean military dictatorship. The world's opinion has advanced so far that Britain dare not contemplate such dictatorship with equanimity. The taking of the steps suggested by me will constitute the peacefullest revolution the world has ever seen. Once the infallibility of non-co-operation is realised, there is an end to all bloodshed and violence in any shape or form. Undoubtedly a cause must be grave to warrant the drastic method of national non-co-operation. I do say that the affront such as has been put upon Islam cannot be repeated for a century. Islam must rise now or 'be fallen', if not for ever, certainly for a century. And I cannot imagine a graver wrong than the massacre of Jhallianwalla and the barbarity that followed it, the whitewash by the Hunter Committee, the despatch of the Government of India, Mr. Montagu's letter upholding the Viceroy and the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb, the refusal to remove officials who made of the lives of the Punjábis 'a hell' during the Martial law period. These acts constitute a complete series of continuing wrongs against India, which, if India has any sense of honour, she must right at the sacrifice of all the material wealth she possesses. If she does not, she will have bartered her soul for a 'mess of pottage'."

25. Referring to the fracas at Kacha Garhi between some Mahajarin and the Military Police, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—

Comments on the fracas at Kacha Garhi between Muhajarins and Military Police.

Young India (13), 21st July.

"Peshawar to Jamrud is a matter of a few miles. It was clearly the duty of the military not to attempt to pull out the ticketless Mahajarin for the sake of a few annas. But they actually attempted force. Intervention by the rest of the party was a foregone conclusion. An altercation ensued. A British officer was attacked with a spade. Firing and a death of a Mahajar was the result. Has British prestige been enhanced by the episode? Why have not the Government put tacful officers in charge at the frontier whilst a great religious emigration is in progress? The action of the military will pass from tongue to tongue throughout India and the Musalman world around and will no doubt be unconsciously, and even consciously exaggerated in the passage, and the feeling, bitter as it already is, will grow in bitterness. The Communique says that the Government are making further inquiry. Let us hope that it will be full, and that better arrangements will be made to prevent a repetition of what appears to have been a thoughtless act on the part of the military."

26. "Militarism as a governing creed for the British Empire has been given a certificate by the House of Lords on Lord Finlay's motion which deplored the conduct of General Dyer's case as unjust to him and as establishing a precedent dangerous to the preservation of order in the face of rebellion. The motion was carried by 129 votes to 86. It must be clear now that this verdict means an

General Dyer's case in the House of Lords.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd July.

end to all talk of putting faith in Parliament. The House of Lords, known to be a House of reaction, has surpassed itself; and it has done so in a matter upon which, among decent people, there can be no two opinions..... As for Lord Sinha, while his countrymen will thank him for expressing their deep resentment and indignation over the humiliation inflicted and indignities heaped on some of their countrymen in the Punjáb, they will emphatically resent and repudiate the insinuation made by him that the 'dangerous feud' which he is anxious to see ended is, in any way, of their making. The Indian people are not a party to any feud. They demand justice for an unparalleled wrong done to them and due guarantees against its repetition. And it is amazingly and grossly unfair of Lord Sinha to have so completely misrepresented the issue involved..... He misled his audience by saying that his fellow-countrymen desired not the punishment of individuals but the vindication of principles, and ended his defence (as if he and not Dyer were a criminal in the dock) by asking his countrymen to 'drop the question and get themselves to accomplish the great task of peace and reconciliation so ably begun by Sir Edward Maclagan, the present Lieut-Governor of the Punjáb'. Lord Sinha's failure to represent his country's interests could not be more markedly shown than by these words. Are India's wounds not to be healed? Is India's honour not to be redeemed? Is the liberty of person in India not to be guaranteed against the onslaughts of any panic-stricken bureaucrat? The task of peace and reconciliation has certainly been begun by Sir Edward Maclagan, but much still remains to be done by him when the Thompsons, the O' Briens and the Bosworth-Smiths are still there in their places to remind the people of their humiliation. But it is quite in keeping with Lord Sinha's utter failure to understand the real issue to say that it is for Sir Edward Maclagan to begin the great task of peace and reconciliation. That task has to be begun by the British Government, and, if they fail, as they have failed, by the British democracy. It can be begun, in the real sense of the word, only by recalling Lord Chelmsford, by adequately punishing O'Dwyer, Dyer and other miscreants, by repealing the Rowlatt Act and by other acts of reparation demanded by the people of this country in a hundred meetings..... No one can tell what the next move will be in India, but let Britain understand that in all but destroying the last slender hope a dangerous assault has been made upon the wounded pride of a long-suffering people. The defeat in the Lords will not make any difference to the existence of the Government. But it has a deep and sinister meaning for India. Taken together with the brutally frank attitude of a large section of the European community in India, it has exposed in its nakedness the fact—which most of us have hitherto fondly sought to disbelieve—that Prussianism has as little to do with geography as Dyerism with humanity. It is a creed that will flourish and be ruthlessly practised wherever one nation rules another..... Before the tragedy was enacted, we never believed in the possibility of it in the British Empire—though the Ceylon atrocities might have been a warning to us. We did not believe so, because, despite the experience of history, we remained firm in our conviction that British Imperialism was an exception. The verdict of the Lords, the outbursts of Anglo-Indian papers, the hysterics of European Associations, the failure of the British Government to do us justice—present this awful fact before us: This exception is a myth and fond illusion. The challenge of the Lords is a challenge to every Indian—be he a Nationalist or a Moderate—that his life is valuable, but not so valuable as that of a European..... The Special Session of the Congress will decide ultimately what our choice shall be. But, meanwhile, there is no time to lose. Is it not possible for all Indian leaders, to whatever party they belong—and, at least, in the condemnation of the Punjáb atrocities there has been no distinction of parties—to meet at once, say in this city, and to send forth a joint protest against the failure of Parliament, pending the course of action that the nation may decide upon adopting at Calcutta?"

***27.** "We never disguised our distrust in the capacity of the British House of Commons or the British House of Lords to deal justice to India in the matter of the Punjab troubles. We only awaited the debate and the decision of both Houses with a view to realise and understand fully

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the soul of British Imperialists..... Thus the British Parliament composed of the House of Commons and House of Lords has pronounced its mind on the vital question of determining the relations of England and India. At one stroke, the cobwebs of superstitious faith in the current political cant of 'supreme trust in the British sense of justice and freedom' have been swept away and the two nations, India and England, stand face to face, divested of all the conscious or unconscious hypocrisy. It is no doubt a great achievement because this realisation of the naked truth is alone capable of ensuring future progress..... The upshot of the whole debate has undoubtedly cleared the political atmosphere and has convinced thoughtful Indians that India must look to herself for her salvation. The primitive struggle for existence in all its hideous forms still obtains among the nations of the world and as in the animal kingdom the doctrine of the survival of the fittest rules the day. Even to-day a large and influential section of the British people worship the fetish of 'might' and in spite of the great war 'might' has been proved to be the right. Let India realise the situation clearly and chalk out her future programme in the light of it. If it is ordained that the struggle should take this brutal form, India cannot help it."

*28. "We have no doubt that the resolution of the House of Lords, which has stunned the thinking portion of the Indian community, will be one more stunning blow to the moral prestige of the British Government in India. The Punjab tragedy, with all the nameless horrors of the Jhallianwala Bagh, Martial Law, bombing and flogging, and the deplorable attempts made by Anglo-Indians and their organs of opinion not only to justify them but applaud their authors as heroes and saviours of India, and last but not least the Hunter Committee's report and the Despatch of the Secretary of State had already undermined to a large extent the confidence of the Indian people in British justice and humanity. As if that was not enough, the House of Lords has recklessly aggravated the situation in this country by approving a motion that reflects no credit whatsoever upon it or upon England, if the vote is really representative of British public opinion about the Punjab tragedy and its fiendish authors..... The situation created in India by recent events was sufficiently serious and one cannot but view with the gravest anxiety the action of the Lords in approving a motion which will have a disastrous effect upon public opinion in India."

Gujarâti (18), 25th July, Eng. cols.

*29. "The result of the debate on Lord Finlay's motion exonerating General Dyer and censuring Government for their condemnation of his conduct at Jhallianwala, has been received with amazement in this country. The constitutional position is clear. The adverse vote in the Lords will not affect the decision of the Government as regards General Dyer, nor does it entail the resignation of Ministers. The House of Lords has come to be recognised as an obsolete institution and the need of a radical change in its constitution is admitted by all parties. The sinister significance of the proceedings in the House of Lords to the people of India, however, does not arise from their immediate constitutional consequences. It arises from the indubitable proof that they afford of the fact that the politically and socially important classes in Great Britain share and approve of General Dyer's views in regard to the Jhallianwala massacre. In fact, Lord Finlay, who is a late Lord Chancellor and a lawyer of distinction, in his speech justified General Dyer at every point against the criticisms passed on his conduct by the Hunter Committee and the Secretary of State. The acceptance of his motion by a considerable majority by the Lords is of evil augury to the British Empire. Its practical lesson for the Indian people is obvious. We should bend all our energies to securing ourselves against a repetition of the Punjáb episode. This, not the Reforms, is the immediate concern of the Indian leaders. We support the suggestion of the *Bombay Chronicle* that Indian leaders of all parties should meet immediately to consider how this may be best achieved. ..... Lord Sinha's speech contained a few sound sentiments, but its whole tone was inexcusably apologetic. He failed lamentably to rise to the occasion. Even if he had faithfully paraphrased Mr. Montagu's speech in

Indian Social Reformer (6), 25th July.

the House of Commons he would have acquitted himself more creditably. The full text of his speech when it is available in India may show that there were more sound sentiments in it, but it cannot, unless he has been grossly travestied, cover the ineptitude of some of his observations. To speak of Indians in the same breath as the partisans of General Dyer as indulging in a feud over Jhallianwala is to betray an extraordinary incapacity to distinguish right from wrong..... Even Lord Finlay's perverted loyalty to his own countrymen could not stir Lord Sinha from his political lethargy in speaking up for his own people."

Dnydn Prakdsh (41), 23rd July; *Lokasangraha* (112), 24th July.

30. The result of the voting on Lord Finlay's motion in the Lords about the treatment meted out to General Dyer will cause intense dissatisfaction in India. Mr. Montagu by his able and statesmanlike utterances in the Commons had vindicated the British reputation for fair dealing. But the Lords led by the Sydenhamites have approved the conduct of General Dyer and have thus keenly disappointed Indians. We are sure at least this defeat in the Lords will convince people about the difficulties which Mr. Montagu has had to encounter. The Lords' endorsement of the action of General Dyer will certainly not be conducive to the stability of the Empire. To urge that he was right in acting as he did is to strike at the basic principles of law. We trust this defeat will not cause the British Government to deviate from their course and that they will give justice to India by suitably punishing the offending officials in the Punjáb. [According to the *Lokasangraha*, Lord Finlay's utterances show that General Dyer has several equals among his countrymen. The paper remarks that Mr. Montagu undoubtedly showed great courage in repudiating General Dyer's conduct in the House of Commons. It expresses sympathy with Lord Sinha for the difficult position in which he found himself in the House of Lords but declares that it is unable to understand what he gained by advising Indians to remain quiet.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 22nd July; *Hindusthán* (23), 23rd July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 22nd July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 23rd July; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 24th July; *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* (81), 23rd July.

31. Affairs in India will assume a more serious aspect owing to the resolution passed in the Lords in the matter of General Dyer. Political parties in India should lay aside their differences and hold public meetings all over the country protesting against the decision of the Lords. The House of Lords has aggravated the wounds of the Indian people and has created a new danger to the Government of the country by making the civil administration subordinate to the military authority. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—The passing of Lord Finlay's resolution in the Lords will have this effect in India, that the dream of those who believed that the structure of British administration rested on the foundation of justice will be dispelled and their confidence in Britain will be shaken. This is no small loss as the prestige of Britain is maintained not so much by her army or her navy as by her justice. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* and the *Jám-e-Jamshed* deplore the decision of the House of Lords and express the fear that it will tend to lower the prestige of British justice in India. The *Bombay Samáchár* asks the Indians not to attach undue importance to the unfavourable decision of the House of Lords and to take consolation in the high ideals of Government placed before them by Mr. Montagu. The *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* is of opinion that no better decision was expected from the House of Lords. It is afraid that the decision will shake the confidence of the Indian people in British justice and place Indian leaders in an awkward position.]

Hunter Report in Commons.

New Times (8), 17th and 18th July; *Praju Bandhu* (29), 18th July; Eng. cols.

32. "Out of over 800 German War criminals British ministers have selected 45 for punishment to 'establish principles of Justice and international rights'. Is there a German War criminal who killed, as General Dyer did, innocent subjects of his sovereign? Yet, Sir Edward Carson said, Dyer might be 'censured but not punished'! As to Sir Michael, Sir Edward

Carson was proud of him! Sir Michael was a fellow Irishman! Far from being placed on a judicial trial, General Dyer has been defended in and outside the Parliament as a hero, an 'honourable soldier', a 'saviour of the Empire'!..... By placing prestige above right Parliament has failed to do justice to India. If as a result of the disillusionment the people learn to look to themselves and turn their thoughts away from mendicant politics to a programme of self-reliance, the terrible tragedy in the Punjáb will not have lost its lesson for us. British statesmanship has proved bankrupt. We must trust ourselves. We have long underrated ourselves; we need courage to think, to believe that in trusting to the life-impulse of the Nation is our strength." [In the next issue the paper writes :—" We are extremely thankful to the Labour Party for championing our national cause in the midst of an overwhelming opposition. For the rest our faith in the British Democracy has been rudely shaken and shattered, and it is high time for us to have faith in ourselves."]

33. Commenting upon the debate in the House of Commons on the Report of the Hunter Committee, the *Navjivan* writes:—What advantage is to be gained by dismissing General Dyer? What about O'Dwyer, Lord Chelmsford, Mr. Bosworth-Smith and Colonel O'Brien? There is some truth in the remark made in certain quarters that General Dyer has been made a mere scapegoat of. We do not want to be unjust to those who exerted themselves to secure justice in the Commons, but would like to ask them whether they wasted their breaths for getting a Dyer punished or for vindicating justice. If they wanted to vindicate justice, how can England escape by the humiliation of a Dyer? Is Dyer repentant? Members of Parliament have opened funds to show their appreciation of his services. England has become a stranger to the fear of God in the intoxication of victory. General Dyer indulged in cowardly and monstrous deeds and boasted of them before the Hunter Committee. But Bosworth-Smith, O'Brien and other sinners, who committed outrages in no way less heinous than Dyer, are still allowed to hold their posts. Parliament did not express any indignation at their actions. Does this not mean that Dyer was punished because he had the audacity or foolishness to confess his sins? In ancient Sparta theft was not considered so much of a crime as being caught in the act. Should we think that Parliament is disposed to take a similar view of the Punjab atrocities? Will Parliament now boast of its devotion to justice with such a stain on its reputation? [The *Gujarâti* considers the debate in the Commons as hollow and high-sounding and deplores the retention of the other officials in service who were equally responsible, with General Dyer, for the atrocities in the Punjab.]

Navjivan (68), 18th July; *Gujarâti* (18), 18th July.

34. Referring to the Punjáb debate in Parliament, the *Loka Bandhu* writes :—Indians have lost their confidence in British justice. British justice may give a very proper decision where Government are not concerned and when only Indians are to be dealt with. But in cases in which Government or Englishmen are concerned, she has no inclination to do justice. The Dyer decision will only add insult to injury. Englishmen may have killed many Hindus while acquiring the country. Such a thing would be proper in the state of war then prevailing. But it is quite unprecedented in the annals of British rule in India that innocent and unarmed people, old and young, were killed by new weapons invented for war. British justice is blind to these things. Probably her eyesight is dimmed by intoxication of power and wealth. Indians, what of the future? [The *Dunia* expresses itself utterly dissatisfied with the Dyer debate in the House of Commons and declares that justice has been outraged by the House. Referring to the appeal made by some Europeans to draw a veil over past events, the paper declares it to be impossible to do so in view of what had but recently taken place in connection with Ratanchand and Bugga and remarks that the Punjáb question will not be closed until genuine justice is done.]

Loka Bandhu ( ), 18th July; *Dunia* (104), 18th July.

35. The discussion in the House of Commons has conclusively proved that hundreds of members of Parliament feel no compunction for the massacre of innocent people by Dyer. It has also shown that nearly half of the British public approves of the heartless doings of the General. Will India ever get justice or political rights or *swarájya* from such people? It is nothing but delusion. Why hold Congresses and send deputations to England? See if something can be gained by doing your best in the country itself. Indians should now understand that they stand entirely unprotected in the world. If to-morrow you inaugurate any strong agitation, would some new Dyer hesitate to shoot you down?

Rájakarán (122), 18th July.

36. "The Punjáb debate offered the British Parliament a splendid opportunity to throw over-board the high priests of Prussianism in India and to show to the world that a rule of iron-fist does not appeal to the Britisher, whether it exists in Europe or in India. It offered an opportunity to prove that in the eyes of John Bull the life of the Indian is neither more nor less sacred than the life of a white man, and that India is not a paper partner but a real one in the Commonwealth of Nations as represented by the British Empire. It offered to Parliament an opportunity to vindicate the oft-made statement that British Rule in India depends on the good-will of Indians and not on force. But that opportunity has been woefully lost, and the British Parliament has set its seal on the perpetration of a tragic drama of which the 'monstrous event' of the Jallianwalla Bagh, as Mr. Churchill styled it, was only one of the episodes. The hopes of the Indians have thus been completely belied, and deep discontent will take the place of rising hopes. The lesson of her helplessness has thus been cruelly brought home to her, and India has realized the futility of relying on others for justice. And if as a result India decides to give a decent burial to the untried Reforms of Mr. Montagu and to put forth unequalled effort for replacing them by a system that will make the repetition of such horrors an impossibility, the British Parliament will have entirely to thank themselves for it."

Gujaráti Punch (20), 11th July, Eng. cols.

37. "We are indebted to the *Tribune* for the news that out of the nine names mentioned in the Hunter Report of the officials connected with the Punjáb four are no longer in service and that the remaining will either give up service when the new Councils are formed or be otherwise dealt with. The four are O'Dwyer, Dyer, Frank Johnson and Bosworth-Smith. The latest *Gazette of India* announces that Bosworth-Smith has been relieved by Major Lindsay as Cantonment Magistrate of Ambala. Frank Johnson's appearance at Rangoon and his remark that he had laid down his uniform were certainly ominous signs. It has taken the authorities some time to realise the necessity of taking action. But what action! Those who insulted our women-folk, those who flogged and fired as if hellish forces had been let loose are asked mildly to retire from service. Others, who were responsible for abominations ranging from bribery and police intimidation to forcible detention, unlawful trial, machine-gunning and bombing are still securely astride the saddle of government. It is sought no doubt to make some slight amends for our humiliations. We could have understood if no punishment had been meted out at all, for, then the theory laid down by the House of Lords would have been clearly the guiding principle; but we cannot understand punishment that recognises the crime, and yet does not adequately meet it. This is humiliation intensified. Not until the last Militarist is adequately dealt with will there be any prospect of the dawn of a new era in India."

How those responsible for the Punjáb outrages are being dealt with.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th July.

38. Commenting upon the memorial submitted by the European Association to the British Premier protesting against the treatment meted out to General Dyer, the *Lokasangraha* writes:—The English are a highly

Lokasangraha (112), 22nd July.

patriotic people and they owe their present greatness to that virtue. But the excess of this very quality has now become a failing in them. Did any one ever suppose that the British Government, the Government of India and the Hunter Committee would blame an Englishman unless there were sufficient reasons for doing so? Although they declared Dyer to be guilty only of an error of judgment, Englishmen in India have raised a hue and cry and are moving heaven and earth to establish his innocence. Even this mild rebuke to a wretch who deliberately shot innocent men has incurred the wrath of Englishmen in India. Is this attitude of theirs a sign of their progress or their degeneration?

Comments on the grant of franchise to subjects of Native States in connection with the Reformed Council.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th July.

39. "The Government of Bombay are to be congratulated on their decision not to exclude the subjects of Indian States from the franchise, under the new Reform Scheme. Our morning contemporary is right in saying that the status of subjects of Indian States being an all-India question, should not have been left to be decided according to the whims of the Provincial Governments. The uncertainty which has prevailed from the very beginning has given rise to unnecessary alarm and complications in the various provinces. Even now the position is not quite clear in some of the Provinces. Bengal, Bombay, Madras and Behar and Orissa have been persuaded to admit subjects of Indian States to the franchise, but there are the United Provinces, the Punjáb and the Central Provinces, where there are large numbers of these subjects, but where their position in the Reform Scheme remains still undecided. There can be absolutely no ground for any differentiation in the various provinces. These provinces too must be brought in a line with the rest. In bowing to public agitation Sir George Lloyd has shown that his Government are open to conviction, and that they are not obsessed by the fatal consideration of 'prestige.'"

Bombay Samáchár (58), 19th July.

40. Referring to the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay announceing that the subjects of Native States in British districts will be admitted to the franchise in connection with the Reformed Legislative Council, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—It is highly gratifying that the Government of Bombay have at last made use of their discretion by taking into consideration the popular voice raised against the distinction sought to be made between British and non-British subjects. By so doing they have once again given proof of their liberal and commendable policy of acting in co-operation with the people. We heartily congratulate the Government of Bombay, and especially His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, on arriving at this decision. We trust that this Press Note will put an end to another similar difficulty and irregularity. The University of Bombay has been allotted one special seat in the Reformed Legislative Council. There is one restriction imposed upon the voters for this seat, and it is this that they should be residing in the Bombay Presidency during the month of April preceding the publication of the electoral roll. On account of this restriction the graduates, otherwise qualified, who reside in Native States situated outside the Bombay Presidency cannot enjoy the franchise. Now that Bombay has brought the subjects of all the Native States under the general franchise, it would be hardly fair to exclude the residents of other Native States from voting for the University seat only because they reside in those Native States. We, therefore, hope that Government will make this rule in connection with the University seat more clear and thereby put an end to all the obstacles in the way of the enjoyment of the franchise arising out of connections with and residence in Native States.

Kesari (109), 20th July.

41. At last the Bombay Government have issued a communiqué allowing those born in the Native States the franchise. The demand was so urgent, just and straightforward that there is no wonder that Government have acceded to it. If the note had been issued two months ago, the work of preparing the list of voters would not

have to be done over again. We do not know why Government made such a problem of such a plain point. However, all is well that ends well and we thank the Bombay Government for acceding to the demand, even though it is after such a delay.

Comments on the proposed boycotting of the Council elections.

Navjivan (68), 18th July; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 21st July; *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* (81), 23rd July.

42. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—Just at present I look upon the whole of the administration as poison. How can we expect sweet fruit from a bitter tree? We have two questions before us: whether we should enter the Councils and perpetually oppose Government, or not enter the Councils at all. No warrior has ever been defeated by petty annoyance. An Englishman is a warrior. Petty annoyance in Council consists in making long and sarcastic speeches, abusing Government at times, and not giving one's votes when Government stand in need of them. Those who think that Government would be brought to their knees by such methods do not seem to have studied politics. Our victories in Council upto the present have scarcely won for us anything substantial. India's wealth is being drained away; the terror of the military has not at all been reduced; there has been no improvement in the administration of justice between the Blacks and the Whites, and there has been no appreciable improvement in the policy adopted towards India. Who can say that the relations between the rulers and the ruled are getting purer? What material advantage has been gained by a few Indians becoming judges and members of Executive Councils and one Indian being raised to the Peerage? I consider all these things as bribes. They are small pills of opium to keep us in a state of somnolence. Honour done to Indians is dishonour in disguise as long as there is no justice. I consider the legislative councils as mud as long as our administration is tainted with injustice. The boycotting of the Councils will elevate the people. It will give training of a pure character to the people and leave the burden of the administration to Government. It is my firm conviction that Government will not be able to carry on the administration even for a moment if the educated classes realise their duty and give up what appear to them to be benefits conferred by Government. The administration is being conducted by the indirect acquiescence of the people and it would be made impossible if they offered direct opposition to it. It is not chiefly by fear but by offering inducements to the people that Government are able to carry on the administration. Fear is its last remedy. There is just enough justice to carry on the administration. We get justice to some extent because it is considered good policy to be just. We would demand justice even though the world should come to an end. It is my firm belief that the Englishman can be conquered by moral force, and that he is more amenable to it than other European nations. The deliberate boycotting of the Councils is an expression of our moral force to a slight extent and such a boycott can be easily practised. But it will be made effective only when it is practised by those who are fit to be the representatives of the people. [The *Sánj Vartamán* dwells upon the grave nature of the movement for boycotting the Councils and emphasises the necessity of arriving at a unanimous decision in the matter. It, therefore, awaits the decision of the Special Congress with interest and calls upon the Moslem League to pronounce its opinion in the matter. The *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* dwells at length on the advantages and disadvantages of non-co-operation, and declares that the interests of the country would be furthered by co-operating with Government and giving the go-bye to non-co-operation.]

Rájakáran (122), 18th July.

43. The *Rájakáran* does not think that educated people will be able to do any substantial good to the country by getting themselves elected or even by securing appointments of ministers. It expresses its amazement at the sight of both Moderates and Extremists hankering after council seats which in its opinion shows the hollowness of all the public movements in India. In its opinion India at present wants political *sanyasis* like Mr. Gandhi and not men who aim at ministerships and seek self-aggrandisement.

44. "The Draft Rules, it will be seen, are reactionary. And they will, we are told, 'receive the assent of Parliament as early as possible' which, in plain English, means they will be passed without being subjected to public criticism in India! We know how the meagre Minto-Morley Reforms were rendered ineffective by the reactionary rules of the Government of India. It is easy to understand what will be the effect of the new rules of the Joint Committee on the Montagu Reforms already censured by the National Congress as 'unsatisfactory', 'disappointing' and 'inadequate'. We have not hoped great things of the Reformed Council. It is the masses who have the power to make a great nation. Let them be educated, disciplined, and inspired by the ideal of nation-service. In their hearts, not in the new Councils, may a New India be born—the India that we love."

Comments on the draft Council Rules as amended by the Joint Parliamentary Committee.
New Time (8), 16th July.

45. "In the face of the assurance given in Parliament that every opportunity would be afforded to the people concerned to state their case on the draft rules of the Government of India Act before they were finally submitted to Parliament, the refusal of the Joint Committee to take any oral evidence from the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel, who has been deputed by the Indian National Congress to place its view before the Committee on these Rules, will cause great surprise and disappointment in this country. The public are fully aware of the policy of deliberate exclusion of Congress representatives which was followed by the Government of India and most of the Local Governments in the formation of the Advisory bodies which were entrusted with the task of drafting the Rules. The people of this country have been given little opportunity of criticising the Draft Rules, and the Joint Committee, instead of rectifying the blunder, proceeded to intensify the wrong. The Committee told Mr. Patel that only written statements would be considered. Is this the way the Ministers carry out the assurance given to the people of this country that every opportunity would be given to them to state their views on the Draft Rules?..... The plea offered for the breathless hurry with which the rules have been rushed through the various Committees is that they ought to receive the sanction of Parliament, and that the Councils should be ready to be inaugurated by the time the Prince of Wales visits India. But is it a compliment to his Royal Highness that he should set in motion a machinery which is patently defective and likely to cause friction before long?"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd July.

46. The *Kesari* objects to the reduction of the number of reserved Maratha seats in Bombay city by one and says:—The question was one of principle. It was not about whether the number of seats should be 7 or 8. The stinginess of the Committee will only needlessly wound the Maratha feeling. At least if a seat in Bombay was to be removed because of the small number of Marathas, it should have been transferred to some district with a large Maratha population. It is wrong that the representative of Labour in Bengal should be nominated and not elected. Some minor changes have been made, but on the whole the Parliamentary Committee has mostly accepted the rules framed by the bureaucracy in India and there is no hope of any change being effected.

Kesari (109), 20th July.

47. The Parliamentary Joint Committee has snatched away from the hands of the Marathas and allied castes one of the two seats reserved for them in Bombay City. This has been done in response to the outcry raised by the Parsis that as the Maratha population in the southern portion of Bombay was not numerous, it did not deserve to have a Maratha reserved seat. It should be noted that the outcry was raised not by Brahmins but by Parsis. No intelligent Brahmin will object even if the Marathas are given a hundred reserved seats, because he knows what value to attach to these Council seats. The Satya-shodhak people and His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur should now have a fight with the Parsis for the loss of the Bombay seat instead of harassing the poor Brahmins. [The *Jágaruk* writes:—We do not think that, looking

Rájakáran (122), 18th July; *Jágaruk* (45), 17th July; *Vijayi Marátha* (134), 22nd July.

to the number of the Maratha backward class population in Bombay, the two seats reserved for it in the City were in anyway excessive. But even supposing it was so, the one seat withdrawn should have been transferred to some other constituency. The *Vijayi Mardtha* expresses exasperation at the reduction of the Maratha reserved seats from eight to seven and declares that Government have thereby given an affront to the Marathas who form the bulk of the revenue-paying population of the Presidency and thus deserve 75 per cent. of the total number of seats to be reserved for them. It goes on :—Government reserves 16 seats for eight lakh Musalmans while it gives only seven seats to the Marathas and allied castes which number over a crore. Cannot Government see injustice in this? Do they mean to say that the Punjáb Sikhs alone aided them during the war, while the Marathas held themselves back? Have Government so soon forgotten the sufferings undergone by lakhs of Maratha sepoys in the Kut siege? Is this attack on the rights of the Marathas meant as a reward for the loyal assistance given by us to Government in the war? The masses now see complete darkness before them. It would be impossible for the new Council to represent them, which means that Peshwai rule is to commence again under the British Imperial sway. Up till now the people had full confidence in the just administration of the British Government, and Government naturally wished the confidence to continue. But if Government themselves set at naught the people's rights, who would be responsible for the evil consequences ?]

48. Commenting upon the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee in connection with the draft rules and regulations for the Reformed Councils, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes :—The Joint Committee have published their report after mature consideration of the opinions of the Local Governments and other public bodies on the draft rules framed by the Government of India in connection with the Reformed Legislative Councils. The Committee did not hear any oral evidence on the subject. The Committee have in the main approved of the rules framed by the Government of India and the changes that they have made are insignificant. The omission of the one seat reserved for the Marathas in Bombay (South) is just because the allocation to an uneducated community of two reserved seats out of the small number of six seats allotted to the city of Bombay was evidently calculated to do injustice to the educated and advanced sections of its population. The Committee have given six additional seats to the Punjáb. Similarly, if in response to the representation of the Parsi Central Association they had been kind enough to give at least six additional seats to the Parsi community, they would only have done justice to that community.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 18th July.

49. We made persistent demands through meetings, telegrams and newspapers that Lord Chelmsford should be recalled and that the offending officials in the Punjáb should be brought to trial, but these have proved futile like a cry in the wilderness. We shall have no equals in dull-headedness if we do not understand even such a simple fact as that Dyer was deprived of his commission not to please India but to avoid being laughed at by the civilized world. When it is once acknowledged that the British Government has closed the Punjáb incident in total disregard of public opinion in India, the only question for solution is what we are to do next. The limit of dependence upon others is now reached and signs of self-reliance become visible from this point. Since Indians became dependent upon others they have ceased to grasp the inwardness of self-reliance. Self-reliance is a philosopher's stone. We need not at all be despondent because we have lost our *swarajya* and our independence. These can be regained, but when? Only then when we stop having recourse to petitions and entreaties. If we are endowed, like people in other independent countries, with hands, feet and brains, when are we to make use of them if not at such a time? If we remember that all these are meant for a higher and a nobler cause then *swarujya* and independence are not at

India's duty to be self-reliant in the future.
Lokasangraha (112), 20th July.

all far removed from us. We must first establish our fitness to get *swarajya*. This fitness does not follow from the submission of petitions, the making of speeches, nor even the raising of an outcry. This fitness only accrues from exposing ourselves to sufferings. If we read the history of the Marathas or that of any other nation that has acquired independence, one fact will come prominently to our notice, *viz.*, that the goddess of independence has never manifested herself to any nation unless lakhs of men underwent bodily suffering or even sacrificed their lives. England, too, has earned her *swarajya* by putting forth tremendous efforts for hundreds of years. Is it possible that the English who have themselves suffered much for the sake of *swarajya* will give *swarajya* to us without a struggle? They will only have regard for us if we pass the test of self-reliance and not otherwise. In short there is hope for deliverance only if we tread the path of self-reliance, bearing in mind that there is no *swarajya* without self-reliance and there is no getting rid of injustice and oppression without *swarajya*.

Comments on the Director of Information's leaflet on the sanitary and other arrangements made at Násik for the Sinhasth fair.

Kesari (109), 25th July.

50. There is a Director of Information in Bombay also as in other provinces and his duty is to remove the misunderstandings of the people by supplying them with information regarding the policy of Government. These officials are editors of an official newspaper; only, there are no regular issues of it and it is also to be noted that they are circulated free. The Bombay Director of Information has recently proclaimed that Government was after all not a merely mischievous animal but that every moment it was doing something for the good of the people. As an instance of this he has referred to the sanitary and other arrangements made at Násik for the Sinhasth fair which, he says, have been made for affording convenience in the performance of religious rites to those who always take a lead in criticising and opposing Government. The information given by the Government editor is correct, but the attempt made by him to bite in the end is ridiculous. The money spent by Government has not been brought from England. The work now done under orders of Government would have been done by the people, had they the power. There is no necessity of a white *mucadum* coming out to India from England to see that the gutters of Násik and Trimbakeshwar are kept clean. The critics of Government only say this much and nothing else. It is right to say that Government work day and night to do good to the people, but is it false to maintain that the rayats work day and night to pour money into the Government coffers? Their only demand is that the tax-payer should have the final decision to spend his money as he wills, and this is the quarrel about *swardjya*!

The reappearance of the Tai Maharaj case in the High Court.

Mahrátta (7), 25th July.

***51.** "Once more has the British judiciary intervened to dispose of contested matters between Mr. Tilak on the one hand and the Bombay Government and its proteges on the other. The intervention this time was invoked by the Government along with the Maharaja of Kolhapur, but here, too, Mr. Tilak won and the Government lost the issue. Mr. Tilak's name does not, indeed, appear on the records of this case, but his old ward Jagannath Maharaj, in the well-known adoption case, was made party to the case all the same. The issue arose out of a reference made by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur, his protege Bala Maharaj and the Secretary of State for India in Council, under the Bombay Revenue Jurisdiction Act of 1876. The object of the reference was to get a declaration from the High Court entitling the Bombay Government to convert the 'Inam' lands in the villages held by Jagannath Maharaj, as the adopted son of the late Baba Maharaj, into a 'Saramjam'. This was obviously a move to circumvent the decision of the Privy Council in favour of Mr. Tilak and Jagannath Maharaj in the adoption case, by depriving the latter of all the property to which he became entitled by his valid adoption. It was, therefore, an insult to the highest Judicial Tribunal in the Realm and an insult also to the intelligence of the Bombay High Court. The Government were, no doubt, well-advised to take up in

this case only a non-contentious attitude and they actually posed only as an interpleading party in the case. But the very fact that they lent their formal name to the petition shows that they have a tender corner in their heart for the Maharaja of Kolhápur, and further that in relation to Mr. Tilak they are quite willing to wound though rather afraid to strike. We think the Bombay Government should have this time summarily brushed off the parasitical bur of the Maharaja of Kolhápur which so often sticks to their coat-tail. Perhaps, as between the Government and the Maharaja, it is a case of 'you do me here, I do you there.' But this unholy alliance has now been a patent political scandal for the last 20 years or so, that is to say, the period covering the synchronous career of the Maharaja as an oppressor and the Bombay Government as a repressor in their separate realms. And we really think that the Bombay Government should have considered twice before encouraging or even tolerating the Maharaja in this ridiculous venture."

How the Parsis will be affected by the proposed acquisition of properties in connection with the building of a terminal station at Grant Road, Bombay.
Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 23rd July.

52. In connection with the notification appearing in the *Bombay Government Gazette* of 22nd July, announcing that sixty-three buildings are proposed to be acquired for the purpose of erecting a terminal station at Grant Road, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* gives a list of those properties covered by the notification which belong to the Parsis, and remarks as under:—The Parsis are in great straits on account of the prevailing house-famine. Hundreds of Parsi families will become homeless by the demolition of these properties. By the proposed scheme of acquiring these properties, the two chawls provided by the late Khan Bahadur Murzban for the accommodation of the poorer among the Parsis at cheap rents will also be demolished. Consequently nearly two hundred Parsi families, it is feared, will be dishoused. Government will, of course, pay the price for these properties, but it will not be a fancy price as the prices will be estimated in accordance with the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act. The main question, however, is: Will it be possible to erect new chawls in these days of high prices out of the money received from Government? How is the land required for this purpose to be secured? Considering that the values of land are high in Bombay, it will be difficult to obtain land at a cheap rate for these poor people and the meagre fund (of the Murzban charity) cannot afford to purchase building materials at the excessively high prices of these days. Again, where are the tenants to be housed during the time required for the construction of the new buildings? This scheme of the B. B. & C. I. Railway Company has created a very anxious situation for the Parsis. It is hoped that the authorities will assist in making arrangements for the housing of the people who will be dishoused by the scheme, in some suitable locality.

The Prince of Wales' forthcoming visit to India.
Servant of India (9), 22nd July.

53. "There can be no doubt that bitter memories of the Punjáb will take away from the enthusiasm with which the people of India would otherwise welcome His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. But we do not approve the threat actually held out at certain meetings and conferences that people would not participate in loyal reception due to the illustrious visitor so long as official atrocities under martial law remain unavenged. The visit is arranged presumably with the knowledge and consent of responsible Ministers of the Crown, and it is an act open to the public to criticise. Nevertheless it is unwise as well as against the best usage of British subjects to refuse or threaten to refuse welcome to Royalty. We would urge utmost firmness on the part of the Government of India in punishing their officials. They gave them a free hand during the trouble. This circumstance ought to make them the more determined in punishing the abuse of that freedom. It is a fact that the Indian Penal Code looks upon Government officials, who abuse their power, as worse than private persons in similar circumstances. The Government of India will have a rude awakening if they imagine—we

can hardly believe they do imagine—undue leniency on their part towards their officials in deference to Anglo-Indian opinion will escape severe condemnation of the public in consideration of the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness. It is quite within the power of Government by doing the right thing at the right time to secure to the Prince utmost cordiality in his reception by the public. We yet trust they will prove equal to their responsibilities."

Gujarâti Punch (20), 18th July.

54. Adverting to the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India, the *Gujarâti Punch* writes:—There has arisen a difference of opinion in some quarters in connection with the reception to be accorded to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. While Mr. Gandhi is among those who are of opinion that the people of this country cannot give a hearty welcome to the Prince owing to their present distracted condition, Mr. Baptista is among those who opine that there is no objection in welcoming the Prince as his visit has no connection with politics. There is no doubt that the people are in a highly distracted state of mind. We may say that the situation is critical; but it would not become us to be backward in declaring that we are truly loyal towards the Royal Family and that our deep devotion towards them has not abated at all. We ought to welcome the Prince for this particular reason, *viz.*, that he is going to inaugurate the Reformed Councils, which will add to our opportunities of making our voice heard. We may, in the addresses to be presented to him, give clear expression to the popular feeling and also plainly declare that we are in an excited state of mind and that His Royal Highness should not, from the reception accorded to him, conclude that the people are happy. We may, through the addresses, request him that he should specially tell the Cabinet who sends him out to India, "India is miserable, give her justice, satisfy her, make her happy." If His Royal Highness, after returning to England, declares that the real condition of India is miserable, it will surely produce a deep impression upon the British public.

Al-Wahid (142), 16th July.

55. While all India is in mourning over the Punjáb atrocities and the Khilafat question, a mourning which has been intensified by the Hunter Report and the Turkish Peace Terms, we, unfortunate Indians, are asked to lay aside our grief and to participate in the rejoicings on the occasion of the visit to this country of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. There is great difference of opinion as regards the reception to be given to the Prince of Wales among thoughtful Indians. The Moslem general opinion is to take no part and render no help in the festivities in connection with the Prince's visit. There are several Hindus also who endorse this opinion. There are a few leaders however who like Mr. Baptista recommend that India should show no disloyalty to the Royal House. They argue that the King and his son have had nothing to do with the Hunter Report and the Turkish Peace Terms for which the Ministers alone are responsible. Mrs. Besant is of the opinion that we should take opportunity of the Prince's visit and approach His Royal Highness with a prayer for justice to the Punjáb. These two views seem to us to be inconsistent with each other. If neither the King nor his son has any control over public affairs and if the Ministers are the sole masters, what is the use of making a representation on the subject of the Punjáb tragedy to His Royal Highness? He can give no redress. The Ministers listen to none. We know of their attitude in the matter of ill-treatment of Indians in British Colonies. There are yet others who think that the Prince's visit will do no harm. This is a view which appears to us to be dictated not by far-sightedness but by sycophancy. Those who advance this view do not realize what is the purpose of the Prince's visit at this critical time. It is no other than that of enabling the Ministers, by organizing a good reception for the Prince, to claim before the world that India is highly pleased and contented with their Government. This is a political game which Ministers want to play; and Mahatma Gandhi has condemned it in no ambiguous terms.

*56. After referring to what is to be done by the Bombay Committee in connection with His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—"There remains what is always in such matters by far the most important feature of an historic visit of this nature, and that is the welcome extended to the august visitor by the people themselves, the general public of Bombay. His Royal Highness comes to visit the people, and it is the people (over whom he will one day reign) whose homage and whose welcome will speak most eloquently to him for this great Presidency, and the port and city which form its capital. Every house will no doubt contribute its quota to the decoration of Bombay in honour of its Royal visitor. There are still several months before us of time for preparation, and it is no doubt safe to assume that during this period, not alone the leaders of society, and of industry, and of our municipal life, but also every householder in the capital, rich and poor alike, will take such steps as circumstances permit in the direction of giving tangible and open expression to the loyalty of the Empire's second city, and to the real warmth and sincerity of its welcome to that Empire's 'most popular Ambassador, the Heir to the Throne'."

What the people of Bombay can do to intensify the welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 25th July, Eng. cols.

57 "One of the most pleasant functions performed by Sir George Lloyd has been the opening ceremony of the Karnatak College. Karnatak had been waiting for its college for a long time; nevertheless Government deserve warm congratulations for once doing a thing quite out of the way of their slow routine and developing the College within the time fixed by the University of Bombay. Had it been left to the ordinary course of Government machinery, it is a question whether the College would have been raised to the First Grade so early; but Sir George Lloyd's personal interest in the development of the College coupled with the energy of the Principal, Mr. Rawlinson, has made the early establishment of the full-grade College possible..... We wish we could stop here. But the singular indiscretion committed by Sir George Lloyd in lecturing to the students on the want of leaders in India obliges us to say a few words. Sir George's speeches are generally helpful, but sometimes he is not able to resist the gubernatorial temptation of saying inappropriate and irrelevant things. His glorification of the British navy in the Convocation speech was an instance in point. His dissertation on the absence of leadership in India is another. Not that Sir George Lloyd was wrong in saying that India must possess leaders of the right stamp. But he was wrong in suggesting that India lacked such leaders or that the lack was more pronounced in this country than in others. There is no paucity of leaders and of leaders of the right stamp in India. They have the good fortune to possess also the trust and confidence of the people. They may not have earned the approval of Government, but what is more pertinent they have won the approval of the country. The leaders of India are not afraid to guide the people, when occasions arise. They will outlive the cheap sneer levelled at them that they are playing to the gallery or, to use Mr. Shastri's phrase, that they are sycophants of the people. Our leaders certainly are not courtiers. They do not think that their actions should be guided by the favours or frowns of the authorities. They do not hesitate to speak out to Government, an attitude probably not to the liking of the latter." [The *Karndtak Vritt* says :—The common report is that His Excellency's speech was very good; only he should not have given so much importance to the work of Captain Cooper. There is no doubt that his advice to the students was sagacious. We also hope that the Karnátak College will produce leaders the want of whom is felt in our Karnátak. We hope that there will be many occasions of listening to the Governor in Dhárwár.]

Comments on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's address at the opening ceremony of the Karnatak College.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th July; *Karndtak Vritt* (83), 20th July.

58. India has such leaders as Lokamanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajpatrai and we do not think that His Excellency the Governor has any doubts about their honesty. He, however, objects to them on the ground that they create needless commotion and

Lokasangraha (112), 22nd July; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 21st July.

wants sober-minded men to lead the people. To speak the truth, he would like to see as many harmless Gokhales as possible. We ask His Excellency whether the conditions created at present in India by British statesmen are such as a Gokhale can control. Popular opinion is so much exacerbated on account of oppression that even hundreds of Gokhales cannot appease it. Gokhales there were in the past and they exist even now, but the present circumstances have thrown them into the background. The present-day Indian values manliness more than the rotten peace of the cemetery, and Sir George Lloyd should remember that Indians will not hesitate to follow, regardless of all danger, a leader who can secure it for them. [The *Dnyán Prakásh*, on the other hand, remarks that His Excellency well explained to the audience how the future of India depended upon her having far-sighted leaders of character.]

Lord Milner on the rights of Indians in East Africa.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 25th July.

*59. "Lord Milner's statement in reply to Lord Islington's question in the House of Lords is an excellent example of how sophistry does duty for statesmanship at the present day..... According to the Milnerian logic it is justifiable for the British Government to despoil non-white men in order to promote the health and longevity of white men. The Colonial Secretary may be prepared to defend this policy, but Indians are not likely to be so much impressed by his defence. The Government of India ought to lose no time in protesting against Lord Milner's sophistries, and if their protest goes unheard, they should adopt more effective measures to demonstrate that India does not mean to be trampled under foot in the interests of white exploiters of coloured races."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th July.

60. "There is a set of European politicians—who are not necessarily confined to the British—to whom the question of the rights, liberties, honour, and even the lives of members of non-European races ceases to be a question of right and justice and becomes one of mere dilettante 'interest', especially when the issue happens to be the rights and liberties of these non-Europeans as against those of Europeans. Lord Milner happens to belong to this set of politicians; and his latest pronouncement on the status of Indians in East Africa is highly characteristic of the attitude of these politicians..... What is legitimate for Europeans becomes illegitimate or of doubtful legitimacy when done by Indians. The proposal that Indians should be given representation on Municipal Councils and elected representation on the Legislative Councils is, to Lord Milner, merely 'very interesting'. In his lordship's eyes, there is no question of 'right' involved in the Indians' demand, for all such rights can be recognised as rights only on the sufferance of their European compatriots..... Instead of holding the balance even between the different subjects of His Majesty the policy of the Colonial Office at present appears to be to connive at attempts to deprive the Indians of their legitimate rights in the colonies and to reduce them to a position of mere helots to their European compatriots. In refusing to do strict justice as between the two communities the Colonial Office, under hollow and specious pleas, is betraying a sacred trust reposed in its hands. Lord Milner's statement is bound to give rise to keen disappointment and consternation among our countrymen in East Africa, and calls for immediate repudiation. Nor will Lord Milner's views on the question of segregation on racial lines, though somewhat vaguely expressed, be acceptable to Indians, who will deeply resent the reflection on their character and habits implied in the suggestion. Lord Milner speaks of consideration of health, but have Indians no claims to healthy conditions that they should be evicted from all the uplands and be confined to the less healthy localities? How do Europeans in this country or any other Asiatic country maintain their health among the common people? The Indians having been the pioneer settlers of East Africa have at least as much claim to the healthy quarters as the whites, who came later. Racial discrimination such as finds favour in Lord Milner's eyes will instead of curing the evil, only complicate it, for it is bound in course of time to lead to racial bitterness and racial feuds, which will remain a perpetual menace to the peace and prosperity of the protectorate."

61. "How little the interests of the Indian community in British East Africa count in the counsels of the local authorities is evidenced in the new restrictions imposed on the import of Indian coins and currency in the Protectorate. A very large export trade is being carried on with this country by British East Africa, and it is mainly in the hands of the Indian merchants there. The embargo on the import of coins and currency from this country will, therefore, seriously hamper this trade. The present step has been taken with a view to prop up the Exchange in the interests of the White settlers, who have been for some time past raising a hue and cry over the fixing of the Exchange rate at two shillings the rupee. But are the interests of thousands of Indians, with large stakes in the country, to be sacrificed to those of a handful of Whites? Indians have no voice in East Africa, and hence all the mischief. They must carry their present struggle for their rights to a successful issue, and they will have the sympathy of their countrymen here in all their efforts. We hope the mercantile community in India who are affected by the action of the East African Government will enter an immediate and vigorous protest in the matter."

How interests of Indians in British East Africa are being overlooked.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd July.

62. "The offer of free passage to India proposed by the South African Asiatics Commission for those of our countrymen who might volunteer to return is conditional on the returning persons giving up their rights of domicile in that Colony. To make Indians thus to part with one of their cherished rights in return for a free passage is surely to take an unfair advantage of their difficulties to rid the Union of their undesirable presence. If they continue in the Colony, they suffer humiliations and hardships; if they return, they lose a valued right. What should they do under the circumstances?..... To our mind, India stands to lose nothing by the scheme being tried, and we would suggest the association of an Indian with Sir Benjamin even at this late hour to watch the working of the scheme."

Comments on the proposed repatriation of Indians from South Africa.

Servant of India (9), 22nd July.

63. "If the statements of about a thousand returned Indians from Fiji are to be relied upon—and there seems to be no reason to doubt them—our countrymen seem to have had a very bad time of it during the recent Martial Law days there. The number of casualties, both killed and wounded, though not very large, is surely large enough for the Indian community there. But what is to be deplored most is the humiliating treatment to which some of them, both men and women, were subjected. In the art of inventing 'fancy punishments' designed to kill the self-respect of a whole community and inflicting them with an iron hand on persons of both sexes, the Fiji Martial Law authorities seem to have beaten even Colonel Johnson, Colonel O'Brien and General Dyer of the Punjáb fame. In Fiji even the chastity of women does not seem to have been respected, not to mention their arrests and trials for sedition. 'Crumbs were thrown to them as if they were dogs.' These charges are serious enough to merit an inquiry by an independent and impartial commission presided over by an unbiassed outsider with at least an equal number of Europeans and Indians."

Comments on the ill-treatment of Indians in Fiji during the recent Martial Law *regime*.

Servant of India (9), 22nd July.

64. "Have the Government of India no responsibility to Indians in the colonies that even in cases of such serious significance as the upheaval in Fiji, involving the imprisonment of hundreds of Indian men and women and the actual shooting down of a number of them, the Government should rest content with the version of the tragic happenings supplied by the very authorities who were mainly responsible for the sufferings of our countrymen there? Have the Government of India tried to ascertain the truth from any impartial quarter regarding these happenings? Or do they expect the Indian public to accept the official version of the Fiji authorities as the last word in truth? If they imagine that their duty is done by merely giving publication

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd July.

to the Fiji authorities' version they are quite mistaken. This version is on the face of it one-sided and is, moreover, marred by several serious blemishes. ..... To begin at the beginning, the despatch regarding the first arrest of Mr. Manilal makes it quite clear that from the very outset Mr. Manilal had been marked down as an undesirable person whom the authorities were bent on getting into their clutches by hook or crook..... The truth of the matter is obvious: Mr. Manilal has long been a thorn in the side of the European planting community and the authorities of Fiji on account of his espousal of the cause of his down-trodden and helpless countrymen, whom the planters have been exploiting all along without a check. Mr. Manilal is a barrister of several years' standing and has had wide experience of the degrading and oppressive conditions of life in which our countrymen are forced to live in the colonies of the Empire. The Fiji planters and their press have long been conducting a campaign against him and goading the authorities to deport him from the Islands, so that the Indians labouring in their plantations may have no leader to guide them and thus they may be completely at the mercy of their masters. Mrs. Manilal too, a well educated and patriotic woman, has been taking equal interest in the welfare of the Indian women workers and, as will be seen from the despatch of the Governor of Fiji, it was the rumour of her arrest—wickedly spread by some enemies—that precipitated trouble and led to wholesale arrests of Indians by the authorities and later on to still more tragic consequences. Both Mr. and Mrs. Manilal have now been removed from the scene of their patriotic labours, and the European planting community of Fiji will be able to breathe freely and treat the Indian 'coolies' on their estates in whatever manner they like..... The question arises: Are we going to let matters rest there or are we going to obtain the hearing we deserve? How long shall the sons of India continue to be classed as the helots of the Empire? The islands known as Fiji were of little consequence as commercial centres until Indians went there in 1878. Their labour set up a prosperous trade for British capitalists. Now, when the country, which they helped to make and whose trade they helped to develop, is appealed to by them in their desire to better their status they are shot down as outlaws and treated as pariahs. We call upon Labour in Britain as well as Labour in India, whose bad conditions (as Mr. Smillie said in these columns) are utilised to depress the good conditions of better-organised workers, to come to the rescue of the voiceless thousands in Fiji."

65. What inhuman sufferings Indians in the Colonies have to undergo need not be told again. It is regrettable that in some parts of the most highly civilised British Empire such devilish deeds take place. To wink at them is a sort of encouragement of them. It is impossible to listen to the tale of the miseries of Indians in Fiji.

Raj Hansa (84), 22nd July.

66. Referring to the increase in the Indian element in the Viceroy's Executive Council, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—"The Councils constitute the Government of the country; and the steady increase of the Indian element in them can only lead, in the fullness of time, to a complete nationalization of the Government. Of course, the full effect of this association of Indians with the Government is somewhat neutralised by the type of men who are sometimes selected for the high offices..... Of course, the Indian element in the Viceroy's Council at present is not particularly strong. It was a far cry from Sir Sankaran Nair to Mr. Shafi. And Mr. Sarma, who is now appointed as the second Indian member, is by no means the Indian pre-eminently marked out for such distinction. However, blood is thicker than water, and there are occasions when no non-Indian, however sympathetic, can do what an Indian can"..... [The *New Times* writes:—"But even after the third Indian is appointed the Council will consist of five Europeans and three Indians. This is a distinct violation of the recommendation of the Joint Committee as interpreted by Indians. The Joint Committee recommended that, excluding the Governor-General, the personnel of the Government of

Comments on the appointment of the Honourable Mr. Sarma to the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 21st July, Eng. cols.; *New Times* (8), 20th July.

India should consist of an equal number of Indians and Europeans. We find now that the reconstituted Council will consist, after the third Indian is admitted, of five Europeans as against three Indians..... The Government have again failed the people of India, and our surprise is that Mr. Montagu is a party to this transaction "].

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 20th July.

67. The Honourable Mr. Sarma, it is hardly necessary to say, has shown marked ability as a very independent and popular member of the Imperial Legislative Council and in other directions. We are confident that he will similarly exhibit great ability as a member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy. He has been put in charge of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture. We wish he had been put in charge of the Financial Department. He had put up a very commendable fight at the time of the Currency Commission in connection with the Exchange problem, and if he had been given the portfolio of the Finance Member he would undoubtedly have shown what stuff he was made of. The present acting Finance Member has not been able to satisfy the public on questions connected with Exchange and Finance, however fitted he might be in other ways, and the Anglo-Indians also do not seem to have been satisfied with him. Mr. Hailey himself has more than once admitted that he has not had the courage to act strongly in accordance with his own convictions. As he is so weak, it is necessary, out of justice to him, that he should be given some other post and that his post should be given to one who is capable of taking strong action. If, therefore, Mr. Sarma had been given the Finance Member's post, it would have been just both to himself and to the people. However, the Department of Revenue and Agriculture is of no less importance, and we trust that his administration of that department will be honourable to himself and satisfactory to the people.

Kesari (109), 20th July; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 21st July; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 20th July.

68. Under the new rules framed by the Joint Committee three Indians would be appointed as members of the Imperial Executive Council exclusive of the Law Member. As there is no rule that a man of a particular colour should be appointed as the Law Member, there will be four members if an Indian is appointed as the Law Member. In order to avoid this, which would be a calamity in the eyes of the bureaucracy, the Government of India seems to have thought of appointing an Indian as the Law Member in order to limit the total number of Indians to three, at least for the present. A forecast can be made as to how far Indians would be able to influence the Council, after the third appointment is made. Of the two councillors now in the Executive Council, it cannot be said what fancy Mr. Shafi will have on any occasion; and so Rao Bahadur Sarma's appointment is on the whole a good one. It is true that he was being talked of as a future Councillor from the day he opposed the Viceroy's recall at the Amritsar Congress. But as it is in the hands of Government to make the appointment, it should be considered our good fortune that a proper and straightforward man of the type of Rao Bahadur Sarma at least was appointed. We congratulate Rao Bahadur Sarma on his appointment. [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—We do not feel any doubt that both Government and Rao Bahadur Sarma will be congratulated on the appointment. The *Dnyán Prakásh* also welcomes the news of his appointment.]

Lokasangraha (112), 20th July.

69. Rao Bahadur Sarma's services to the country are well-known. His resignation on the passing of the Rowlatt law revealed his sense of justice. But although this gentleman is a staunch advocate of the popular cause he is too pliant, and this fault in our leaders in the present state of the country is very harmful. He withdrew his resignation after a little coaxing by the Viceroy and he bestowed lavish praise upon him at the Amritsar Congress. Now Lord Chelmsford's real worth is known to everyone. Even an out-and-out Moderate like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar favours his recall. Mr. Sarma's eulogy has, therefore, been proved to be of no value. But it was quite enough to propitiate the deity and it has now rewarded him with a seat on the Executive Council. We hope our interests will not suffer at his hands. On the whole we are of opinion that the choice is a good one.

70. "When is the Bombay Revision to come into force? The mofussil scale has already been sanctioned, and now the city is waiting till the Simla and local officials put their heads together and evolve a scheme. No doubt speed is a thing unknown to Government. But there are occasions on which Government even may be expected to move a little bit more promptly. For instance, what has come in the way of Government considering the mofussil and city scale together? They could easily have fixed one scale and granted a special local allowance. There are a hundred ways in which things could have been speeded up, but they would be possible only if the mandarins were to care as much for the necessities of the subordinate service as for their own luxuries. The penny-wise and pound-foolish policy of Government—wasteful of lakhs and close-fisted regarding pies—will ruin the efficiency of service. Empty sacks cannot stand erect and good work cannot be expected from those who are kept on regular starvation pay. The health and well-being of the lower as well as the higher services is equally the concern of the State. The idea that officers should be paid well, and that the rank and file can be treated in any way Government like is fundamentally wrong. In fact, low paid men ought to be first cared for. The pinch is severe everywhere, but it is most felt in this city, and Government will not be wrong if they hurry up matters a little. In introducing their revision Government may well bear in mind a point or two. No invidious distinctions should be made between different departments in the interests of the services as a whole. In introducing time-scale due note should be taken of the length of service already put in. Any cheese-paring economy in these directions will cause acute discontent in the services, and will only tell upon their efficiency."

Appeal to Government to expedite the scheme for the revision of the salaries of Government officers in Bombay City.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd July.

71. "Day by day we witness the advance of Labour. After a good deal of agitation extending over several years the Government have announced a revision of the terms and conditions of employment in Government Presses. ..... The lesson which the communique issued by the Government teaches is that the workers should immediately engage their attention to demand the explicit right to strike, to be used only in cases of absolute necessity, a Minimum Wage Act, a Workmen's Compensation Act, and finally a law assuring them a 48-hour working week. Only by these means will the workers establish their right to better conditions and a decent civilised living."

Comments on the revision of the salaries of men employed in Government Presses.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th July.

72. 'Agriculturist,' writing in the *Vijayi Marátha*, urges the employment of non-Brahmins as Talatis as the Brahmin Talatis very much harass the ignorant non-Brahmin rayats in the matter of the recovery of the Local Fund and other cesses and also foment quarrels in villages for their own benefit, to the great harm of the agricultural population.

Non-Brahmins should be appointed Talatis.
Vijayi Marátha (134), 22nd July.

73. Mr. Gangadhar Ramachandra Patwardhan writes to the *Kánara Vritt*:—Ladru, Head Guard of Dasankoppa (Kánara) threatened Rama *bin* Madya and Parasya *bin* Huccha Naik Halepaik, when they were preparing logs of a Bagani tree from a Malki number (survey number 49 of Bankanal). But they were not frightened. The said Guard prepared a *panchanama* as he liked and reported, and both were fined a rupee each. The survey number is 49, but in the *panchanama*, survey number 23 is mentioned, which has no Bagani trees. But the persons punished were poor and uneducated and they quietly paid the fine as it was season time and as they thought that it would cost more, if they faced a prosecution. It will prove that the Forest Department is able to prepare *panchanamas* as it wills and that the rayats are made to sign whatever be the *panchanamas* and that the superior officers do not inspect

A forest complaint from Kánara.
Kánara Vritt (39), 15th July.

the work of their subordinates. The higher Forest officers do not open their eyes. We have to wait to see whether Government will now at least awaken from their deep slumber. We do not know whether the rayats will have to adopt some drastic remedy to awaken them, if they still do not open their eyes.

Complaint about prosecutions in connection with village fires in the Dhárwár District.
Ráj Hansa (84), 17th July.

74. During the last Shimga holidays, there was a fire on the Kalghatgi frontier (Dhárwár) and Uggiakeri and Tambur villages were burnt and prosecutions have been launched on the ground that the neighbouring villagers did not come forward to put out the fire. People belonging to Tambur, Tumarikoppa, Hulgiakatti, Hasavambi, Kudulgi and other villages have already suffered grievously on account of these prosecutions. Now it is the turn of Kalghatgi and we learn that 180 persons are to be prosecuted there. We do not know how to characterise the administration of this *jungli* law by the Forest Department. We know what advantages we get from the Forest Department. If we get grass worth hundreds of rupees, the God of Fire is offered grass worth lakhs. Wild pigs breed in the forests useful to the rayat. What a favour! There is a possibility that entire villages adjoining forests will be destroyed. Is it not a very great favour? Even if there is a fire at night, people must come to help. Who is to care if the village is looted? On the strength of two witnesses, the whole village is punished. This is a devilish administration of a devilish law! Government should immediately repeal such a law. Are our Councillors sleeping? Will the Collector cure the Guards and Patils of their *penchant* for prosecutions?

Indian troops in Mesopotamia should be sent to Persia only after allowing them rest in India.
Kesari (109), 20th July.

75. A correspondent writes in the *Kesari*:—It is stated that the Indian troops which Government has stationed in the uncongenial climate of Mesopotamia for the last four years are, instead of being sent back to India, to be moved into Persia. It is, however, requested that these troops should not be treated cruelly in this way but should be sent back to India for a temporary rest and then posted to Persia, if necessary. We handed over our sons to Government out of pure loyalty when Government were in difficulty, and our prayer is that, instead of abusing that loyalty, the *mabap Sirkar* may be pleased to allow us to see our sons once more at an early date.

The present situation threatens another great war in Europe.
Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 25th July, Eng. cols.

***76.** "The latest cables received from Europe are very disquieting indeed. Everywhere there is unrest and disquiet, and the dark clouds of another war are gathering over the horizon of a continent already wearied and worn-out by the great struggles and grim sufferings of the past five years. Briefly, the situation is this. The Turkish Cabinet has resigned in connection with the crisis over the signature of the Peace Treaty. A serious situation has arisen between the Allies and Soviet Russia with regard to Poland, which country has been advised to ask for an armistice; and if the Soviet refuses the request the British trade negotiations will be stopped. It has been announced in the French Chamber that the Allies will defend Poland with their forces if the Soviet does not accept the armistice. Turning to Syria, we learn that Emir Feisul has accepted the French ultimatum, and France is already at war with him, some strategic movements having already taken place. The Greeks are conducting an offensive in Thrace aiming at the possession of the Adrianople-Constantinople Railway. In Mesopotamia there is a rebellion of the Arabs against the occupation of Rumaila..... The whole atmosphere of Europe thus seems to be charged with a storm which may break out in full force at any moment. At this juncture we can only pray that such a disaster may be averted."

The warlike policy of the Allies is the cause of the absence of peace in the world.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 23rd July.

77. Reviewing the political situation in Europe, the *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the Bolshevik invasion of Poland and the subsequent developments, and writes:—It appears that Russia has demanded that if Poland needs peace, she must ask peace of Russia. In order to test Russia, Great Britain has advised Poland to ask for an armistice. A serious situation has arisen out of this. If Russia declines to accept the interference

of the Allies, they will be compelled to declare war against Russia in order to save Poland. We pray to God that He may soon free Europe from wars, because if these wars continue, three will again be an era of darkness in Europe. There are civil strifes on a large scale in China. There is unrest in Japan. The Bolsheviks have entered Armenia; they appear to be advancing in Persia also. It appears from the telegrams now being received that the age of war and slaughter has again commenced. The present bellicose policy of the Allies is the main cause of the absence of peace among the various nations. It is in vain to hope for peace and quiet as long as a change is not effected in that policy.

Reflections on the situation in the Turkish Empire as affected by the Bolshevik menace.
Hindusthán (22), 18th July, Eng. cols.

78. "Asia Minor is now becoming the centre of another war. The English, the French, the Italians and the Greeks have all united in trying to crush the Turkish Nationalist leader, Mustapha Kemal Pasha. The Greeks alone could do very little. So the others are helping them. But whilst this war is going on, the Allies are discussing the terms of piece with the Turkish Government at Constantinople! Is not this comical? Mustapha Kemal has nearly half a million under him. We believe he has got munitions also. And what is more, he is in correspondence with the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks are near him in Persia, Armenia, etc. Once the Bolsheviks make up their mind to help him, the situation will become very serious. They can send a million troops easily. I doubt if the Allies can spend much blood or money after their exhaustion in the Great War. If the Bolsheviks triumph, it means future danger to the whole of Central and Western Asia!"

Treatment of Russia and Germany by the Allies contrasted.
Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 21st July.

79. Contrasting the treatment given by the Allies to Russia with that accorded to Germany a regular contributor to the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—Russia played false to the Allies during the war, but, instead of punishing her, how they are deliberating as to how they should win her over! What punishment did the Allies inflict upon Russia which was primarily responsible for the war and which left them in the lurch at a critical moment? Russia levelled all sorts of accusations against the Allies and refused to accept the responsibility for the loans advanced to it, but, notwithstanding this, the Allies extended to it the hand of friendship. While on the one hand the Allies have taken up a lenient attitude towards Russia, they are harassing Germany before opening commercial relations with her and are trying to bleed her when there is no blood left in her. They are making incessant demands upon her for this and for that and are trying to turn her empty pockets inside out. If the Allies give Germany some respite and allow her to earn her living by opening commerce with her, she will revive from her fallen condition and will be able to pay off her debts. If Germany is fed and allowed to become resuscitated, she will be able to so husband her resources as to be able to satisfy all the demands made upon her. Instead of taking such a simple course, the Allies are trying to place obstacles in her path. Who is it that suffers through this? What is the cause of the universal uproar about scarcity and high prices prevailing in the markets of the world?

RAILWAYS.

Protest against the proposed increase in third class railway fares.
Lokasangraha (112), 20th July.

80. The *Lokasangraha* dilates at length upon the many hardships of third class passengers on Indian Railways and remarks that Europeans travel luxuriously at their expense. It then adds:—The condition of a conquered people cannot be more wretched anywhere else. But this has not apparently satisfied the authorities who are now contemplating an increase in third class fares. The Bombay Corporation has protested against the proposed increase, but this is not at all likely to be of any use.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 25th July, Eng. cols.

***81.** "Rumours are in the air that the G. I. P. Railway Company intends shortly to increase the third class fares on its local lines..... The third class accommodation on the G. I. P. local trains is both bad and insufficient. The way in which third class passen-

gers, who contribute the largest share to the Company's income, are treated is far from satisfactory. Under the present circumstances the Company has no cause to demand increased fares..... It is the duty of all public bodies and associations to show what infinite harm it will do to thousands of poor and middle-class folk, if in these days of high prices and high rents railway fares are increased even to a slight extent. In order to prevent congestion and subsequent insanitary conditions people in Bombay are advised to migrate to the suburbs as far as possible; but this can never be done unless a cheap, comfortable and rapid local train service is provided. The present service is far from rapid, far from comfortable, and any increase in fares will make it far from cheap."

NATIVE STATES.

82. A correspondent, writing on the conditions obtaining at Kolhápur, says:—The oppressed subjects of Indian Chiefs should now bestir themselves. It is simply impossible to put up with this persecution any longer. The oppressive regime at Kolhápur often tempts people to think that it would have been far better if Lord Dalhousie had annexed all the Native States. To tolerate the pranks of these Rajas and Maharajas any longer is tantamount to sacrificing honour, life and property. Indeed, an inquiry ought to be made into the whole administration of Kolhápur during the last 20 or 25 years, and there is nothing wrong in asking for justice at the hands of the British Government who are indirectly responsible for the welfare of the subjects of the Native States. Kolhápur is a vast prison and the people there have been subjected to every kind of oppression during the last several years.

Government should institute an enquiry into Kolhápur affairs.

Lokasangraha (112), 18th July.

J. E. SANJANA,

Acting Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 30th July 1920.

*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 31st July 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. Montagu's warning to Mr. Gandhi.
Young India (13), 28th July.

1. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—" ..... This statement of Mr. Montagu has been regarded in some quarters as a threat. It has even been considered to be a blank cheque for the Government of India to re-establish the reign of terror if they choose. It is certainly inconsistent with his desire to base the government on the good-will of the people..... A friend who has been listening to my speeches once asked me whether I did not come under the sedition section of the Indian Penal Code. Though I had not fully considered it, I told him that very probably I did, and that I could not plead 'not guilty' if I was charged under it. For I must admit that I can pretend to no 'affection' for the present Government. And my speeches are intended to create 'disaffection' such that the people might consider it a shame to assist or co-operate with a Government that had forfeited all title to confidence..... When at Amritsar last year I pleaded with all the earnestness I could command for co-operation with the Government and for response to the wishes expressed in the Royal Proclamation. I did so because I honestly believed that a new era was about to begin, and that the old spirit of fear, distrust and consequent terrorism was about to give place to the new spirit of respect, trust and good-will. I sincerely believed that the Musalman sentiment would be placated and that the officers that had misbehaved during the Martial Law regime in the Punjáb would be at least dismissed, and the people would be otherwise made to feel that a Government that had always been found quick (and rightly) to punish popular excesses would not fail to punish its agents' misdeeds. But to my amazement and dismay I have discovered that the present representatives of the Empire have become dishonest and unscrupulous. They have no real regard for the wishes of the people of India and they count Indian honour as of little consequence. I can no longer retain affection for a Government so evilly manned as it is nowadays. And for me, it is humiliating to retain my freedom and be witness to the continuing wrong. Mr. Montagu, however, is certainly right in threatening me with deprivation of my liberty if I persist in endangering the existence of the Government. For that must be the result if my activity bears fruit..... At the present moment, however, the duty of those who approve of my activity is clear. They ought, on no account, to resent the deprivation of my liberty, should the Government of India deem it to be their duty to take it away..... Any eruption of violence on the part of people even under provocation would end in disaster. Whether, therefore, it is I or any one else who is arrested during the campaign, the first condition of success is that there must be no resentment shown against it. We cannot imperil the very existence of a Government and quarrel with its attempt to save itself by punishing those who place it in danger."

Lokasangraha (112), 31st July.

2. The *Lokasangraha* gives a substance of Mr. Gandhi's reply to Mr. Montagu's warning and expresses itself highly gratified with it as showing that India has not yet become a land of imbeciles. It goes on:—The above will show that Mr. Gandhi, who was once a sincere well-wisher of the British Empire, has to-day become its enemy. Does not this prove that British policy has utterly degenerated? As a matter of fact, the opposition which the Mahatma is to-day offering to the unjust Government will in the end prove beneficial to the Empire. But it does not appear that Government relish it; they are raising their sword against one who is trying to save them! He has declared himself prepared to bend his neck before the sword, and has asked his countrymen not to grieve for him but to follow in his footsteps. We pray to God that He may grant the necessary strength to Indians to follow the advice.

Mahrátta (7), 1st Aug.

*3. " The Government of India and the Imperial Government have deliberately sown the wind, in the wanton disgreard which they have shown to the national sentiment

and national honour in the matters of Khilafat and the Punjáb, and now they are going to reap the whirlwind. Mahatma Gandhi, in his article in the *Young India*, which will go down in the history of constitutional agitation in India as an epoch-making landmark, candidly puts forth his own view of the situation, and we are sure he voices therein the real heart of India..... The incidents of the last two years have destroyed the faith in the British sense of Justice. The whole of India agrees with Mahatma Gandhi when he says: 'But to my amazement and dismay I have discovered that the present representatives of the Empire have become dishonest and unscrupulous. They have no real regard for the wishes of the people of India, and they count Indian honour as of little consequence.' It has been urged by the protagonists of the bureaucracy and the present system of Government that the masses in India are ignorant of and indifferent to the sentiments expressed above. But the contention is not true. Let any of those of this tenor of thought, go and attend any public mass meeting not only in the big cities but even in smaller places, and we are sure that he will find that the undercurrents of thought although unexpressed or half-expressed, flow in the same direction. The dominant note of thought is as depicted above. But granting for the time being, only for the sake of argument, that the heart of the masses remains untouched, is it denied or rather can it be denied that the bulk of the educated India or the 'intelligentsia' feels bitterly in its heart of hearts the national humiliation and insult in the matter of the Punjab? Does not the 'intelligentsia' of any country form an important and indisputable factor in the moulding of the heart of the nation? Let England take note of the forces at work in India and then determine upon the policy to be pursued in India. The signs of the times are writ large in letters of blood, and none can ignore them. Let the politicians and statesmen, who guide and shape the destinies of the Empire, realise in time the significance of the movement to be commenced to-day. We have our differences of opinion with Mahatma Gandhi on the question of the practical aspect of 'non-co-operation'. But we agree in the main with him in regard to the reading of the present situation and with the remedy he has suggested and, therefore, we wish his movement a complete success. We have put our views clearly before the public and even went so far as to request Mahatma Gandhi to postpone the launching of the movement till the decision of the special session of the Congress. But it is not so to be. And as we never boasted of a monopoly of wisdom with us only we wish to await the development. We earnestly wish our countrymen to abstain from all violence. Let the powers that rule the destinies of the nations lead the movement in proper channels to the lasting good of India."

4. Referring to the warning given by Mr. Montagu to Mr. Gandhi the *Gujarâti* writes:—Government are all-powerful and can in no time imprison a man of weak constitution like Mr. Gandhi. They have rendered impotent thirty-two crores of people by means of five lakhs of rifles and bayonets. But rifles, bayonets and bombs cannot keep the soul of a people in check nor can they wound it. Nor must it be forgotten that mind, intellect and speech which are governed by the soul are equally free. Mr. Gandhi exercises control over the feelings of the people and so he has kept the rowdy element in check. Government may, if they like, try the experiment of imprisoning Mr. Gandhi and letting lose his thousands of followers. If there is any common sense left in Government officials they will not take any measures to restrict the liberties of the people so long as there is no actual breach of the peace. Government should bear in mind that Mr. Gandhi is opposed to acts of violence.

Gujarâti (18), 25th July.

5. Mr. Montagu's utterances in Parliament have warned the people that a campaign of repression is soon to be launched and that the Government of India and the Secretary of State are in communication with each other on the subject. No one expected that the dawn of the new era of Reforms would be ushered in by dark clouds of antagonism between Government and the people. After the passing of the Reform Act, His Majesty the King-Emperor, while giving his assent thereto, exhorted both the rulers and the ruled to forget the past and to co-operate with one another. Six months have

Indu Prakâsh (44), 26th July.

elapsed since that time, and what do we see now? Are there any signs of good-will between the Government and the people? The Imperial Government promised to raise the status of this country in consideration of its services in the war. But as soon as the war was over news began to be received of the ill-treatment of Indians in Africa and Fiji. The findings of the Hunter Committee and Government's acceptance thereof could not possibly give satisfaction to the people. That old sore has now been re-opened. The Khilafat wrong and the present events in Turkey have increased the uneasiness in India. The people may be divided on the question of the Khilafat, but they are united in condemning a resort to repression on the part of Government.

6. "Mr. Montagu does not seem to have profited by the happenings of last year..... In these trying times, the people want more of sympathy than a stiff doze of iron-rule, and Mr. Montagu will be able to ease the situation more by square dealing in the Punjáb affair and the repeal of all repressive and obnoxious legislation than by giving a free hand to reactionary bureaucrats in India to deal with the situation. But apparently the forces of reaction seem to have overpowered Mr. Montagu, and he seems to have succumbed to them. And if this fear turns out to be true, what will be the fate of the Reforms which he has taken such pains to introduce in this country?"

Gujarátí Punch (20), 25th July., Eng. cols.

7. "It may of course be possible for the Government to throw the law to the winds and set in motion against Mr. Gandhi and his co-adjutors the Defence of India Act or other lawless laws with which the Indian statute book is filled full. It is our duty to give a solemn warning to the Government that, should they do so, they would precipitate a crisis in the country the effects of which it is not easy to foresee. Whatever one may think of the non-co-coperation policy, those who believe in it must be left free to carry on propaganda in the interest of the movement. Any action restrictive of the liberties of its promoters will be deeply resented by those who are opposed to the movement no less than by those who favour it. Mr. Gandhi's influence is always exerted on the side of peace and order, and with the experience of what happened last year as a sequel to the reported arrest of Mr. Gandhi, it would be nothing short of madness on the Government's part to restrict his freedom in any way."

Servant of India (9), 29th July.

8. "We cordially associate ourselves with the sentiments contained in the weighty manifesto which Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Honourable Mr. Gokuldas Parekh, and several others have issued, and which we publish to-day. As the manifesto says, and as we said last week, non-co-operation is bound to fail. The only thing which will retard its failure is precipitate action by Government of a restrictive character against Mr. Gandhi. The manifesto, therefore, appropriately concludes with an appeal to Government to be on their guard against counsels which exhibit more zeal than discretion. The appeal is supererogatory, perhaps, so far as the Government of Bombay are concerned. Our leading article on non-co-operation in last week's issue has led to criticisms. Some of them were conveyed in a private letter from a reader in the districts. He agrees that non-co-operation will prove a failure and may, meanwhile, lead to untoward happenings, and states that he had written so to Mr. Gandhi. But, he asks, what is the alternative? He rightly says that the public has lost faith in constitutional agitation owing to the irresponsiveness of Government, and that it asks for some other method whereby it can give expression to its disgust and sense of humiliation on account of its unredressed wrongs in regard to the Punjáb Martial Law administration and the Turkish Peace Terms. Our answer to that is that there are some things which no man can do under any circumstances. A man, for instance, may not commit

Comments on the Moderate manifesto against non-co-operation.

**Indian Social Reformer* (6), 1st Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 31st July; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 31st July.

suicide to escape suffering or to spite an enemy. And we hold that the doctrine of non-co-operation is the doctrine of national suicide..... Then, is there nothing to be done but to put up with our wrongs? There is much to be done. Educate public opinion here, in England, in every part of the world. That is a long process, no doubt. But short-cuts in national affairs are no good. They always end as flashes in the pan. Dramatic moves end in a melodramatic way. And let us not forget that we too have inflicted wrongs on others and that many of them remain to this day unredressed. What would be the fate of the nation if some female Gandhi organised a non-co-operation movement among the women of India for their ancient wrongs which remain unredressed to the present day? As for the Khilafat, does anyone think that the numerous kingdoms it subverted in the course of its establishment disappeared without impressing their death-throes in the heart of Time—the great Nemesis deep-embedded at the root of things? The salvation of the country will not be achieved by the miracle of non-co-operation or by similar panaceas. It will be achieved by patient and persistent well-doing, born of faith, by a lively realisation of our own duties to our people and by a resolute policy of active co-operation with movements which have for their object their emancipation from galling disabilities." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* dwells upon the harm that might be done to India by the non-co-operation movement and endorses the manifesto issued by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye and several other Moderate leaders and expresses a hope that Mr. Gandhi will be convinced by the arguments advanced therein and give up his propaganda. The *Indu Prakash* also expresses its agreement with the Moderates' manifesto and points out that the majority of the public has all along been opposed to the idea of non-co-operation on account of its impracticability and dangers and that Muhammadans exasperated at the dismemberment of Turkey have alone been its principal adherents. It expresses the hope that Mr. Gandhi will respect public opinion in the matter and lay down his future plans on the lines indicated in the manifesto.]

9. "The outstanding fact of the present situation is that the people are groaning under a double wrong the injustice of which has never been paralleled in history; the supreme need of the moment is the discovery of a weapon that will enable them to undo the wrong. To put it otherwise, the supreme task of the moment is the search for an answer to the challenge of reactionary forces which are seeking to reassert their mastery at the end of a war that was fought to destroy them for ever. The challenge as far as the Khilafat is concerned is the challenge of aggressive economic imperialism; the challenge in regard to the Punjáb is the challenge of militarism—the doctrine of the rule of one nation by another by force. To this two-fold challenge India has to give an answer that, by capturing the imagination of the democracies of the world, will bring home to them, the urgency of rendering these reactionary forces impotent for all time. Such an answer it is impossible to make if the country is content with the methods of constitutional agitation to which it has been hitherto accustomed. The unparalleled situation which faces us to-day is the creation not of properly constituted Government functionaries, but of forces against which the latter are themselves helpless. The fact is so patent that it needs no emphasis. What else can explain the failure of a Government, profuse in brave words, yet unable to put forth action suited to the words as far as the Punjáb is concerned? What else also can explain the open and unashamed violation by the same Government of solemn pledges and high-sounding principles so far as the settlement of Turkey is concerned? Therefore, the struggle that India has to wage is not against Government but against perverted and dangerous methods of dealings as between one nation and another. The time-honoured methods of constitutional agitation will, therefore, not do, for the simple reason that they have failed. New methods of constitutional agaitation have, therefore, to be devised..... The people of India feel that they have not the Government they deserve. For the essence

Appeal to the Central Khilafat Committee and Mr. Gandhi to postpone the non-co-operation movement till the decision of the Special Congress is known.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st July.

of a satisfactory Government is, that it should be malleable to the general will. If our Government were malleable to the general will of the people, the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs, once enacted, would not yet have remained continuing wrongs. Therefore, the general will must assert itself to secure the ending of the wrongs. Till the end is secured, the general will must remain in conflict with Government. That conflict—that is, this new form of constitutional agitation of which the country has been in search,—has been presented by several leaders of the country in the garb of the non-co-operation movement..... For the movement to be inherently successful, it must utilise the most potent force the country possesses at the moment—the joint effort of the Hindu and the Moslem. For the movement to avoid any eruption of violence, it is essential that it should not infringe any law of the land as interpreted by the best constitutional authorities. Above all, the movement must be launched into being only after the mandate has been obtained from the joint deliberations of the Congress and the All-India Moslem League. Otherwise, it cannot be said to be the answer of the country to the call of the situation. We earnestly trust, therefore, that the Central Khilafat Committee and Mr. Gandhi will postpone the carrying out of their movement until the representative national bodies have pronounced their views..... And it is not improbable that the Congress and the League may not be able to decide upon any form of 'non-co-operation' which will satisfy the two essential conditions we have defined. For the task is as overwhelmingly difficult as it is unexampled. But whatever the verdict of the Congress and the League, it will be the verdict which the country will be bound to follow."

Comments on Mr. Malaviya's appeal for the temporary suspension of the non-co-operation movement.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 24th July; *Gujaráti Punch* (20), 25th July.

10. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has suggested the postponement of the non-co-operation movement till the special sessions of the National Congress and the Moslem League are held in September next. When a man of the type of the Pandit makes such a suggestion it deserves to be acted upon. At present the whole responsibility for the non-co-operation movement rests with Mr. Gandhi, but the Indian people will share the responsibility when the Congress and the League advocate its adoption. No harm will be done by keeping the movement in abeyance only for a month. Mr. Gandhi will be able to educate public opinion in the matter during the period. [The *Gujaráti Punch* expresses a hope that Mr. Gandhi will adopt the suggestion made by Mr. Malaviya.]

The *hartal* on 1st August.

Young India (13), 28th July.

11. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, writes:—"It is hardly likely that before the 1st August there will be on the part of His Majesty's Ministers promise of a revision of the peace terms and the consequent suspension of the inauguration of non-co-operation. The first of August next will be as important an event in the history of India as was the 6th of April last year. The sixth of April marked the beginning of the end of the Rowlatt Act. No one can consider the Rowlatt Act can possibly live in the face of the agitation that has only been suspended—never given up. It must be clear to anyone that the power that wrests justice from an unwilling Government in the matter of the Punjáb and the Khilafat will be the power that will secure repeal of the Rowlatt Act. And that power is the power of *Satyagraha*, whether it is known by the name of civil disobedience or non-co-operation. Many people dread the advent of non-co-operation, because of the events of last year. They fear madness from the mob and consequent repetition of last year's reprisals almost unsurpassed in their ferocity in the history of modern times..... But great movements cannot be stopped altogether because a Government or a people or both go wrong. We learn and profit through our mistakes and failures."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 31st July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (55), 31st July.

12. No objection can be taken against the *hartal* that is to be observed on Sunday the 1st August if all the instructions issued by the Khilafat Committee are observed in their entirety. If the *hartal* passes off with as much quiet as the *hartal* observed on a former occasion

the Indians will be able to show the authorities what religious significance they attach to it. The non-co-operation movement is fraught with more harm than good, and we are gratified to note that the Khilafat Committee have taken the wise course of keeping it in abeyance till September next when the special sessions of the Congress and the League are to be held and that the Moderates have issued a manifesto and have shown the courage of exhorting the people to dissociate themselves from the movement. We would now urge the Government of India to take steps to stop the fund that is being raised in India in honour of General Dyer. They will thereby be able to allay the discontent in India to a great extent and to make the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales more pleasant. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, while it approves of the suggestion made by the Khilafat Committee to observe a fast and to offer prayers to God for the Khilafat on the 1st August, declares that there is no religious sanction for the *hartal* that is advocated. It reiterates its objections against the non-co-operation movement and asks the Muhammadans not to participate in it.]

*13. Writing about the *hartal* on the 1st August, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—" Looking to the tone of the speeches which Mr. Gandhi and his *confreres* have recently delivered in Sind and in the Punjáb, there is much reason to fear that in spite of all their protestations of non-resistance they are bent upon playing on the temper and the feelings of the people till they rise to a dangerous pitch of dissatisfaction. Sind is by for the most backward province of this Presidency; its people are the least educated and therefore the most liable to be deceived by specious arguments and flamboyant speeches. The Government of Bombay have therefore acted rightly in warning the leaders of the Khilafat agitation in Sind to abstain from the use of language calculated to mislead and excite uneducated minds..... Whither this agitation is going to lead the country we cannot say; but one thing we can say, and that is that if all loyal and sensible people will but co-operate and raise a strong and united protest against those who are wrongfully using their influence over the minds of the people, if Government will also act with promptness, decision and good judgment, much of the evil that is apprehended can easily be averted."

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 1st Aug., Eng. cols.

14. Pledges have been broken and the Turkish Empire has been dismembered. Troops have been posted all over the Turkish borders to force Turkey to sign the peace, patriots are considered as traitors and put under restraint and thousands of innocent Turks that are captured are being slaughtered. The Turks have determined not to accept the unjust terms of peace. Turkish Nationalists are restless and the Bolshevists have not ceased casting longing eyes on India. Moreover, unrest has spread throughout the Punjáb owing to the atrocities perpetrated in that province and there are clear signs that in the near future there will be outbursts of unrest. So far the Indian Muhammadans have put forth their just demands in respect of Turkey with courage and fortitude and the other communities have expressed sympathy in their cause, as is to be seen from the observance of the two Khilafat days on former occasions. We observed *hartals* and submitted petitions to Government expressing our feelings and embodying our demands; but they are being spurned at! But, notwithstanding that, India will observe a *hartal* tomorrow the 1st of August. We appeal to the people of the Kaira District to follow the example of other districts and to manifest their public spirit on the occasion. Not even a small village should be backward in participating in the Hindu-Moslem unity. [The *Deshi Mitra* appeals to the people to observe the *hartal* in the peaceful manner enjoined by Mr. Gandhi.]

Kaira Vartamán (66), 28th July; *Deshi Mitra* (62), 29th July.

15. " Is Mr. Gandhi so sure of his countrymen that he thinks that the movement of non-co-operation will be successful? Is not the fact as it stands entirely the other way about? Does not the majority of our countrymen still consist of title hunters who are as fond of a handle to their names as children of glittering

Can the non-co-operation movement succeed?
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 29th July, Eng. cols.

baubles? Why else are new titles being constantly invented, and long lists of honours appear twice a year? Mr. Bhurgri resigned his seat on the Bombay Legislative Council as a protest against the terms of the Turkish Treaty. Has there been any difficulty in filling up the vacancy? Neither Mr. Montagu nor the Government of India need have any anxiety about the non-co-operation movement. It will fail and will die of inanition because our countrymen have not as yet acquired that spirit of sacrifice and self-surrender which is necessary for its success, though the outrageous voting in the House of Lords about General Dyer is such as to arouse the deepest feelings. We can imagine no deeper affront to the sense of self-respect of the people of India. What are we going to do to mark our indignation and to bring home to the recalcitrant House of Lords the enormity of its offending? The loftier phase of our indignation has been voiced by Rabindranath Tagore who is just now in London..... He exhorts his countrymen to free themselves from the spirit of dependence and mendicancy. Apart from what amounts to a vote of censure against the Government the vote of the House of Lords is an insufferable humiliation for all India, because it directly implies that General Dyer was perfectly justified in doing what he did at Amritsar, and the massacre and the crawling order were quite justifiable. Is India fallen so low that she should quietly submit to such a humiliation? If non-co-operation is ever to be successful it should succeed against the deliberate affront offered to India by the House of Lords."

16. "It may be said that the non-co-operation movement is essentially different from that of civil disobedience and passive resistance. In non-co-operation there is only a refusal to co-operate. There is nothing to resist, nobody to disobey. But would this doctrinal distinction make any difference in the practical results of the two movements? The doctrines of passive resistance and non-co-operation may be different; but the men are the same, the measures and methods are the same. It is in each instance setting large crowds in motion. The danger of the demonstrations arises, not from the idea or even the purpose of the movement, but from the uncertainty of the temper of crowds. How soon a meeting might degenerate into a riot, it is impossible to foretell or prevent..... When there exists a brooding sense of wrong and injustice the danger is very great..... Thus, however excellent the motives, and however sincere the desire of Mr. Gandhi and his associates to maintain peace and order in the pursuit of their programme, they can never altogether eliminate the element of danger and violence which is inherent in all such popular demonstrations. It is playing with fire..... The position is really difficult. On the one hand it is scarcely consistent with national self-respect to sit quiet over these outrageous wrongs. On the other hand, it is difficult to pursue the agitation without creating bitterness and bad blood. In the peculiar circumstances of India, it must at once or very soon take the form of a racial feud. It must happen from the very nature of the case, and not because anybody is making mischief. The policy of non-co-operation and other measures to be inaugurated with the 1st of August may be justified as dictated by patriotism and a desire to vindicate the national rights and honour. But the consequences?"

Praja Mitra and Parsi (30), 30th July, Eng. cols.

*17. "There are inner forces and secret agencies over which no organizer of the 'Non-Co-operation' movement can have any control. Abstract logic and abstract theories are absolutely valueless in presence of such unknown and invisible factors. Whatever else Mr. Gandhi may be, we must say with all respect to him that he is not a practical politician and fails to realise that there are more things on earth and in heaven than are dreamt of in his philosophy of Satyagraha and Non-Co-operation and that the weakness of his doctrines and movements lies, *inter alia*, in his disregard or forgetfulness of agencies and forces for which he can never make due allowance, even if they were capable of being discovered. What part infamous *badmashes* played in the disturbances in the Punjáb can never be known. What fiendish *rôle* they will enact elsewhere is not a question that can lightly be brushed aside.

Gujaráti (18), 1st Aug. Eng. cols.

If anything goes seriously wrong in any part of this vast country, it will afford valuable justification of the measures adopted in the Punjáb. An O'Dwyer will simply chuckle over such an occurrence as affording a complete vindication of his policy."

18. On the 1st of August, a real beginning of the first instalment of the non-co-operation movement will be made and Government will come to know that non-co-operation is a weapon in the armoury of constitutional agitation and that Indians will not refrain from using it as necessity arises. However severe a threat may be held out by Government to Mr. Gandhi in this connection, it will be of no use. Government alone have not the monopoly to interpret what constitutional agitation means. The people also have the right along with Government to interpret its real meaning and to offer advice about its principles. If Government want to prevent the exercise of this right, people will not allow it at all, and whatever danger may befall Gandhi for offering advice in this connection, the whole nation will resist it as if the danger threatened itself. The first of August has not been selected only for the preaching of the principle of non-co-operation. According to Mr. Gandhi's scheme Muhammadans have on that day to make a beginning with discarding titles and honorary offices, as the first instalment of non-co-operation. We say Muhammadans because the Khilafat agitation bears to a large extent a religious as well as a political aspect. Therefore, the honour of leading the campaign rests with Muhammadans, and the force which they will impart to the agitation will induce the Hindus also to be at their back and assist them sympathetically. It has been left to Mr. Gandhi to initiate the different instalments of non-co-operation, and as he is careful and thoughtful he will take every step with caution. It is not easy to say the giving up of titles, etc., by how many Muhammadans will constitute the success of the first instalment of the movement. Even if one honest man is secured for a movement it may be said to be a victory for it on principle, but Mr. Gandhi knows that such a small success will not do practically. He must be fully aware that while the success of a movement may do good, its complete failure and the consequent ridicule will do harm. It is noteworthy that though a date has been fixed for the beginning of the movement, the further steps have not been timed. The doubtful attitude of Mr. Gandhi is due to the fact that the Congress has not yet approved of the movement, and he knows that the consent and sympathy of the Congress are necessary to give non-co-operation a national character. There must be another cause also operating. Mr. Gandhi has given a conventional and narrow interpretation to non-co-operation. It is doubtful whether he will get thousands of followers, let alone lakhs. Firstly, title-holders are generally people who cannot get very angry with Government and, besides, they consider it an honour to have titles, and it is not very possible that they will grow so angry or indifferent as to discard their decorations. It must also be borne in mind that as Muhammadans are less educated, they value titles and Honorary Magistrateships more than Hindus. We, therefore, doubt whether Mr. Gandhi will have sufficient material to estimate the success or otherwise of the first instalment correctly. We shall be glad if our doubts are disproved. Real non-co-operation is, however, not to be measured by the narrrow standard laid down by Mr. Gandhi. A comprehensive and wide interpretation should be given to it, and if he does so he will find that non- co-operation was begun in the country years before the 1st of August. When many people do things mutually beneficial with a similar object, it is called co-operation. From this point of view, how far is real co-operation possible between Government and the Indian people? If we consider it from a restricted point of view, all of us have been co-operating with Government till now and will continue to do so hereafter. Given a comprehensive meaning, Council Members, Honorary Magistrates, and even Government servants can non-co-operate on occasions. The chief object of the British Government in ruling over India is to have themselves called rulers and to oblige Indians to be called subjects. Whatever is done to further this object is co-operation, and what we call consitutional agitation is not co-operation! Because it is based on the feeling that Englishmen are rulers and Indians are subjects. By giving expression to that feeling, by advocating and taking pride in it, we are

Kesari (109), 27th July.

accomplishing the chief object of the British Government. We are but co-operating with Government; if not, what is it then? From this point of view, those who object to the Congress creed speak truly. They say, if you cannot rebel, do not do so, but technically there is no offence in saying that India should have full independence. They further argue that at least the refrain of "self-government within the Empire" may be dropped. So long as the Congress is thus voluntarily co-operating by means of its creed, even if a Congressman resigns his Council seat, he cannot escape from the stain of co-operation. Gandhi will surely condemn any idea of changing the Congress creed. Again, it is voluntary co-operation to obey Government laws without resistance. Mahatma Gandhi has, however, laid down the restriction that any law or Police order should not be disobeyed in this movement. But non-co-operation means resistance. There is no escape from this dilemma. One thing more. It is not that the situation in the country or the character of Government has been suddenly changed. Though Mr. Gandhi is non-co-operating in a particular connection, generally his policy is one of co-operation with Government. What more clear instance of co-operation—voluntary co-operation—can there be than the fact that Mr. Gandhi three years ago girded up his loins and obtained recruits for Government? Are we to say that the then British Government was descended from heaven, while the present one has come up from hell? The old prototypes of those who brought about the Jhallianwalla massacre killed strings of innocent Indians by blowing them off from the mouths of guns and hanging them on trees in 1857, and the old prototypes of those who enforced the crawling order made innocent men lick the ground covered with blood in the same year of the Mutiny. We admit that Government have not kept the promises made by them to the Muhammadans during the war. But the history of the British Government means the history of broken promises. Can anyone point out a single session of the Congress where this charge was not openly levelled at Government? To say that Government this year contracted the habit of breaking their pledges for the first time is to honour them unduly and attribute to them qualities which they do not possess. In spite of it, up till now, Councils were not boycotted and resolutions advising non-payment of taxes were not pressed. Can it be said from this that the whole of the Indian nation and the Congress were voluntarily co-operating with Government? To sum up, co-operation from the heart is real co-operation, and non-co-operation from the heart is real non-co-operation. Occasional or even daily association is not co-operation. We do not think that even Mr. Gandhi thinks that non-co-operation consists in observing his four instalments and that all else is co-operation, and nobody should suppose so. Legislative Councils are places for fighting as well as co-operating with Government. It depends upon the men we meet there. The object of Government is clear. They want to rule autocratically here; they want to fatten Englishmen; they want to make their countrymen rich with Indian money by selling English manufactured goods and they want to force their culture upon us. We Indians have a contrary object. We want to obtain national liberty, on the strength of our national rights; we want to become ourselves rulers, that is we want to obtain *Swardjya*; we want to take back our mouthful which would be eaten by Englishmen; we want to destroy autocratic administration; we want to increase our industries and drive away foreign goods, and though we want reforms we desire to base them on our ancient culture. It follows that co-operation or non-co-operation is not confined only to the four stages of Gandhi. The question will arise wherever Government and ourselves are brought together, and everywhere we should act with the sole aim of non-co-operation in our hearts. At least at present the interests of Government and the people are so conflicting that their success means our defeat, their profit means our loss, their glory means our shame, and their strength means our weakness. In these circumstances, non-co-operation will have to be resorted to every minute and by little bits. It means we should try to exercise our influence over them; their minds should be tormented, their skin should come off by our rubbing, they should be discouraged by our opposition, and their selfish schemes should be put down by our resistance. All these things should be done daily everywhere. If we want to do these things, we cannot

achieve our object by simply avoiding Government and standing aside. The real comprehensive meaning of non-co-operation is that we should come into contact with Government wherever possible from the village to the capital and everywhere we should make them feel our opposition. The royal roads of non-co-operation are not to enter Government service and not to pay taxes. We want as many such voluntary instances of non-co-operation as possible. But it should not be forgotten that Legislative Councils and Municipalities do not belong to the category of Government service. Government servants are bound to obedience. But a municipal member, and specially a Council member, is in no way a Government servant; on the contrary, he is an adversary of theirs. He who thinks that his duty ends by entering the Council is no doubt a downright fool. But it is not also wise to argue that even those who have the ability and capacity to capture the Councils, that are the battle-ground in the struggle for *Swarajya* and military posts from which to bombard Government, should not do so.

Al-Wahid (142), 20th July.

19. The ultimate political and religious centre of Islam, the capital of the Khalif, is now surrounded by the enemy. Strangers and friends are co-operating with the enemy. The centre of Islam has none but God to protect it. Muslims must remember that if they lag behind in protecting Islam to-day they will have to answer for it before their Maker. Some people might say that Musalmans by giving expression to their feelings and by subscribing large sums of money have already done enough in the cause of the Khilafat and that they cannot do more. While recognising what they have so far done, we do not think that they have done all that they could. Their work has produced no impression on the sword of Christianity which has been inflicting fresh wounds on Muslim hearts. The excitement which Muslims have shown is all to the good, but mere crying and weeping will not enable an army to conquer a country. All Christendom is now up against Islam and will not mind the resolutions which Muhammadan Conferences may pass. If Musalmans wish to bring Christendom to its senses and to recover the Holy Places of Islam for their Khalif they must arise for the protection of their religion, caring little for their worldly possessions. They must employ their strength so as to produce some tangible results. In other words they must without any delay adopt non-co-operation and renounce all honours and titles conferred on them by a Government which does not care for their religious sentiments. They must also give up their appointments under Government. These proceedings are sure to lead to their persecution, but they must put up with it, rather then serve and help a Government which has committed a breach of faith with them and is at work to extirpate their dear religion.

Bombay Government's warning to Khilafat workers in Sind.

Bombay Samáchár (58), 26th July; *Akhbár-i-Islám* (55), 27th July.

20. Commenting upon the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay warning speakers in Sind against indiscreet speeches, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—We look upon the Bombay Government Press Note, which is calculated to take the people into confidence, as more important than Mr. Montagu's warning. The Government of Bombay has at its head a sympathetic Governor who has adopted a policy which is well suited to the present democratic age, and who has justly earned the praise of all parties and politicians by winning the hearts of the people. When such a ruler thinks it necessary to give a warning, it can hardly be looked upon as unreasonable or out of place. The note warns the Sindhis that if indiscreet speeches exciting the people into religious fanaticism by baseless stories are not controlled, Government will be compelled to apply the Seditious Meetings Act to Sind. Under circumstances of this nature, it is the fundamental duty of Government to take notice of the agitators; but the Government of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd do not want to interfere with the sentiments of the Muhammadans in this matter, nor do they want to prevent them from expressing them; they desire to allow the utmost liberty to the leaders of the Khilafat movement. They have, therefore, preferred to see that the movement is put on the right

track before suppressing it. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* gives the contents of the Note and strongly advises the leaders of the Khilafat movement to pay heed to it.]

*21. "A spirit of repression seems to be in the air. A few days after the denunciation of Mr. Gandhi's activities by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons, Delhi was declared to be a proclaimed area under the Seditious Meetings Act, and a similar warning was issued by the government of Sir George Lloyd to the people of Sind. The press-note issued by the Government of Bombay says that if the campaign of inflammatory speeches commenced in certain districts is persisted in there will be no alternative but to apply to the whole province or to some other specified parts of Sind the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act. The people of Sind are to be congratulated upon having thus attained special claims to the consideration of Government. It is in Sind that the Khilafat movement is the keenest. The Muhammadans of Sind have shown a marvellous spirit of self-denial. Many of them have given up their honorary posts even before the actual launching of the campaign of non-co-operation, and many more have emigrated to Afghanistan placing conscience above their country. It was here that the anti-Khilafat movement engineered by a few government officials was set on foot, and now that the movement has completely failed the Government seems at last to contemplate a policy of forcible repression."

Mahratta (7), 1st Aug.

22. It is quite natural for the real Muhammadan heart to be greatly agitated on account of the terrible fate of the Khilafat and to give utterance to bitter ideas, and if they are suppressed in one way they will burst out in another form. Nobody likes to subject himself to the unbearable sufferings inflicted by the Government machine, and therefore the warning given by Government appears to us to be needless. But it is altogether reprehensible and harmful for any speaker to resort to false statements. Responsible leaders never do so willingly. If any mistaken statement is made on account of misunderstanding, Government should clearly state the real facts and publicly refute it. Though the Bombay Government request it, it is not practicable for one roused to great heat to speak mildly. If anyone really desires that the great resentment should really die out, and that it should not burst out in other ways, he should find out why it has been caused and remove its origin. Mere coaxing or a threatening notice is useless.

Lokasangraha (112), 25th July.

23. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"Last week I dealt with the Muhajarin who was shot. During the Khilafat party's tour in the Punjáb I was handed a signed statement giving particulars about the incident on which the Government have issued a *communique*. As the statement purports to come from responsible parties and as it contains a version at variance with that of the *communique*, I deem it to be my duty to place it before the public and invite the Government's attention to it. If the facts set forth in the statement are true, they reflect the greatest discredit on the so-called soldiers who took wanton delight in killing a man who was endeavouring to protect the honour of women. I understand that the N.-W. Frontier Administration are holding a judicial inquiry into the matter. But the public has become so suspicious even about inquiries described as judicial, that unless it is a really independent and honest inquiry, no weight will be attached to its findings. If, therefore, the Government do not wish to lay themselves open to the charge of having hushed up an unmanly act on the part of the British soldiers, they will not dread publicity and they will invite the most trusted men to investigate the matter. No local men merely can possibly be considered sufficient to ensure impartiality. The incident is of no small importance. General Dyer unfortunately talked of the lives and honour of English women being held sacred in India. I hope that India holds the honour and life of *every* woman dear and sacred. There is, therefore, the question of women's honour involved in the incident.

The Muhajarin incident at Kacha Garhi.
Young India (13), 28th July.

Then again there is the question of the Indian soldiers having refused to fire. If it is a fact and if the refusal was due to the causes narrated in the statement, it reflects the highest credit on them. The affair again derives importance from the fact that the tragedy has occurred in connection with an emigration of a sacred character. I assure the Government that the matter is being warmly talked about among thousands of men throughout the Punjáb. The fullest and swiftest inquiry is essential if they do not intend that an unverified version should be current among the masses..... This incident, moreover, shows the necessity of the Government laying down their policy about *Hijrat*. If they do not wish to prevent this peaceful and religious protest they should say so. The petty officers not knowing the Government policy may act foolishly and rashly and precipitate events in a manner not desired by the Government. A movement, which is attaining the dimensions that this bids fair to do, cannot be left to itself. An open declaration of the Government policy is most desirable for the sake of every interest."

Indu Prakásh (44), 31st July.

24. The *Indu Prakásh* requests that, in view of the commotion produced among Indians by the news of the Muhajarin incident at Kacha Garhi, Government should appoint non-official Muhammadans unconnected with the Punjáb on the committee already appointed by them to investigate into the matter. It points out that it would not be proper on the part of Government to aggravate the bitterness already felt by the public over the matter by refusing to correct the mistake of not appointing non-official Muhammadans on the committee.

The Turkish Peace Treaty.
Political Bhomiyo (70), 23rd July.

25. When the Allies gained the victory it was hoped that they would, out of a feeling of thankfulness towards God for their success, behave in such an honest and straightforward manner as to evoke the admiration of the small and weak States and that a new era would be heralded in this world. But alas! All our hopes have been disappointed and the affairs of the world have assumed quite a strange aspect. The heads of the Allies have been turned by the victory. They have violated their pledges, they have adopted a short-sighted policy, and there is nothing straightforward in their dealings. Before the framing of the Turkish Peace Treaty, Khilafat deputations went to England to pray for mercy to Turkey and an assurance was given to it that Turkey would not be harshly treated. But subsequently it was proved that this assurance was as false and treacherous as other assurances given during the twentieth century and that there was no intention to carry it out. While Germany has not been deprived of any territory that has been long in her possession, Turkey is being dealt with in an unbecoming manner. Poor Turkey asked for the respite of a fortnight to consider the harsh and harmful terms of the treaty, but it was peremptorily told that not a single day would be allowed to it. The Germans have still some power left in them and they can make haughty replies. It must also be borne in mind that Germany is a Christian nation and one day she might join hands with the Allies, but it is the misfortune of Turkey that it follows the Muhammadan religion and in fact this is considered as its greatest crime. It is on this account that Turkey is being treated in a harsh and humiliating manner. Is it just to occupy Constantinople? The Viceroy informs us that Constantinople has been allowed to remain in the possession of Turkey with a view to respecting the feelings of Indian Moslems. This means that had it not been for the pressure of the Indian Muhammadans, the Prime Minister would not have cared to fulfil his pledge in this respect. But even the pledge in respect of Constantinople has not been fully respected, as it has been converted into a prison. Is it not regrettable that the very Prime Minister who praised the part played by India in the war, and who won the war owing to the hearty response given by India to his appeal, should now disregard his pledges and behave in a frightful manner towards Turkey?

26. "Whatever the fire-eating Englishman might say, the Indians have been till recently believing that England won India not mainly by force; for the deeds of arms recorded in the British portion of Indian history do not certainly deserve such a large prize as the continent of India..... The British army may crush any sporadic outburst on the part of the people even on a comparatively large scale, but it is too small to cope with a movement which has the large majority of the people consciously at its back, and the people of England also may not be prepared to undergo all the expense and worry and oppression necessary to hold India down by the force of arms. The state of Ireland is a case in point. India is not on all fours with Ireland, but the parallel may be sufficiently close if events develop. The significance of the events of the last year in the Punjáb lies in the fact that this unconscious acquiescence of the mass of the people in the British rule is not likely to last long, as the dread of the alternative to it may not be so keenly felt by those to whom the terrible events of last year were a stern reality. If the general consensus of British opinion, both in England and India had unreservedly condemned the atrocities, the memory of the events would indeed not have been effaced, but the passive feeling of tolerance in British rule might have acquired strength again. But what do we actually find? In India the British opinion is almost unanimously in enthusiastic favour of General Dyer as the saviour of India with the honourable exception of the *Times of India* and some missionaries; they are raising funds for the benefit of the notorious soldier who massacred innocent Indians by the hundred to create a sensation; they are cheering Col. Frank Johnson, another of these 'heroes', to the echo; they are calling for strong action against Mr. Gandhi; they are attacking the three Indians who formed the minority of the Hunter Committee as seditionists and abettors of rebellion. But the climax of this progress in the decadence of British ideals was reached in the House of Lords. There an *ex*-Lord Chancellor actually proposed a motion censuring Government for condemning—to such extent as it did—Dyer unheard. It was explained that Dyer was condemned out of his own mouth on the strength of statements made in answer to the European members of the Hunter Committee and not under cross-examination by astute 'seditious' lawyers. If Sir Chimanlal Setalwad and Pandit Jagat Narain are seditious, it will take a long time before one can find a respectable loyalist Indian..... The Lords' decision has no actual significance, but it has a very pregnant meaning for the future of India. Whether India is to cut herself away from the British Empire we cannot foretell. But a few more Amritsars and a few more Lords' debates of this kind, and British rule in India would not be worth ten years' purchase. The Labour and Liberal parties in England are, to a certain extent at least, in favour of a just treatment of India. But the conservative and aristocratic party is for 'martial law and no damned nonsense.' It is from this class that most of the Englishmen in India are recruited. There are very few Liberals of the English type in India. Hence the Lords' debate shows better than anything else can that the future of India is dark indeed. The bureaucracy and the class of British exploiters in India have seen that they will have powerful supporters in England to uphold any of their misdeeds in this country, provided they are committed ostensibly in the interests of imperialism, the honour of British women and the safety of the English, and here they throw in also 'the interests of the vast masses in this country' as words without meaning. It is hardly to be wondered at that all thoughtful Indians have begun to feel despondent, that men like Rabindranath Tagore have asked us to look to ourselves and to realise the futility and humiliation of depending upon others."

The Dyer resolution in the House of Lords.
Servant of India (9), 29th July.

27. The passing of Lord Finlay's resolution in the House of Lords need not cause us any surprise. What should Indians do now? Everyone, be he Moderate or Extremist, must set about giving consideration to the matter. This much is now certain, that the safety of no one can be ensured under the policy of frightfulness. Many Anglo-Indian news-

Gujaráti (18), 25th July; *Navjivan* (68), 25th July.

papers are advocates of the policy of frightfulness. Will Indians now work in their presses? Is it self-respecting on the part of Indians to serve under European masters who favour the policy of frightfulness? Should the administration of the country be left in the hands of officials who favour the same policy? Should they be paid their salaries from the Indian treasury? Is it proper to help them even for a moment? Should Indians serve under them? We should boycott all those who advocate the policy of frightfulness, be they Europeans or Indians. All those Europeans and non-Europeans who contribute to the Dyer Fund should be boycotted and a policy of non-co-operation should be organised against them. [The *Navjivan* writes:—The House of Lords has nullified the effect of the poor attempt made by the Commons to do justice to India. We do not think that there would be a worse stigma on the British Empire than the one involved in the passing of Lord Finlay's resolution in the Lords. How can those Indians who do not want to be governed by the policy of frightfulness co-operate with Government that is intoxicated with Imperialism? If our educated men still persist in entering the Councils it can be said that their ambition is of a worse nature than the Imperialism of the Lords.]

28. It is clear that the House of Lords' resolution will add fuel to the fire, and that the already excited Indian public opinion will be still further enraged. The eccentric resolution has no value from the point of view of the Government in England as it will not entail the resignation of the British Ministry. But from the view-point of India, the principle embodied in the resolution is very destructive and dangerous, and it will place a firebrand in the hands of the devils eager to enforce bludgeon-rule. The resolution has proved that the devil of military prestige has a home not only in Germany but that it has full play in England also. The resolution has committed the sin of putting a firebrand in the hand of that devil, and it is to be seen to what degree its pranks will proceed. Military bragadoccio and insolence are destructive of Indian freedom and self-respect and they will surely harm the British Empire as they did Germany. For this reason only, Mr. Montagu asked the House of Commons on what principle India was to be ruled, whether the people were to be trodden under foot or whether they were to be approched in a statesmanlike spirit of brotherhood. The House of Commons gave the proper reply, but the House of Lords upheld military haughtiness and trampled under foot the rights of the Indian people. The British ministry should show in word as well as deed clearly that they do not approve of the said resolution, otherwise the support given to Dyer will not fail to produce quite terrible consequences.

Kesari (109), 27th July.

29. The Lords decided by a large majority that Dyer is an exceedingly humane general. They came to the conclusion that a huge rebellion had broken out in the Punjáb and that Dyer quelled it by massacring only a few hundred persons. Subscriptions are being collected for him, and perhaps he may be presented with a sum of one lakh of pounds and a suitable acknowledgment of his services. We do not think that after this even the Moderates will sing the praises of British justice. [The *Subodh Patrika* says that in the Lords prejudice got the better of reason. The *Prakásh* remarks that Lord Sinha, instead of condemning General Dyer's conduct in sufficiently strong language, sought to give advice to his own countrymen. In the opinion of the *Khándesh Vaibhav*, the decision of the Lords which has added insult to injury will create much bitterness in India.]

Rájakáran (122), 25th July; *Subodh Patrika* (47), 25th July; *Prakásh* (121), 28th July; *Khándesh Vaibhav* (110), 26th July.

30. The *Lokasangraha* says that owing to the adoption of Lord Finlay's motion in the Lords people who had hitherto been opposed to non-co-operation have now declared in its favour. It expresses its satisfaction at the resignation by Messrs. Yakub Hasan and Kasturiranga Ayangar of Madras of their membership on the Prince of Wales Reception Committee. It tells Government that Mahatma Gandhi is the most delicate part of the

Lokasangraha (112), 29th July.

body politic of India, the least injury to which would send a wave of indignation from one end of the country to the other.

General Dyer has not even been dismissed.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th July.

31. "What is this news about Dyer making an application for retirement? In the Commons, Mr. Churchill, questioned as to the propriety of public subscriptions being raised for Dyer, stated that the King's Regulations forbade acceptance of such gifts, but that as Dyer had applied to retire he did not propose to take any action! The most amazing feature of this revelation is that India has so far been under the impression that some form of punishment had been meted out to the 'Butcher of Jallianwalla Bagh' involving at least his dismissal. Now we are informed that even that was too severe, and that Dyer retires from the Army apparently without the usual official stain on his unblemished character. Never has a nation been fooled and hoodwinked so mercilessly as India by those who were called upon to take action against the perpetrator of one of the greatest crimes in history."

The Dyer debate in the House of Commons.
Al-Wahid (142), 20th July.

32. From the debate in the House of Commons on the Punjáb massacres and the conduct of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer it would appear that the people in England can no longer distinguish between right and wrong. Mr. Montagu and Mr. Churchill no doubt made very fine speeches; but they let off a butcher like General Dyer who had massacred hundreds of Indians, men, women and children. They let off Sir Michael O'Dwyer also who, owing to his wicked and satanic nature, had approved of General Dyer's action; and that wicked man Lord Chelmsford who gave orders for the introduction of Martial Law in the Punjáb and thus allowed thousands of men to be made the victims of persecution and tyranny still continues to be the Viceroy of India and has even obtained a certificate of merit from Mr. Montagu. Mr. Montagu now characterises Mr. Gandhi's programme in connection with the Khilafat movement as mischievous and leaves it to Lord Chelmsford to take such measures as the latter may think necessary to deal with the situation. A noble soul like Mr. Gandhi is a mischief-maker while Lold Chelmsford is a gentleman! Why so? Because justice has departed from the British Empire. Surely a nation which resorts to injustice, persecution and treachery must go to speedy ruin.

Doings of Germans and General Dyer contrasted.
Lokasangraha (112), 27th July.

33. Mrs. Besant says that the English will be ruined if they subject India to oppression and injustice. Our rulers should lay these words to heart. The Germans oppressed their enemies, but England oppressed people who owed allegiance to herself. England ended the rule of the Sultan over territories in which he had massacred the people. But the people who were massacred were rebels and they had themselves massacred the Turks. The "high-souled" Dyer, however, put to death a crowd of innocent and unarmed people who had assembled at a meeting with their children, relying on the justice of the British Government. We must always remember that God is always ready to effect the deliverance of those whom He persecutes.

The proposed visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India.
Broach Samáchár (60), 29th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 29th July; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 1st Aug., Eng. cols.

34. Adverting to the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the *Broach Samáchár* writes:—His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will land at Bombay on the 21st December. His visit to this country is welcome, as it will appease the afflicted minds of the people. The sight of the heir-apparent will act like balm on their wounds. We have great regard for Mr. Gandhi, but we look upon his new manifesto with disfavour. It is wrong to urge that the Prince should not be cordially received on account of the Punjáb incidents. The people ought not to be misled in this fashion. [With reference to the report in the *Morning Post* that the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is likely to be postponed, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—This is very sad news

for the Indians. We wish the information turns out to be baseless, though of course the question of his health should receive first consideration. We are anxiously awaiting an authoritative announcement by the Government of India in this connection. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes :—" The postponement of his visit will, we are sure, be a great disappointment to this country where preparations were being made on a large scale to give him a fitting and loyal reception. But though we are extremely disappointed, we think that the postponement of His Royal Highness's visit is a wise step, for the consideration of his health should outweigh all other considerations."]

35. Preparations are afoot in all the big cities in India by the authorities to accord a grand reception to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales during his visit to this country, but it seems to be doubtful, in view of the prevailing conditions, if the public will be ready, as on previous similar occasions, to give him a hearty welcome. They seem inclined not to co-operate in the matter of welcoming the Prince.

Satya Shodhak (125), 25th July.

36. Protesting against the proposed acquisition of properties for erecting a terminal station at Grant Road, Bombay, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—This scheme will, in effect, make hundreds of families homeless. Where will these be housed again? Did Government consider what hardships the people would have to undergo before determining upon this scheme? The acquisition of these properties must be postponed as long as arrangements necessary for the re-housing of these people are not made by Government. We would urge the owners of these buildings to enter their emphatic protest against the acquisition of their properties and to take concerted action for safeguarding their rights in the law courts. [In its subsequent issue the paper calls upon Government to give publicity to their housing scheme so as to enable the people to make their own suggestions with regard to it. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses its great solicitude for the fate of those who will be dishoused and suggests that if the Mahaluxmi flats and other waste lands in that locality were to be availed of for the purpose of a terminal station, the hardships of the people affected by the present scheme would be averted. In its issue of the 30th July the paper protests against the delay in the publication of the housing programme to be undertaken by Government. It disapproves of the proposed dismantling of the railway line south of Church Gate, pointing out that the increasing population in that direction would thereby be seriously handicapped. It concludes with the hope that Government will give the people an opportunity of making suggestions in connection with their housing scheme.]

Comments on the proposed acquisition of properties in the Bombay City in connection with the construction of a terminal station at Grant Road.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 27th and 30th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 27th and 30th July.

***37.** " These buildings are at present all occupied by respectable Parsi and Hindu families of the middle and poor classes, and it may be easily imagined what an hardship it will be to them, in these days when housing accommodation is so scarce in the City, to vacate these buildings and seek refuge elsewhere. In fact it will be absolutely impossible for such a large number of people to find accommodation anywhere at all, unless Government first of all make adequate provision for them by developing the Worli and Mahim housing schemes as rapidly as possible. We earnestly request the Government to postpone their plan till this is done; otherwise it will entail a great deal of suffering on a large number of citizens."

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 1st Aug., Eng. cols.

***38.** " How the Government of India look upon India as a prodigious estate to be exploited at their sweet will and pleasure without let or hindrance is palpable from the way in which they are assisting and promise further to assist the Central Provinces Tanning and Trading Company to be started shortly. The Government has already given the company 843 acres of land in the Saugor District at a nominal price, and other

Protest against the concessions granted to the Central Provinces Tanning and Trading Company.

Mahrátta (7), 1st Aug.

privileges have been accorded them by the Forest Department. A slaughter-house and a tank are built for the use of the said company at the cost of the Government, *e. g.*, at the expense of the public of India. Messrs. Devenport and Company are the agents of the said Tanning Company, and it is expected that the profits of the company would amount to 20 lakhs annually on a capital of 40 lakhs. It is also estimated that about two lakh head of cattle will be slaughtered every year. These being the underhand and darkish dealings of the Government with the Company, quite a host of questions crop up. Why did the Government sell land at a nominal price to the Company? Why is a slaughter-house to be erected at the cost of the public? Does the Government wish to give a bounty to cow-killing? Does India suffer from a plethora of cattle at the present time so that Government need to encourage systematic weeding? Is Government going to promote Indian industries by bolstering up European companies here and allowing them free scope to ship 20 lakhs of profits annually outright to England? The action of the Government is, to say the least, grossly high-handed, and directly in contravention to the opinion recorded by the Indian Industrial Commission presided over by Sir Thomas Holland."

39. Whatever happens it appears that Government are resolved to establish the exchange rate at two shillings per rupee. It is well and good if it naturally comes to this level, but if it does not, why should there be any forcing? If in no other independent country an artificial exchange rate is necessary, why should its need be felt in India? India is indeed a land of wonders! If the Currency Committee's recommendations are to be followed strictly, why should there be a sale of Reverse Councils condemned by the Committee, and if there is to be a sale, why should it not be linked to gold and to sovereigns? Let the exchange rate find its own level like water. If there is no hope that it will settle at two shillings, why should India be put to a loss by the sale of Reverse Councils? Considered from any point of view, the present policy of Government appears to be mistaken. A Bill is shortly to be introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council fixing the exchange rate of a sovereign at Rs. 10 and the question will then be considered from all points of view. It will be seen then whether Government will adopt a reasonable attitude or whether they will sacrifice the interests of the Indian treasury for the sake of the good of their handful of countrymen.

Protest against the currency policy of Government.
Kesari (109), 27th July.

40. It is a puzzle to thoughtful persons how a nation of thirty crores should be so very harmless. The solution is to be found in the fact that the English are careful not to surrender an iota of power into the hands of Indians. Is it any wonder that the people should lack enterprise since the English have monopolized administration and the commerce of the country? The present lot of Indians is to obey their rulers and be satisfied with what little they are pleased to give them. This is what is called slavery, and this slavery is spread over the whole country. Our manliness is under the shadow of subjection, and hence we look to the bureaucracy for guidance in everything. The real worth of a nation manifests itself only when a spirit of independence is fostered. This is the lesson which the events in the Punjáb have to convey. *Swadeshi* engenders a feeling of independence, and hence it cannot have too large a field in India. There is no glory without independence and there is no independence without *swadeshi*.

Swadeshi necessary for fostering a feeling of independence in India.
Lokasangraha (112), 30th July.

41. A correspondent writes to the *Kesari*:—Under section 14 of the (Bombay) Village Police Act of 1867 some Police Patils are empowered to take cognizance of oral complaints about the use of abusive language, etc., and to impose a fine not exceeding Rs. 5 and detention for a period not exceeding an hour on the accused. The District Magistrates have no power to transfer such complaints, nor are they appealable. Only the High Court can exercise its revisional

Suggestions for amendment of the Bombay Village Police Act.
Kesari (109), 27th July.

power. But this involves expenditure of both money and time. It is, therefore, requested that the Act may be amended and appeals in such cases allowed to be made to First Class Magistrates or District Magistrates, as the present all-powerful weapon sometimes brings respectable people into trouble.

Alleged defective condition of the P. W. D. roads in Kánara.
Kánara Leader (37), 27th July, Eng. cols.

42. "We regret to have to bring to the notice of the authorities the generally defective condition of the P. W. D. roads. ..... In some places the roads are washed down by the flood of rainwater and the hollows caused have gone deeper than the side gutters..... Formerly the roads of the P. W. D. were serving as models for the Municipalities and Local Boards to adopt. Now we are afraid that the state of things has been reversed. For the roads of the Local Boards are said to compare favourably with those of the P. W. D."

His Excellency the Governor's speech at the opening of the Dhárwár College.
Mahrátta (7), 1st Aug.

***43.** "The speech which His Excellency the Governor of Bombay recently delivered on the occasion of the opening of the Karnatak College at Dhárwár is, as our contemporay the *Times* characterised it, doubtless admirable; but there is a fly in the ointment. Towards the close of his address he treats the rising generation assembled there to a homily on leadership; he says, 'any careful observer who looks at the condition of things in India at the present time will see at once that one thing above all others is needed. What India needs most are leaders, men possessing force of character, and with a sane calm outlook, who attain and maintain their leadership of men not with the mere clatter and hurricane of the hustings, but through their reputation for patriotism and sanity.' Now there is no quarrel about the qualities essential in a leader as described by His Excellency; every reasonable man will at once agree to them one and all; but the way in which the satrap of Bombay has aimed a Parthian shot at the present Indian leaders is unfortunate and hardly honourable. He takes it for granted that the few people who guide and inspire and lead Indian thought and opinion are unworthy and not possessed of that 'force of character and sane, calm outlook' emphasized by him. If the Governor wishes for a leader having force of character in a greater degree and saner and calmer outlook than Mahatma Gandhi he is certainly crying for the moon. Does he think that Mr. Tilak has won his way up by merely playing to the gallery, or, as he says, 'by the clatter and hurricane of the hustings'? None in India feels that Lala Lajpat Rai is a demagogue. We honestly think that Indians are better fitted and more qualified to choose their leaders, and what India at the present time needs most is not leaders of a different type but a larger number of the same."

Karndtak Mitra (38), 22nd July, Eng. cols.

44. "His Excellency the Governor of Bombay opened last week the magnificent buildings of the Karnátak College at Dhárwár..... His Excellency delivered a short speech the sum and substance of which stripped of all its bewildering verbiage, was that His Excellency cautioned the students from joining politics soon after their graduation. The whole function hardly lasted for half an hour. And for this short farce or show His Excellency took all the trouble to come down from Poona at much personal inconvenience and great expense to the State. We are told on good authority that the authorities of the second or the newly opened Arts College at Dhárwár invited His Excellency to perform the opening ceremony and to bless the college with his good wishes. But His Excellency had no time to go through the small function over again. It is difficult to understand the psychology of this step-motherly treatment accorded to the second college which, if it all, ought to be better wished for and better congratulated because of the selfless and patriotic efforts which are the foundations of this college. His Excellency stayed in Dhárwár only for two hours and the two functions could well have been accomplished within that short space or better still His Excellency might have spared himself the trouble of travelling all the way

in a special train and putting the state to large expense, and then all this for no useful purpose. Sermonizing to the Indian students on the futility of joining political movements soon after graduation might well have been accomplished by issuing a press communique which has become so cheap and which is issued on all and sundry topics nowadays. However the ways of an irresponsible bureaucracy are inscrutable!"

45. The *Dunia* comments with satisfaction on His Excellency the Governor's remark made on the occasion of the opening of the Karnatak College that the country at present lacks capable leaders, and adds:—The other point in His Excellency's speech is about the idea of students that they become well versed in politics as soon as they pass the B. A. examination. According to him, the students think as soon as they leave the University with a degree that they can take the place of a Pitt or a Gokhale. His Excellency is not happy in the choice of the politicians named by him. Pitt became a Premier at the age of twenty-four, at which age our young men generally graduate. And, as regards Gokhale, perhaps His Excellency thinks too much of him; but not even five per cent. of our young graduates hold him in such high respect as to take glory in claiming equality with him. The reason why students think so very lightly of politics is that they are forcibly kept divorced from it while at college, the result being that while they understand what is superficial in current political matters they have no idea as to the deeper problems.

Dunia (104), 25th July.

46. In the course of the speech recently delivered by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd before the Chiefs and Sardars of the Deccan, His Excellency gave an outline of his scheme for irrigating the Deccan. Some of the works have already been undertaken and will afford no small relief to the agriculturists when they are completed. The irrigation works that are contemplated may not be sufficient to meet the requirements of our presidency, but the scheme as outlined by His Excellency affords a happy augury for the future. Let us hope that the Sardars will lay to heart the advice given to them by His Excellency in the matter of adopting the most modern methods of agriculture and throwing themselves heartily into the task of co-operating with Government and help to realise the hopes he entertains in respect of this Presidency.

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's address at the Durbar of the Deccan Sardars at Poona.

Bombay Samáchár (58), 31st July.

47. Commenting on the reply given by His Excellency the Viceroy to the deputation of Indians in East Africa that recently waited upon him, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—His Excellency expressed his inability to devise any method for affording temporary relief to Indians in German East Africa who possessed notes issued by the German East African Bank. The Viceroy has merely given an assurance that a telegram would be sent to Sir Benjamin Robertson to discuss the situation with Indians in Tanganyika and to take measures to appreciate and understand their views. His Excellency must give us practical proofs that he means to stand by the declaration made by him in the Imperial Legislative Council to the effect that there was no justification in a Crown Colony or a Protectorate for assigning to British India a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. The Government of India should show their willingness to retaliate upon those Colonies that do not give just treatment to Indians. Lord Chelmsford should give up the policy of pampering the Colonies and should adopt the firm attitude taken up by Lord Hardinge in the matter.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of Indians in East Africa.

Bombay Samáchár (58), 31st July.

48. How will the people be satisfied by reading the one-sided correspondence between the Fiji Government and the Colonial Office? What wonder is there that Dr. Manilal and Mrs. Manilal are held responsible for the Fiji atrocities? Every foreign Government has a habit of holding others responsible for any disasters in the country. People know how the Government

The Government of India should have its own inquiry into the Fiji disturbances.

Kesari (109), 27th July.

of India tried and even now is trying to hold Mahatma Gandhi responsible for the disorders and outrages in the Punjáb, Bombay and Ahmedábad. What wonder is there that the Fiji Government and other whites should look upon selfless leaders like Dr. Manilal and his wife as thorns and that they should be deported on some ground or other? Indian public opinion will not be pacified in any way by hurling at it this whitewashing correspondence. People who have just returned from Fiji definitely declare that Dr. and Mrs. Manilal were forcibly and unjustly deported and that the Indians had nothing to do at all with the disorders there. Then why was martial law declared, why was there a second edition of Amritsar, and why were poor and helpless people asking for more wages fired upon and wounded and why were Indian women dishonoured? Is it not necessary to go minutely into these things? It is not a sign that Government are alive to their duty if they simply echo what the Fiji Government says and hold its accounts to be true. The Government of India should conduct their independent and full inquiry. We think that the Congress also should have its own inquiry. If this oft recurring question is to be finally disposed of, the angle of vision of Europeans should be altogether changed and the poison of colour-hatred, caste-hatred and religion-hatred in their minds should be altogether purged out. So long as this is not done, union and co-operation within the British Empire will only remain on paper.

Protest against the residential qualification for election being retained for the Bombay Council.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th July.

49. "The residential qualification for election is being retained in the case of Bombay—and Bombay alone—for no other reason than because Sir George Lloyd—'the most popular Governor in India,' *pace* Lords Willingdon and Ronaldshay!—wants it! Does the public of the Presidency, ruled by the 'most popular Governor', want the retention of the qualification? No. Do the 'Moderates' or the 'Extremists' or any other body of public leaders hanker after it? No. Has the Chamber of Commerce or any other section of the European community asked for it? We are not sure they have. Have the members of the present local Legislative Council declared in its favour? No. Did the Advisory Committee, who deliberated behind the *purdah*, insist on it? Very likely not. Who then has or have been insisting on it in this Presidency? Apparently one sole individual—Sir George Lloyd, our 'most popular Governor,' who knows or at least is reported to know what is best for all of us in the Presidency! And yet we live in a democratic age! It may be asked if other Governors and Lieutenant-Governors—who are, we have no doubt, also 'most popular' in their respective provinces—are not equally anxious with Sir George 'to get the best Legislative Councils' for their own provinces. But the incongruity does not strike Sir George. Like the child in Pears' cartoon, Sir George 'will have it', and neither the Government of India nor the Parliamentary Committee nor even Mr. Montagu dare disappoint him! Does the 'most popular Governor' realise what grave injustice he is doing to this Presidency by his unreasoning attitude? If there are any valid reasons, which hold good in the case of this Presidency alone for handicapping it in this manner, the public would like to know what they are. We believe Sir George has grievously blundered and has done a great disservice to the Presidency. It is not yet too late to rectify the blunder."

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sarma's appointment to the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Hindusthán (Weekly). (22), 25th July, Eng. cols.

50. "We fear we cannot congratulate the Government of India on their appointment of the Honourable Mr. B. N. Sarma to the Executive Councillorship..... In the Imperial Council his speeches were always a signal for emptying of the Council Hall—so bored were all Members by their length and by the platitudes of which they were full..... At the Amritsar Congress he distinguished himself by opposing the Resolution for the censure of Lord Chelmsford. On the whole, we cannot congratulate either the Government or the people on the selection of the Honourable Mr. B. N. Sarma. The only fact on which we can congratulate ourselves is that we shall have two Indians in the Council

instead of one, and we are among those who prefer Indians *qua* Indians to Europeans in the Councils of the Indian Empire."

Protest against the proposed filling up of the higher posts in the Agricultural Department under the Government of India by Europeans.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 28th July.

51. Forty-eight new posts are to be filled up in the Agricultural Department of the Government of India. Applications for these posts are invited not in India but in England. Agriculture is one of the transferred subjects and it naturally follows, therefore, that this department should be manned by Indians as far as possible. At any rate the apparent intention of Government to confer all the forty-eight posts on Europeans is alarming and illiberal. Do the Government of India imagine that there are no Indians capable of filling up at least some of these forty-eight posts? If they are really of this opinion then there is no meaning in handing over this Department to a Minister. It is expressly laid down in the scheme of reforms that those departments will be transferred to the control of the people in which they are largely interested and in the administration of which initial mistakes will not entail serious consequences. This being the case, it is much to be regretted that the Government of India should be in a hurry to recruit forty-eight Europeans for service in a department with which the people are so very closely concerned. This attitude of the bureaucracy is inconsistent with its professed desire to co-operate with the people in the new era.

Necessity of revision of the salaries of vaccinators.
Lokasangraha (112), 25th July.

52. A 'Marátha' writes to the *Lokasangraha*:—The scales of pay of the vaccinators were revised only two years ago for the first time since 1871. The increases, however, are quite inadequate in view of the prevailing abnormal prices. In reply to an interpellation by the Honourable Mr. Desai in the Local Legislative Council, Government stated that they had received no petitions from vaccinators in this matter. Thereupon petitions were submitted by the vaccinators to Government direct, fully stating their grievances. But the Deputy Sanitary Commissioner, Central Division, issued a circular directing that such petitions should be submitted to Government through him. When petitions were accordingly forwarded through that officer, another circular was issued stating that as the petitions were couched in uncivil language they would not be forwarded to Government! How are the vaccinators now to obtain redress of their grievances and from whom? Our *mabap Sarkar* should abolish the Vaccinators' Department if it is not wanted; but it should not starve the vaccinators in this manner.

A grievance of the weighing-clerks employed in the Salt Department.
Kesari (109), 27th July.

53. A correspondent writes to the *Kesari*:—The lot of the poor weighing-clerks employed in the Salt Department is extremely miserable. When, after the rains set in, the weighing of salt is suspended, they are allowed leave for three months every year with a warning that they must resume their duties on the following 1st of October without fail. For these three months they are paid nothing though they are treated as permanent clerks, whereas other officers in the same Department continue to receive their salaries during that period. Why should Government practise this economy in the case of these weighing-clerks alone? Will our *mabap sarkar* redress this grievance?

Comments on the contemplated increase in the postal rates.
Bombay Samáchár (58), 28th July.

54. In connection with the suggestion of the Government of India about an increase in the postal rates, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—The success of the Postal and Telegraph Department is ordinarily measured by the rates that it charges. For, the smaller the rates, the greater is the advantage taken by the public of this department. Every decrease in the rates is followed by such a large increase in the volume of its business that it not only makes up for the loss on account of the lesser rates, but it also adds considerably to its revenue. This principle was till now invariably adopted

in the administration of this Department, and its success was considered to be mostly due to this policy. From the popular point of view, it would certainly be undesirable if the Government of India were now to adopt the contrary principle. It is no doubt praiseworthy on the part of Government that they have thought it necessary to take the people into confidence before doing so; but we wish that before passing final orders, Government would acquaint the people with the details of the manner in which they propose to meet the increase in the expenditure so as to give them an opportunity to express their opinions on the same. Government make a large profit by means of this department. This margin of profit ought to be done away with entirely before increasing the rates. We would suggest that there should be no increase whatever in the rates for post-cards and half-anna covers. On the other hand, an increase in the rates for registered and insured articles as well as in the commission on money orders may well be considered.

Alleged depredations by wild beasts in Kánara owing to forests.
Kánara Leader (37) 27th July, Eng. cols.

55. "The people of these parts are made to realise very often that the Forest policy has been a prolific source of evil. As the Forest areas are being extended they are affording hospitable shelter to the wild beasts which gratify their natural instinct of destruction with scant regard for His Majesty's subjects, their cattle and property. Lately we have got reports of cattle being freely preyed upon by tigers in the villages of Dhareshwar, Torke, Hegde and Belekan in the Kumta Taluka. The suffering people are handicapped in the matter of destroying these wild beasts by Forest regulations..... We hope Government will lose no time in putting an end to this dreadful scourge of depredations by the wild beasts and will give due attention to all facts and circumstances in revising the Forest policy."

The forthcoming meeting of the Special Congress at Calcutta.
Lokasangraha (112), 31st July.

56. The *Lokasangraha* points out that the non-co-operation movement, begun on the 1st of August with *hartal*, has been launched by the Khilafat Committee alone and that it has not as yet been sanctioned by the nation as a whole. It expresses its satisfaction that extraordinary sessions of the Muslim League and the National Congress are to be held at Calcutta early in September next and hopes that the leaders of the public who will assemble there for the purpose will recognise the grave responsibility which rests on their shoulders in coming to a decision on a matter on which the future of the country, for good or for evil, depends. It feels confident that at a time when the hearts of both Hindus and Muhammadans have become lacerated by the recent happenings and the whole of India has completely lost its faith in British justice, the Calcutta session will succeed in inspiring the wavering minds of the people with self-confidence and in devising a sovereign remedy for the nation's present difficulties. It appeals to the leaders of all parties to forget their mutual differences and assemble together at Calcutta to guide properly the bark of the nation to the haven of freedom.

Explanation by the *Baroda Vartamán* with regard to an objectionable article.
Baroda Vartamán (57), 26th July.

57. With reference to an article appearing in its issue of 21st June 1920 (*vide* paragraph 13 of Weekly Report No. 26 of 1920), the *Baroda Vartamán* states as follows:—We regret that we have to give an explanation in connection with this article in response to a demand for it made by the Baroda Government. We never meant to create any trouble between the British Government and the Baroda Government by that article; nor was it written with the idea of defying the established authority of the British Government. The said article was meant to express the hope that as the terms of the Turkish Peace Triaty were liable to be modified, they could undoubtedly be modified if the Muhammadans of India put up a legitimate fight for their religious right of getting the terms of the Peace Treaty modified, at the same time keeping themselves within such limits as would be consistent with their traditional loyalty.

58. Instead of its regular issue the *Vafadar* of Navsari publishes a notice to its readers, dated the 23rd July, informing them that it is compelled to suspend publication of the paper for four weeks under the orders of the District Magistrate of Navsari (Baroda State) for publishing verses on the Khilafat question, in four of its previous issues, which in the opinion of the Magistrate are likely to spread disaffection against the British Government and bring it into contempt.

Suspension of the publication of the *Vafadar* of Navsari for four weeks.
Vafadar (34), 23rd July.

59. "It is time an emphatic voice was raised against the irresponsible and reckless way in which the troops of this country—we mean the Indian section thereof—are being kept and utilised abroad for purposes of aggrandisement of interests which have little to do with either the safety or the welfare of this country, not to speak of the moral issues involved..... In Mesopotamia, according to the *Daily Mail*, there are 13,000 British as against 65,000 British Indian troops, while in Persia there is a force of 9,000 troops, of which at least 7,000 are Indians. Thus in these regions there are in all only about 30,000 British troops, as against 88,000 Indian troops. Can British statesmen honestly maintain that the share of the burden which India is called upon to bear is in any way proportionate to her 'imperial' obligations in the peace-settlement?..... If the operations against Russia and Turkey are truly Imperial concerns, why are not the 'patriotic' Canadians, Australians and South Africans called upon to help the Empire? Why is India alone expected to accept the burdens? The reason is obvious. If the Colonies are appealed to to despatch troops they will be the first to repudiate the view that the economic Imperialism which finds favour with the British Foreign Office to-day is in any way 'patriotic' or truly 'Imperial'. Only helpless and voiceless India is obliged to acknowledge that these operations in all parts of the world are an 'Imperial' affair and she has perforce to contribute her share,—which always happens to be the 'lion's share', when it is a question of sharing the burdens!..... It is time the Indian public raised its voice and entered a vigorous protest against the contiued sacrifice of the interests of this country on the altar of imperialistic aggrandisement. India cannot afford further sacrifices of money and lives on these questionable enterprises and must cry a halt in her own vital interests..... The safety of India against any invasion through Mesopotamia could easily be secured by arrangement with any indigenous Government; the adventure is a naked act of territorial grab, an 'oil' deal, which not only violates the Covenant of the League of Nations, but offends against the high purposes of the Great War—the vindication of the principle of nationality and self-determination. We say it, without fear of contradiction, that there is not a single patriotic and thoughtful Indian whose conscience does not revolt against the manner in which the national aspirations of the Arabs are being sacrificed to the economic ambitions of militant French and British 'Imperialism'. This is an all-prevailing consideration prompting the people of this country to declare that they will have nothing to do with the Mesopotamian adventure and that if Britain wants to keep Mesopotamia, let her do so with the help of her own men and her own money. But that is not all. There is the issue of the Khilafat and the dismemberment of Turkey. The Moslems feel that non-Moslem control over any part of the Jazirat-ul-Arab is an outrage on their conscience and their religion." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"What has India to gain by garrisoning the plains and passes of Mesopotamia? In mediaeval times men used to hire themselves out as mercenary soldiers—making a profession of fighting other people's battles. In the twentieth century we should know better. Mr. Churchill announces that in Mesopotamia there are 14,500 British soldiers and 64,000 Indians administering 'mandatory—independence'. We should like to know if South Africa or Canada or Australia are contributing a single soldier or a single penny to the maintenance of this armed peace in the interest of the oil speculators. If the other parts of the British Empire do not feel the urge to support the 'Mother Country's' adventures in mandatory

Protest against the use of Indian troops for purposes of aggrandisement in Mesopotamia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th and 29th July.

territories we do not see why the Indian should lay down his life in fighting the Arab, with whom he has no quarrel to pick and against whom he has no grievance to rectify. The *New Statesman* refers to the Jingoes and fire-eaters as the 'Gentlemen of England' and says that we will have to thank them 'for having made our name stink a little more in the nostrils of honourable men'. India stands to gain nothing but a name which must stink in the nostrils of honourable men by permitting her soldiery to be used now against the Arabs in Mesopotamia, now against the Turks in Constantinople. Let us bring our soldiers home."]

Protest against France's aggression in Syria.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st July.

60. "If any single act of Allied diplomacy had been needed to tear off the last shreds of the mask covering the hideous reality of naked and unashamed aggressive economic imperialism that is abroad to-day, mocking the nascent hopes that had been engendered in the hearts of the 'peoples' of the world by the downfall of Teutonic Jingoes, it is afforded by the action of France in Syria..... The French aggression in Syria has torn to tatters Article 22 of the Convention of the League of Nations; and he would be a fool, indeed, who believed any more that 'mandates' under the League could in any way be distinguished from open subjugation, at the point of the bayonet, to an alien yoke. Great Britain, who has consented to the 'mandate' for Syria being given to France against the wishes of the people of Syria, cannot be absolved from all blame attaching to the unwarranted aggression in Syria. It is idle to pretend that the policy which France is pursuing in Syria has not the tacit approval of Great Britain. The latter herself is following an almost identical course in Mesopotamia and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, and it is, therefore, perhaps, futile to expect that French aggression in Syria would be viewed with disapproval by the statesmen to whose hands the destinies of the British Empire are at present consigned. But do these Allied statesmen stop to think what disastrous effect their doings are having on the minds of peoples all over the world? The King of Hedjaz, we see, has appealed to Great Britain to intervene and has withdrawn his representative from the Council of the League of Nations. What reply has Great Britain to give to this loyal Ally of hers? British statesmen will, perhaps, say that it is now too late. We also believe it is too late, for the betrayal of Syria by the Great Powers, who talked of safe-guarding the independence of small nations, is now complete."

Comments on the progress and successes of Bolshevism.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 29th July; *Praja Bandhu* (29), 25th July; *Political Bhomiyo* (30), 30th July.

61. Great Britain has now been convinced that it is futile to try to extirprate the Bolshevists and she has recognised the need of opening commercial relations with Russia in the interests of the rest of Europe. A Russian representative recently held a conference with Mr. Lloyd George and other ministers in London on the question. There will be no peace in Eastern Europe as long as the Allies do not establish amicable relations with Russia. The Bolshevists will not sit with folded hands after establishing their sway over Poland. They will spread Bolshevism in Germany and the discontented elements in Germany will not fail to join hands with them owing to the harsh terms of peace imposed upon Germany by the Allies. The Allies have promised to help the Poles but the Germans will not easily allow the Allied troops to pass through their country. Germany means to be neutral and it is not possible that it will let the Allied troops pass through it without a protest. It will, moreover, not fail to take advantage of the position in which the Allies have been placed. In these circumstances it would be an act of good statesmanship to establish permanent peace with Russia. Mr. Lloyd George is of the same opinion and it is probable that the clouds of war that have again gathered over Europe will be soon dispelled. [The *Praja Bandhu* writes:—England and other nations of Europe have been taken by surprise at the skill and diplomacy shown by the Bolshevists in establishing peace and a settled form of government in Russia. Over and above establishing peace and order in the country, they have gathered sufficient strength to enable them to send

armies to outside countries. The Bolshevists have falsified the misgivings entertained about them in various quarters and have proved themselves capable of conducting good administration. Peace has now been established in the interior of Russia. Those smaller states that were unwilling to recognise their authority have been brought to their knees and made to acknowledge their supremacy. The Bolshevists have sent their troops to Persia and are negotiating with Afghanistan. Does this not prove their power of organisation? England tried its best to put hitches in the way of the Bolshevists, but they have shown to the world that they have accomplished what they had set their hearts upon. The Bolshevists may come to Persia or Afghanistan, but we need not have any fears that they will conquer India or use force for the establishment of their principles in India. The Bolshevists are the advocates of self-determination and there is a great deal of exaggeration in the stories of oppression current about them. These stories are spread by the plutocracy with a view to keeping the labourers and the agriculturists under their own sway. It is hoped that peace between England and Russia will ensure the peace of the world to a very geat extent. The *Political Bhomiyo* writes :—The Bolshevists are extremely cunning and they will not fail to take full advantage of the unrest in the East. Not only England but its Allies have been staggered at their strength. The Allied armies have been fed up with the affairs in the East and all the nations have enough anxieties of their own to keep their energies occupied. Persia is in imminent danger of a Bolshevist invasion and if it is successful the fears of the Bolshevist invasion of India entertained in the past will be realise l. But we do not think that the Bolshevists will be so foolish as to take such a grave step in the near future. The Bolshevists have some sinister motive in their dealings with Persia. They have also strengthened their relations with Turkey. The fear of the Bolshevists can be removed only if England adopts the far-sighted policy of conciliating Muhammadan opinion and respecting their feelings. But if it is carried away by pride and takes the contrary course, then it is easy to imagine what the result will be.]

LEGISLATION.

62. "The Government of Bombay have just issued the text of a Bill, amending the Bombay Port Trust Act, to be introduced into the Bombay Legislative Council next month. The object of the amending Bill is to empower the Trustees of the Port of Bombay to erect and manage hotels for ocean-going travellers. ..... The primary function of the Port Trust is to look after the needs of trade and commerce. To provide hotels for the accommodation of ocean-going passengers can hardly be said 'to improve the facilities of the port' for purposes of trade and commerce, for commercial passengers form only a minority of ocean-going passengers..... If it is contended that, to relieve the existing housing famine, the Port Trust must shoulder part of the responsibility and accept such white elephants as a matter of philanthropy, our answer is that charity must begin at home and must be directed to more useful channels. The Port Trust must contribute its share of solving the housing problem by first providing housing accommodation for its own employees and the dock labourers. It can thus relieve the housing famine a hundred-fold better. ..... If new hotels are badly needed in Bombay, let the Port Trust offer plots of land on its Ballard Pier Estate, free of rent or at nominal rent, to any private concern anxious to build hotels. ..... That would be the right way of helping to solve the city's housing problem—not the attempt to help the well-to-do population of Bombay—especially the European section thereof—to find comfortable permanent hotel accommodation at the expense of the trading and commercial classes of Bombay and to the sacrifice of the paramount interest of the employees of the Port Trust. We trust the Government of Bombay will realise the grave injustice and unsoundness of the step they propose to take and will withdraw the Bill. If they do not do so, the non-official members of the Council must see to it that they do so."

Comments on the Port Trust Act Amendment Bill.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th July.

63. Commenting upon the Bombay Port Trust Act Amendment Bill the *Bombay Samachar* writes:—The present is hardly a convenient time for adding to the responsibilities of the Port Trust. Though the Port Trust has by now done much for the development of the port, yet looking to the needs of the flourishing commerce of Bombay, there is nothing to show that the direct responsibilities of the Trust have ended. The question of building another dock is under contemplation. While the principal functions of the Trust yet remain to be discharged, it would hardly be desirable to throw upon it the burden of other responsibilities. On the other hand the question of housing the permanent residents of Bombay is more urgent than that of providing for the comfort of tourists. The Trust ought exclusively to utilise its powers and resources for solving the problem of overcrowding—a problem intimately connected with the development of the port, allowing private concerns to look after the conveniences of tourists. The Trust must take up the question of providing buildings and chawls for its employees in order to relieve the congestion in Bombay. The undertaking of the management of hotels will not be for the benefit of the permanent residents of Bombay; on the contrary, it will possibly add to the pressure of congestion upon them. We, therefore, wish that if Government themselves do not withdraw the Bill, the popular members of the Council will strongly oppose it, pointing out what yet remains to be done on the part of the Port Trust to do for the benefit of the public, and have it thrown out. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that it is not one of the functions of the Port Trust to build and conduct hotels. It proceeds:—If hotels are required for travellers, they must be built and conducted by private enterprise. The Port Trust may legitimately build docks, railways and godowns, but the idea of the Trust building hotels is ridiculous. We hope that every Indian member of the Legislative Council will oppose the Bill when it is presented in the Council, and that Government will not make haste in getting it passed.] [The *Kaiser-i-Hind*, on the other hand, remarks:—"The Port Trust is not going to build hotels for the public but only for ocean-going travellers. Naval and military officers and their families coming from or going to England have to put up in Bombay even for a short while, and they have to suffer a good deal of inconvenience for want of hotel accommodation in this city. The few hotels there are fleece their customers mercilessly. The Port Trust hotels, if moderately cheap and well-managed, will therefore be a boon to this class of travellers. Provided the hotels are only for ocean-going travellers, especially naval and military officers, there is no objection to the Port Trust building and maintaining them."]

Bombay Samáchar (58), 30th July; *Sanj Vartaman* (32), 26th July; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 1st Aug., Eng. cols.

*64. "The Bombay Government propose to bring in a Bill further to amend the Bombay (War Restrictions) Act, 1918, and also Act No. 2 that was subsequently passed. The object of amending Section 10 of the Bombay Rent Act is certainly excellent. But the actual amendment is not calculated to be beneficial to the tenant. It has reached the ears of Government that some landlords after having obtained an order in their favour for the ejectment of their tenants on the ground that they required the premises for the purpose of erecting buildings thereon or for their own occupation or for the occupation of any person for whose benefit the premises are held, have, as a matter of fact, not built any buildings upon the premises nor occupied them, but re-let them to some other tenant. Where his original representation to the Court has not been carried out by a landlord within six months of the order of ejectment the old tenant will be empowered by the amendment to apply to the Court of trial to replace him in the occupation of the premises on the original terms and for such compensation as the Court may think fit. That is no doubt intended to punish landlords for having taken improper advantage of the existing law. But the computation of the period of six months from the date of the Court's order will mean a hardship both upon the tenant and his landlord. Courts generally give three to five months'

Comments on the Bombay Rent Act amendment Bill.

Gujarátí (18), 1st Aug., Eng. cols.

grace to tenants from the date of their order. Besides not a few landlords have themselves granted further indulgence to their tenants. Now, if the period of six months is to be computed from the date of the decision of the Court, no landlord will think of granting any such indulgence, nor will Courts be inclined to do so to the same extent as now. Landlords may not be able to commence building operations at once or within a couple of months after a tenant has vacated the premises. Under these circumstances the six months' period must be made to run not from the date of the Court's order of ejectment but from the date of actual discontinuance of possession by the tenant or of his dispossession; otherwise the proposed amendment will operate harshly both against landlords and tenants. Secondly, because the premises have not been built upon or have been occupied only partially, it does not necessarily prove *mala fides* on the part of the landlord or landlady. That will depend upon the circumstances of each case..... We are sorry Government have taken no measures to regulate the rents of newly built houses. Their owners have been reaping a rich harvest without providing even ordinary facilities or conveniences for the benefit or protection of their tenants in certain instances. Hundreds and thousands of them have been complaining of the exorbitant and even ruinous rents that they are being compelled to pay. There is no reason why the rents of new buildings should not be brought under some reasonable control as in the case of old houses that have been rendered subject to the provisions of the Rent Restriction Act."

Bombay Samáchár (58), 26th July.

65. In several of the suits before the High Court and the Court of Small Causes the decisions went against the tenants on account of the subtleties of the law favouring the landlord and the former had to vacate their places of residence. Such a state of affairs has proved the necessity of amending the Rent Act so as to give more effective protection to the tenant against the landlord. The several clauses of the Bill drafted by Government for this purpose and the Statement of Objects and Reasons accompanying it show that the Bill will give far greater relief to the middle and poor classes than at present, when it becomes law. We hope that the public will support Government as they did in the case of the Rent Act itself and help them in the task of restricting the opportunities of the landlords for harassing the tenants.

Comments on the Auxiliary Force Bill.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 1st Aug.

***66.** "The Indian Defence Force Act of 1917 will expire soon after the signing of the last Peace Treaty. That Act, it will be remembered, provided for the compulsory training of all European British subjects in this country and, by way of concession to Indian sentiment, for a certain limited number of Indians. In view of the early expiry of the Act the Government of India prepared an Auxiliary Force Bill and sent it to the Secretary of State for sanction for its introduction into the Indian Legislative Council. In this draft Bill, they proposed to continue the compulsory principle for European British subjects, and they do not seem to have made any provision for Indians. The Secretary of State objected to it on the very sound principle that it was unconstitutional and illegal to arm and train one section of the community only. We expressed the opinion when this was made known in this country, that by laying down this principle Mr. Montagu had done more for Indian interests than by the passing of the Reform Act. For this assertion of a principle, which has for long been virtually ignored, Indians cannot be too deeply grateful to Mr. Montagu..... With what feelings of apprehension the draft Bill of the Government of India was viewed even by the most Moderate Indians is indicated in the opening paragraph of the very timely 'Narrative of the Indian Defence Force Movement (voluntary branch) in the Madras Presidency' which Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, K.C.S.I., late member of the Executive Council of the Government of Madras, President of the last All-India Moderate Conference, and President of the Madras Liberal Association, has published. He observes: 'The most conspicuous defect of the Indian Auxiliary Forces Bill which the Government of India recently sought to

introduce is the invidious omission to assign any place to Indians in the scheme of a second line of defence for their own country. The attitude of the Government of India has throughout been one of the deepest solicitude for the organisation of its European and Anglo-Indian subjects into a Territorial Force, and of comparative indifference to the just claims of its Indian subjects..... It is quite possible that in the opinion of the Government of India considerations of expediency justify the immediate organisation of the European Branch of the Indian Defence Force on a compulsory basis and do not call for any prompt solution of the problem as it affects Indians. Should such be the view of Government, it could not possibly commend itself to the Indian public.' Sir Sivaswami weighs his words and chooses them, as becomes a distinguished Indian of his position and character. But the meaning of his words is plain. The Government of India have published a revised Auxiliary Force Bill in which voluntary enrolment has been substituted for obligatory registration in the case of European British subjects. To ward off Sir Sivaswami Iyer's cogent criticism, however, the *Press Commnique* which makes this announcement contains a long rambling statement about another Bill which the Government of India are said to have under consideration to constitute an Indian Territorial Force on the model of the old militia of England. This is most unsatisfactory. Indians want to be put on the same footing as Englishmen in the defence scheme of their own country, and the vague promise of future legislation to frame a scheme on the lines of one discarded in England as inefficient, for the special benefit of Indians, is a virtual denial of their claim, which was expressly recognised in the Royal Proclamation of last December. Even this scheme, on an obsolete pattern, when it does come, must, we are told, be purely experimental at the outset 'as success depends on its response'. We want no more of such experiments which are doomed to fail, and by their failure to give an additional handle to those who do not want Indians to be trained to arms. The idea of an Indian Auxiliary Force with the Indians left out is farcical. It is as much open to the objection urged by Mr. Montagu about the unconstitutional and illegal character of arming and training to arms only one section of the community as the original Draft Bill. The Bill must be made applicable to Indians on the same terms as to Englishmen, if there is any meaning in the profuse asseverations regarding India's equal partnership in the Empire."

67. Commenting upon the new Indian Auxiliary Force Bill, which is shortly to come before the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—In accordance with the Bill, Volunteer Corps of Europeans as well as Indians will be organised. The Secretary of State has recognised the services rendered by Indians in the Great European War and has done away with the insulting practice of not allowing them to be members of Volunteer Corps. We must, therefore, thank the Secretary of State for the instructions he has issued in the matter of the new Bill and must also thank the Viceroy for carrying them out. The formation of the University Corps draws our special attention inasmuch as the higher education of its members will entitle them to receive the training which will qualify them for being appointed officers. We would, therefore, wish that training colleges for military officers may be attached to the Universities. We are gratified at what we have secured and look forward to further concessions being granted to us in the future.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 30th July.

68. We recognise the need of legislation for punishing corrupt practices during Council elections; but we would suggest the advisability of proceeding cautiously after acquiring some experience in the matter. The Corrupt Practices Bill that is to be brought before the Imperial Legislative Council is a slavish copy of the English act. We are of the opinion that its consideration should be left to the new Council which will have some experience of corrupt practices. We have no objection against the various provisions of the Bill but do not

Comments on the Corrupt Practices Bill to be introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Gujarâti (18), 25th July.

like the long list that enumerates the various corrupt practices. Many of them are out of place in a list for this country and require to be dropped.

EDUCATION.

69. As in the case of other diseases, nobody can say where the disease of anti-Brahmanism may spread. It has reached the limit of putting Brahmin students who have passed an examination on a level with non-Brahmins who have failed in it. It is becoming impossible for many of our students who have stood high in the vernacular school final examination to get admittance into the Training Colleges. The only reason is that they are born of Brahmin parents! Since the abolition of the entrance examination and the institution of the system of selection there has been great injustice. The discretion is vested in the hands of the Deputy Educational Inspector. What then, if he is an anti-Brahmin? If any distinction is to be made between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, the Educational Department is not the field for its first application. The coming generation should be educated by the best teachers, whether they be Brahmins or non-Brahmins. Train those only as teachers who come high up in competition. Do not strangle their progress in education because they are born in the Brahmin caste. We have to say this much only to the officials concerned.

Non-Brahmins are given preference over Brahmins in admissions to Training Colleges.
Kánara Vritt (39), 22nd July.

70. Referring to the proposed withdrawal of the concession allowed by the Bombay University to students joining the I. D. F., the *Kesari* says:—If this is true, we must plainly say that it is a breach of faith. We strongly advise the University authorities not to set such an example of breach of faith. The students cannot withdraw from the I. D. F. on the ground that the concession is not continued. For, those who do so are liable to be sentenced to a fine of Rs. 200 or six months' imprisonment! It is no wonder if the student-soldiers feel that they are caught in a trap. The concession was deliberately given and it should not be taken away. Poona students are likely to feel the difficulty more than those of Bombay, but we think that the concession should be given to every student in the I. D. F.

Protest against the proposed withdrawal by the University of the concession to students joining the I. D. F.
Kesari (109), 27th July.

MUNICIPALITIES.

71. "Our none too wide-awake City Fathers have at last become alive to the fact that the transfer of the powers of the City Improvement Trust to the Municipality, which was promised to them by Lord Willingdon's Government two years ago, is no nearer accomplishment. It cannot be that Lord Willingdon's successor, in his zeal to push on the housing operation in and around Bombay, has entirely overlooked the definite assurance held out by his predecessor that the transfer would be effected with the least possible delay. If Sir George Lloyd had, indeed, quite lost sight of the proposal, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah, his trusted colleague, who, with his old friends like Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir P. M. Mehta and others had conducted a prolonged and historic fight to secure the abolition of the Trust, was there to remind him of the pledge given by the Government. We trust Sir Ibrahim has had more than one occasion to do so..... We are glad that the Corporation at last resolved to address Government, and we hope a satisfactory explanation will be forthcoming from the latter for the long delay that has occurred in effecting the transfer of powers. While Government have been delaying the transfer, the Trust, in disregard of the proposal, is rushing through with some of its costly schemes of 'improvement' and increasing its expenditure enormously. The new-born zeal of the Trust cannot be altogether explained by the anxiety to provide housing accommodation. Mr. Mody was nearer the mark when he said

Powers of the City Improvement Trust should be soon transferred to the Municipality.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th July.

that the Trust was anxious to get all its extravagant schemes passed and leave the Corporation with nothing to do except see to their execution and shoulder the burdens. It has been a puzzle to many that Sir Ibrahim who, as Corporator, put up a resolute fight to secure the abolition of the Trust, should, now that he is surrounded with red tape, be lukewarm in giving effect practically to his own recommendations."

The Notified Area Committee for Yellápur (Kánara) should be abolished.

Kánara Vritt (39), 22nd July.

72. Notified Area Committees mean boards consisting of four or five members nominated by Government and not elected by the rate-payers. Government have the power under the old law to appoint these antiquated committees for the convenience of towns which cannot have municipalities. Government proposed to have these Committees in Yellápur and Ankola (Kánara) and the Ankola people protested. Yellápur sat quiet and as a result got by force local self-government. We understand that it is tottering and we do not wonder. We beg to inform Government that the members of the Committee are very unpopular and that it is natural that they should meet with indirect resistance. How big a city is Yellapur? What is its population? Why should old, worn-out self-government be imposed on them? What would be the income and expenditure? If all these things had been considered, there would have been no need of appointing the Committee. Even now Government may abolish it.

NATIVE STATES.

A complaint against the Chief of Aundh.

Vijayi Marátha (134), 29th July.

73. The Kirloskar Brothers' factory has attained its present extensive scale, as the Chief of Aundh has been taking away lands belonging to agriculturists and handing them over to the factory. There are lands belonging to Brahmins round about the factory, but they do not come to be included in it, only non-Brahmins being dispossessed. Naturally, those who are thus deprived of their lands have become vexed. Mr. Bala Savant's land having been unjustifiably seized, he wired about the matter to the Collector and the Commissioner; for which terrible crime the Chief himself severely beat him with a stick. Mr. Savant's hand having been fractured owing to this, it is stated that a prosecution has been lodged against the Chief. The complainant is a poor agriculturist, while the defendant is the Chief of Aundh! This is indeed a time of test for the British goddess of justice. His Excellency the Governor had been to the spot where the offence was committed, and thousands of agriculturists had assembled there to place the grievance before him. It is the duty of Government to carefully investigate into the matter and duly punish the offender.

J. E. SANJANA,

Acting Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 5th August 1920.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 7th August 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. Commenting upon the Budget presented at the last sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The discussion on the budget was a mere farce inasmuch as the honourable members had no powers to effect a change in any of its items. It is to be regretted that Government have not offered facilities for students studying in the various institutions as is illustrated by the large number of students who were refused admission to the Medical College. Government are opposed to the development of the Ayurvedic and Unani Systems of medicine and yet they do not afford sufficient facilities for the study of Western medicine! His Excellency Sir George Lloyd advocated technical education in one of his recent addresses to students; but the Budget makes very poor provision for the promotion of technical education in the Presidency. [The *Bombay Samáchár* endorses the protest made in the Council against the creation of various new appointments for Europeans and deplores the inadequate provision made for industrial development of the Presidency.]

The Bombay Budget.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 4th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 5th Aug.

2. "In reply to the Honourable Mr. Belvi's question in the Bombay Legislative Council, Government confessed that the Deputy Commissioner of Jacobabad, Mr. Symth, 'took up hunting (*sic*) and gave Mr. Mahomed Hayat two or three light cuts, to make him leave the room'! And what was the head and front of Mr. Mahomed Hayat's offending? He told the Deputy Commissioner that he had nothing to do with the British Government, and when the said Deputy Commissioner ordered him to leave the room, he refused! We have more than once referred to Mr. Symth's 'love' for the Khilafat workers! And the cool confession in the Council that 'two or three light cuts' were given to Mr. Mahomed Hayat, because, forsooth, he offended the *burra saheb* of Jacobabad is a commentary on the attitude of the bureaucracy. The Goverement have disapproved of the conduct of Mr. Smith, but they do not propose to take further action! So the whole affair is whitewashed to save a bureaucrat's face; and Mr. Smyth continues to be at the helm of affairs at Jacobabad!"

Comments on the Government replies to interpellations.
New Times (8), 4th Aug.

3. "The Honourable Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas asked Government why the post of the Sindhi Translator was held by the Assistant Commissioner, who was invariably a European civilian, while the much more important post of the Oriental Translator was held by an Indian. The Government reply was that it was so because the post of the Sindhi Translator was not a full-time one and because there was no other officer to whom the duties could be easily assigned. We do not know what impels Government to give such crude and unsatisfactory replies. If the Sindhi Translator's post is not a full-time one, the best and first thing which a responsible Government ought to do is make it one and appoint an Indian to it. The European I. C. S. cannot obviously satisfactorily discharge the duties of the Sindhi Translator. We do not think he personally attends to any translation work. It is not generally expected that a European I. C. S. would be able even to supervise effectively Sindhi work. And is there no other responsible official to whom Government can entrust the work? What of the Native Assistant Commissioner? The ways of Government are strange indeed!"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Aug.

4. The *Indu Prakásh*, referring to the replies to interpellations in the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council, complains that the Government always tries to avoid giving information asked in various ways by the members, and remarks that this attitude of the bureaucracy implies that all the acts of Government are not faultless. In the paper's opinion, the replies to the questions about the shooting affair at Sholápur, though very carefully framed, go to prove that the affair was an outrage and that the public opinion about the futility of the arguments advanced in favour of the shooting was in the right.

Indu Prakásh (44), 7th Aug.

*5. Mr. B. G. Tilak once sat as a representative of the people in the Bombay Legislative Council. He was twice elected as a member, but was declared unfit by the Bombay Government after he had been tried on charges of sedition. We thought that at the opening of the Council sessions, on Monday last, His Excellency Sir George Lloyd would say at least a few words of regret about Mr. Tilak, for the English people are so generous that on the occasion of death they honour even an enemy. When nothing was said in the Council on behalf of the official class about the demise of Mr. Tilak, the leaders of the popular party made a requisition for a resolution to be brought in the Council on Monday. But the Government replied to the requisition that the resolution could not be allowed for want of the usual notice of 15 days. Really if the messengers of death had brought the news 15 days beforehand that such an event was going to happen, the popular members would have given the notice required!! This reply of the bureaucracy is astonishing. It shows the callousness and evil disposition of their hearts.

Comments on Government's refusal to permit a resolution about Mr. Tilak being brought in the recent sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Gujardti (18), 8th Aug.

6. "The Municipal Corporation of Bombay proved itself to be worthy of this City and its great traditions by adjourning its sitting yesterday out of respect to the memory of Mr. Tilak and by the resolution it passed paying a tribute to the character and services of the departed patriot. The action of the Corporation, of which Mr. Tilak was never a member, furnishes a marked contrast to the unedifying attitude of the Bombay Legislative Council of which Mr. Tilak was once a member, and which commenced its sessions yesterday. Our special correspondent, in his account of the proceedings of the Council, says that efforts to draw up a resolution and to secure the permission of the President to move it were made—evidently by the Honourable Mr. Belvi—with no success, for the Council pursued its business as though the country and the Presidency in particular had not been plunged in mourning. We know that the time at the disposal of the Council is limited. But it could have adjourned at least for an hour. It is a particularly noticeable fact that Sir George Lloyd, against his wont, refrained from making an opening speech. Mr. Tilak was, of course, no *persona grata* with the Government. But we thought it was a high British tradition that, at least, in the presence of death, political antagonism should be forgotten. Sir George Lloyd missed a most valuable opportunity of endearing himself to the people of this Presidency, by failing to tell them publicly that he shared the great grief that has befallen them. However that may be, the attitude of the Indian members—both nominated and elected—is as reprehensible as it is inexplicable. We have been both amazed and pained—and we have no doubt we voice the outraged feeling of every Indian—to read the unworthy and malevolent attack against Mr. Tilak made by the *Times of India* in its issue of yesterday—an attack that beats the record even of the most scurrilous Anglo-Indian journal. Writings such as this, being a disgrace to journalism, are beneath contempt. Our only regret is that the *Times of India* should have been guilty of such an astounding lapse from good sense and good taste. But the fact is revealing of a permanent and saddening element in the attitude of even the best Anglo-Indian mind. Nothing brings races as well as individuals together as the sharing of each other's sorrows as well as joys. The silence of Sir George Lloyd and the malice of the *Times of India* bring into relief the unbridged gulf that still exists between the 'ruled' and the 'rulers' in this unfortunate country."]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Aug.

*7. "'Those who seek equity must do equity' is a well-known maxim. With just a little alteration in words we may say that those who seek co-operation must do co-operation. We regret His Excellency the Governor showed a remarkable lack of both tactfulness and fair-mindedness in disallowing a resolution which the Honourable Mr. Belvi wanted to move at the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council. The resolution related to the late Lokamanya Tilak, but was framed in words which might secure universal assent. The resolution was

Mahrátta (7), 8th Aug.

worded as follows.—' This Council places on record its deep regret at the recent death of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a former member of this Council, a great oriental scholar and a prominent worker in the cause of the country and held in high estimation by a large number of the people of India.' The letter to the President of the Legislative Council, craving permission to move the resolution, was signed by about 17 non-official members, some of whom might even be described as the political opponents of Mr. Tilak..... To such an urgent and influentially signed requisition His Excellency the President was pleased to reply that the motion was out of order for want of notice. We are aware that notices of motions have to be given a certain number of days in advance, but it is a matter of mere common-sense that this was precisely one of those motions of which ' due notice ' cannot possibly be given. We hear the Honourable Mr. Belvi, naturally resenting such ungracious treatment in a matter of this moment, observed in a sharply sarcastic manner to His Excellency the Governor, when he orally disallowed the resolution, that it was certainly improper for Mr. Tilak to have so ill-timed his death as not to allow due notice to be given of a motion relating to that event. We all know the spirit which actuated His Excellency in refusing the permission asked for by Mr. Belvi. We only hope that the Honourable member and those who sympathise with him will make effective retaliation whenever in future they have an occasion for it. And occasion of this sort will not be wanting, for Mr. Tilak is not the only person who so ill-times his death, nor Mr. Belvi the only person who wishes to move a resolution of this character. Personality is a game at which more than one can play, and it is not difficult for non-official members to make it occasionally hot and unpleasant for Government if they be bent upon it."

Lokasangraha (112), 6th Aug.

8. Sir George Lloyd could have merely alluded to the death of one for whom the whole of India is in deep mourning and could have formally expressed sorrow, without in any way minimising his opposition. But he could not bring himself down even this much nor did he see the necessity of showing even so much good nature. His Excellency must have really felt that Tilak would again get up and oppose Government; but a little bit of magnanimity is necessary even to take formal advantage of an opportunity. The exhibition which the *Times of India* made of itself by opening its lips, His Excellency did by closing his lips. It is said that the Honourable Mr. Belvi was to move a resolution of condolence but it appears he was not allowed to do so. Lokamanya never expected any sympathy from the English or their officials; it was not that there was any necessity of a few crocodile tears, while the Indian nation was weeping; but the incident clearly shows how much of civility has remained in the big and small English hearts. What does it show that not a single European was present in the Municipal Corporation when the resolution of condolence was moved? It is a small thing but it means much. Europeans think it is a sin even to be present when a formal resolution is being passed about Mr. Tilak's death. While every corner of India is filled with love for Tilak, why should the columns of the *Times of India*, the Council Hall and the chairs of the European Corporators alone be full of poison? What is the cause of the fact that the fever of Englishmen does not come down even after Mr. Tilak's death? Do not Englishmen realise that Lokamanya spent the last forty years of his life in the service of his country? If they do not, they must be blockheads; but surely they are not blockheads. Do they then hate the leader whom the people loved and respected beyond their lives? Hatred of leaders means hatred of the people; in that case what right have the British Government to expect the sympathy of the people? If you are not prepared to honour the uncrowned king of the people, why should people come forward to honour you?

Death of Mr. B. G. Tilak. *Bombay Chronicle* (1), 2nd Aug.

9. "Mr. Tilak is dead. The tragedy of the event is too deep for words as well as tears. The loss which this Presidency in particular and the country generally have suffered by his unexpected death is so immense that one cannot help feeling the utter inadequacy of conventional phrases to express it fully. In fact it is impossible to-day to measure

the magnitude and fulness of the loss..... The mind refuses to believe that he is no more with us, whom most of us learned to recognise as a giant among his fellows; for, since the death of Pherozeshah Mehtá and Gokhale, he bore on his shoulders the burden of a responsibility which no one, we feel, can now bear with the confidence of a great man who is worthy of great things. The responsibility is the responsibility of guiding the policy of the Congress, the free parliament of the people, and the cause for which the Congress stands. We must now do without him. . . . He was the embodiment of the determination of the people to be self-governing and self-respecting, and his lifework symbolised the struggles of the country to realise its will. And in his death each one of his countrymen feels the loss of some part of himself. No one who witnessed the scenes that were enacted in Bombay yesterday—the touching tribute of thousands of men and women of all sorts and conditions to the last remains of the departed 'Lokmanya,' a tribute unparalleled, at least in the history of modern India, could have failed to realise the hold which he had on his countrymen. What was the secret of this hold? His personality. And what the secret of his personality? It was the will to persist along a direct and single-minded course—the will to go forward, with life in one hand and reputation in the other, and both hands wide open—this was the secret that gave the personality of Bal Gangadhar Tilak its miraculous power. He had many other gifts of intellect and character. As a lawyer he might have won wealth and distinction for himself..... That India should be self-governing and that the people should regain their lost heritage of a self-respecting and independent life——without any avoidable delay—was the guiding motive of his life-work..... Mr. Tilak knew what he stood for. He wanted India to be free—and to be free as soon as possible. For he realised that an unfree country is like a perpetually diseased man who is useless to himself and a nuisance to others. He knew that political agitation could not succeed until it was a mass movement. Therefore, it could not be divorced from the great mass of the nation nor be deprived of its potency by being divided into conflicting factions consequent on a premature association of it with the social reform movement..... His main title to the gratitude of his countrymen—and of generations yet unborn—consisted in this that, by his work and by his suffering, he made them realize that for a subject nation there is nothing else to do, but to struggle to be free, that political freedom not being an end itself need not be achieved by gradual processes, but must be secured now and at once. For, he realised as few of his countrymen did, that political liberty is the key that unlocks the gates of all progress—social, cultural and material. And realising this he set himself to the task of creating in his countrymen the will to be free and the will to put forth efforts and sacrifices to win freedom. Few struggled so courageously and so unceasingly for that freedom for his country as he; and no one suffered as he did..... He is not dead. For, who that has seen the thousands who flocked yesterday to pay their last homage to his remains will say that his spirit is not living?"

*10. "The largest funeral procession witnessed in Bombay in recent years was that of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Mr. Tilak's totally eclipsed it. Most of those who followed Mr. Dadabhai's remains to the Tower of Silence were English-educated men. Mr. Tilak's body was cremated on the sands of Chowpati in the presence of a vast concourse to which the working classes of the population contributed as many as the English-educated class. The difference marks the distinction between the politics of the two leaders. That, however, made no difference to the resident European population which was as conspicuous by its absence in Mr. Dadabhai's as in Mr. Tilak's funeral procession. Government House also as completely ignored the one as the other. One more opportunity lost..... Mr. Tilak, as a political figure, was the embodiment of the bitterness of the disillusionment which Dadabhai lamented. Indians had been encouraged to take to English education by the hope that, in course of time, they would be made co-sharers in the administration of India. But when the number of English-educated men increased and they began seriously to claim their share, they were told that they were sickly exotics and not true

Indian Social Reformer (6), 8th Aug.

representatives of the masses. Mr. Tilak, again, was the answer to that challenge. The non-fulfilment of solemn pledges and the denial of the representative character of educated Indians, introduced the germs of what is now called the 'extremist' view in Indian politics which had for many years proceeded on the ideas that actuated Mr. Dadabhai when he made his first speech in 1853. Mr. Tilak was the first in Western India to seize hold of the new opening for leadership. And as the policy of denial ripened into the policy of repression, emphasising itself in a constantly increasing arrogation by the Executive to itself of the power of the Judiciary in respect of the rights and liberties of the people, Mr. Tilak by his bold, persistent and unwavering opposition, extended and consolidated his influence far beyond the limits of Mahárashtra..... Mr. Tilak started in his public career with the conviction that there can be no political salvation unless the bureaucracy was destroyed. The conviction was forced upon him at first as it has been forced upon many others since by slow degrees, solidifying, owing to the O'Dwyer-Dyer doings in the Punjáb, into an article of faith that will last as long as the last vestige of bureaucracy. As the bureaucracy marched from repression to repression, the old guard of Indian politics fell back discredited in the eyes of the public and finally left the field to be fought entirely between the aggressive bureaucracy and an inflamed nationalism. Mr. Tilak was easily the most gifted, the most courageous, the most skilful, and, latterly, the most experienced general leading nationalism to the attack..... The distrust of the bureaucracy is the one great sentiment which unites to-day all castes and creeds, the rich and the poor, the merchant and the manufacturer, the professional man, and the toiler in the field. And Mr. Tilak felt it through all his being and became the most determined and uncompromising exponent of it. Politics were not Mr. Tilak's preoccupation. The dim depths of the past and the effulgent unfolding of eternity in Time, were the high themes most congenial to his spirit. We remember to have read that he often said so. It was his country's need that constrained him to a sphere which, under the circumstances, is singularly barren of creative opportunities for children of the soil. He stuck to his task grimly against tremendous odds. He scorned delights and lived laborious days. Here, again, his *Gita* philosophy, no doubt, stood him in good stead. He lived what may truly be called a dedicated life. All through the thirty years of its existence, there have been few points of agreement between the policy of the *Reformer* and that of Mr. Tilak. But always it has admired the greatness of the man behind the politician who treated social reforms as a matter of expediency. And now that he has passed behind the veil, we think not of our differences but of the abiding contribution which he has made to the nation's heritage. Mr. Tilak could have hardly failed to realise that the cause for which he fought is now assured of final triumph. The battle has gone decidedly against the bureaucracy and it has been declared by high authority that it is now only a question of time when the bureaucracy will be no more. The premises on which Mr. Tilak founded his policy are thus profoundly altered. We are no longer called upon to fight an aggressive bureaucracy claiming permanency of tenure, but a conciliatory one asking merely for time to wind up its affairs. Mr. Tilak's sacrifices and sufferings have largely contributed to this result. More than that, he has left us the example of a selfless patriot, working single-heartedly for what he conceived to be the good of his country and his people."

*11. Mr. N. C. Kelkar writes :—"Lok. Tilak's unparalleled popularity could not be adequately accounted for by his education, his urbane culture, his keen intellect, his learned scholarship, his versatile genius, his journalistic enterprise, his powerful eloquence, his purity of character, his steadfastness of friendship, his magnetic personality, his material selflessness, or even his towering patriotism. Some of these eminent qualities he shared with this or that leader in this or that province of India, or in his own province for the matter of that. All these qualities together no doubt made him great; but what made him a hero among his people is something else. Heroism is described as a military attitude of the soul towards external evil, and the stout affirmation of one's ability to cope single-handed with an infinite army of enemies. This attitude characterised Lok. Tilak throughout his life;

Mahrátta (7), 8th Aug.

and the particular form of external evil that he chose to fight against was the political domination of his country by foreigners. It is no use mincing matters here, and I for for one am prepared to accept the choice epithets showered on him by Government and its minions as only tributes of praise in disguise to Lokmanya Tilak. Sir Valentine Chirol rendered a signal service to Lokmanya Tilak by describing him as the 'Father of Indian Unrest;' and I am quite sure that Tilak would not have sued Sir Valentine if the latter had stopped at that, and not vilified him by reflections upon his private character. 'The Father of Indian Unrest, indeed!' A simpler and yet a pithier description of such a patriot as Tilak was can hardly be imagined! The rousing of a sense of self-respect in the Indian people, the creation of a hope of a bright future before them, the assertion of their full natural rights as a nation, and the infusion of a spirit of proud and even reckless defiance of anything that may stand in the way of all this—that was the main theme of all his idealism and realism. This theme he held in a relentless grip throughout his life, and like a consummate General concentrated all his powers and energies in life upon that single objective. That is why Government hated him, that is why those who differed from him disliked him, and that is also why the people in every part of the country loved him. In him they knew they ever had a stout and a faithful champion."

*12. "Mr. Tilak's political career is public property and considerations of space forbid any lengthy notice..... Strangely enough, fate diverted him from the quiet field of learning and antiquarian research and drove him into the stormy whirlpool of politics, and it is in the political arena that he bravely fought and suffered and earned the love and attachment of the people of Mahrashtra and elsewhere. Every prosecution, successful or otherwise, enhanced his popularity and prestige as well as that of the *Kesari* by leaps and bounds, extorted for him the respect and admiration of the people at large, and added vastly to the number of his followers. Our enlightened and experienced Government, with all their knowledge of English, Irish and American history, have never understood the true significance of this phenomenon; otherwise years ago more honourable and statesmanlike measures could have been devised to divert the growing forces of national awakening into more fruitful channels. The policy of unrelenting repression is an awful blunder, and that was strikingly illustrated in Mr. Tilak's instance. It is very sad to reflect that so many of the best of Indians, who would have done credit to any free nation in the world, had to content themselveves with being mere critics for the last fifty years; and that much of Mr. Tilak's political creed was the direct fruit of this unwise and unrighteous policy. His organising capacity and control of a powerful Marathi weekly of his own, his independence of character, and dauntless courage in the presence of heavy calamities, his inflexible will and tenacity of purpose, his capacity for self-sacrifice and ardent devotion in his country's cause as he understood it, his scholarship and talents combined with the extreme simplicity and exemplary purity of his life—all these captured the imagination of the people and made him a distinguished leader of men, though of a type different in some vital respects from that of the other eminent leaders in this or the other provinces."

Gujarati (18), 8th Aug. Eng. cols.

13. "The death of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak removes a great figure from Indian politics. For a quarter of a century and more, he had been the ideal of his followers and the dread of his opponents..... One has heard of English politicians of mark who, after an interview or two with Mr. Tilak, have given him a place among the greatest minds they have known. Disputants have testified that he was master of all the arts of controversy. Towards these he seldom showed tenderness, as he certainly expected none from them. He was trained in a hardy school. If he was not the founder, he was the most powerful exponent of virile journalism in the vernacular..... This is not the occasion to examine Mr. Tilak's principles, review his particular deeds or appraise his serviees as a whole. A critical study of these must disclose errors as well as merits, failure as well as achievement, occasion for censure as well as for praise. But none can deny

Servant of India (9), 5th Aug.

that he had great qualities or that he played a great part. To found vernacular journalism, to lose and recover his fortune more than once, to dare the wrath of a Government and go to jail with the crown of the martyr, to write original books, to dominate political activity for a generation in a large part of the country and leave a numerous and well-knit party behind—these constitute an indefeasible title to the honour and loving recollection of his countrymen." [The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye writes in the same paper:—"During the whole period of British rule in India there has been no man who occupied in the public mind exactly the same position that the late Mr. Tilak did during the last twenty-five years of his life..... Nobody—not even Dadabhai—touched the hearts of his followers and a very large section of the people in quite the same way as Mr. Tilak did. Such a phenomenon needs explanation. Mr. Tilak's hold upon his country was to a very considerable extent promoted by the fact that he stood for the obvious line of policy in our country's politics. The common people are not able to consider deeply the *pros* and *cons* of any subject and are sure to like one who puts into a consistent form the ideas which are vaguely trying to find expression. A consistent and trenchant criticism of a foreign Government was just the way to rouse the people. The path of a reformer who seeks to criticise as well as to construct is very hard. The country is so situated that the work before the critic is lying ready to hand in vast quantities, while the opportunities for constructive work are comparatively few and in any case difficult. Mr. Tilak came at the psychological moment when the obvious advantages of British rule as compared with the old Indian rule had come to be regarded as habitual and a part of the very nature of things, and the disadvantages had begun to be acutely felt. He took full advantage of it, and the love of his admiring countrymen was his reward..... Suffice it to say that he produced a good deal of animation in a body which was almost lifeless—he made the people think when they were content to accept things as they are, and he gave the country an example of sacrifice, pure life and devotion to the motherland. The pity is that the situation of our country is such that a man like Mr. Tilak had to spend his whole life in mere criticism and in doing what was very often mere destructive work; that his exceptional abilities could not be harnessed for doing the work of construction, in leading his country into the quieter paths of happiness and contentment; that a man of high personal private character and acute brain had to advocate, and often act upon, the truly Machiavellian doctrine that all was fair in politics and had to neglect other kinds of activities which are equally vital to national progress. History will form its own judgment about the place of Bal Gangadhar Tilak in the annals of India; but at a moment when his ashes are hardly cold, we can but say that in him there lived a Great Man."]

14. "The death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak removes from the arena of Indian public life unquestionably the most remarkable and forceful personality of modern times. Taken all in all, Tilak has been during the last quarter of a century the greatest and most effective driving force in the national and political development of India. He has always been an element of storm and unrest, and his disappearance will be received with a sigh of relief in certain unsympathetic quarters. But it would be impossible for friend and foe alike to deny that his career and character have been the most powerful stimulant in recent times to the national awakening of India. He may be branded as a rebel, an agitator or a sedition-monger. His loyalty to the British connexion might not be above suspicion in the opinion of some persons. But nobody can doubt his patriotism or call him a political imposter. He weilded an immense influence with his countrymen, and had been the idol of the masses. But it would scarcly be just to say that he shaped his principles and policy, and trimmed his sails as the popular breeze blew. He was a true leader and he always led. He might have sometimes misled; but he never meanly ran and shouted with the mob, without knowing whither he was drifting..... He was feared and distrusted, not only by the official class, whose *bete noir* he had always been, but even by influential sections of his own countrymen. ..... Whatever the practical result of his labours, his great and strenuous

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 3rd Aug., Eng. cols.

and the particular form of external evil that he chose to fight against was the political domination of his country by foreigners. It is no use mincing matters here, and I for for one am prepared to accept the choice epithets showered on him by Government and its minions as only tributes of praise in disguise to Lokmanya Tilak. Sir Valentine Chirol rendered a signal service to Lokmanya Tilak by describing him as the 'Father of Indian Unrest;' and I am quite sure that Tilak would not have sued Sir Valentine if the latter had stopped at that, and not vilified him by reflections upon his private character. 'The Father of Indian Unrest, indeed!' A simpler and yet a pithier description of such a patriot as Tilak was can hardly be imagined! The rousing of a sense of self-respect in the Indian people, the creation of a hope of a bright future before them, the assertion of their full natural rights as a nation, and the infusion of a spirit of proud and even reckless defiance of anything that may stand in the way of all this—that was the main theme of all his idealism and realism. This theme he held in a relentless grip throughout his life, and like a consummate General concentrated all his powers and energies in life upon that single objective. That is why Government hated him, that is why those who differed from him disliked him, and that is also why the people in every part of the country loved him. In him they knew they ever had a stout and a faithful champion."

*12. "Mr. Tilak's political career is public property and considerations of space forbid any lengthy notice..... Strangely enough, fate diverted him from the quiet field of learning and antiquarian research and drove him into the stormy whirlpool of politics, and it is in the political arena that he bravely fought and suffered and earned the love and attachment of the people of Mahrashtra and elsewhere. Every prosecution, successful or otherwise, enhanced his popularity and prestige as well as that of the *Kesari* by leaps and bounds, extorted for him the respect and admiration of the people at large, and added vastly to the number of his followers. Our enlightened and experienced Government, with all their knowledge of English, Irish and American history, have never understood the true significance of this phenomenon; otherwise years ago more honourable and statesmanlike measures could have been devised to divert the growing forces of national awakening into more fruitful channels. The policy of unrelenting repression is an awful blunder, and that was strikingly illustrated in Mr. Tilak's instance. It is very sad to reflect that so many of the best of Indians, who would have done credit to any free nation in the world, had to content themselveves with being mere critics for the last fifty years; and that much of Mr. Tilak's political creed was the direct fruit of this unwise and unrighteous policy. His organising capacity and control of a powerful Marathi weekly of his own, his independence of character, and dauntless courage in the presence of heavy calamities, his inflexible will and tenacity of purpose, his capacity for self-sacrifice and ardent devotion in his country's cause as he understood it, his scholarship and talents combined with the extreme simplicity and exemplary purity of his life—all these captured the imagination of the people and made him a distinguished leader of men, though of a type different in some vital respects from that of the other eminent leaders in this or the other provinces."

Gujarati (18), 8th Aug. Eng. cols.

13. "The death of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak removes a great figure from Indian politics. For a quarter of a century and more, he had been the ideal of his followers and the dread of his opponents..... One has heard of English politicians of mark who, after an interview or two with Mr. Tilak, have given him a place among the greatest minds they have known. Disputants have testified that he was master of all the arts of controversy. Towards these he seldom showed tenderness, as he certainly expected none from them. He was trained in a hardy school. If he was not the founder, he was the most powerful exponent of virile journalism in the vernacular..... This is not the occasion to examine Mr. Tilak's principles, review his particular deeds or appraise his serviees as a whole. A critical study of these must disclose errors as well as merits, failure as well as achievement, occasion for censure as well as for praise. But none can deny

Servant of India (9), 5th Aug.

that he had great qualities or that he played a great part. To found vernacular journalism, to lose and recover his fortune more than once, to dare the wrath of a Government and go to jail with the crown of the martyr, to write original books, to dominate political activity for a generation in a large part of the country and leave a numerous and well-knit party behind—these constitute an indefeasible title to the honour and loving recollection of his countrymen." [The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye writes in the same paper :—"During the whole period of British rule in India there has been no man who occupied in the public mind exactly the same position that the late Mr. Tilak did during the last twenty-five years of his life..... Nobody—not even Dadabhai—touched the hearts of his followers and a very large section of the people in quite the same way as Mr. Tilak did. Such a phenomenon needs explanation. Mr. Tilak's hold upon his country was to a very considerable extent promoted by the fact that he stood for the obvious line of policy in our country's politics. The common people are not able to consider deeply the *pros* and *cons* of any subject and are sure to like one who puts into a consistent form the ideas which are vaguely trying to find expression. A consistent and trenchant criticism of a foreign Government was just the way to rouse the people. The path of a reformer who seeks to criticise as well as to construct is very hard. The country is so situated that the work before the critic is lying ready to hand in vast quantities, while the opportunities for constructive work are comparatively few and in any case difficult. Mr. Tilak came at the psychological moment when the obvious advantages of British rule as compared with the old Indian rule had come to be regarded as habitual and a part of the very nature of things, and the disadvantages had begun to be acutely felt. He took full advantage of it, and the love of his admiring countrymen was his reward..... Suffice it to say that he produced a good deal of animation in a body which was almost lifeless—he made the people think when they were content to accept things as they are, and he gave the country an example of sacrifice, pure life and devotion to the motherland. The pity is that the situation of our country is such that a man like Mr. Tilak had to spend his whole life in mere criticism and in doing what was very often mere destructive work; that his exceptional abilities could not be harnessed for doing the work of construction, in leading his country into the quieter paths of happiness and contentment; that a man of high personal private character and acute brain had to advocate, and often act upon, the truly Machiavellian doctrine that all was fair in politics and had to neglect other kinds of activities which are equally vital to national progress. History will form its own judgment about the place of Bal Gangadhar Tilak in the annals of India; but at a moment when his ashes are hardly cold, we can but say that in him there lived a Great Man."]

14. "The death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak removes from the arena of Indian public life unquestionably the most remarkable and forceful personality of modern times. Taken all in all, Tilak has been during the last quarter of a century the greatest and most effective driving force in the national and political development of India. He has always been an element of storm and unrest, and his disappearance will be received with a sigh of relief in certain unsympathetic quarters. But it would be impossible for friend and foe alike to deny that his career and character have been the most powerful stimulant in recent times to the national awakening of India. He may be branded as a rebel, an agitator or a sedition-monger. His loyalty to the British connexion might not be above suspicion in the opinion of some persons. But nobody can doubt his patriotism or call him a political imposter. He weilded an immense influence with his countrymen, and had been the idol of the masses. But it would scarcly be just to say that he shaped his principles and policy, and trimmed his sails as the popular breeze blew. He was a true leader and he always led. He might have sometimes misled; but he never meanly ran and shouted with the mob, without knowing whither he was drifting..... He was feared and distrusted, not only by the official class, whose *bete noir* he had always been, but even by influential sections of his own countrymen. ..... Whatever the practical result of his labours, his great and strenuous

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 3rd Aug., Eng. cols.

career has been the most powerful political stimulant and education to awakening India."

15. "What it is to be an idol of the people was witnessed by Bombay on Sunday afternoon..... Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was worshipped when he lived. Every mark of honour that a peoples' representative earns was done to him..... The indomitable Tilak trod a path of his own towards a goal to which Dadabhai beckoned..... It is said that Mr. Tilak was not over-scrupulous as to the choice of means to arrive at an end. To the representatives of coy squeamishness his manly reply would have been Victor Hugo's: 'Too much conscientiousness degenerates into infirmity'. One of the greatest achievements of the Maratha hero—he was one most undoubtedly—was his cultivated contempt for penalties inflicted by the State on a people impatient of foreign yoke..... Apart from state-craft and unmatched intrepidity and perseverance, which were unsurpassed in the pursuit of political advancement, Mr. Tilak possessed superlative scholarship. We differ *toto caelo* from some of the axioms of this great son of India, but we cannot forbear homage to his erudite genius. That the degree of LL.D. was not offered to him by the Bombay University is an indelible disgrace to the latter. In honouring this man of learning it would have exalted itself. It has chosen to degrade its status by endeavouring to make Pandits of literary pigmies. If the LL.D. was conferred on Chimanlal Setalwad in preference to Bal Gangadhar Tilak, to spite the latter, the attempt has been a dismal failure. Who would doubt that had Mr. Tilak continued his legal practice he would have established his claim to a seat on the High Court Bench. But he disdained to wobble. He would not angle for knighthood. He did not pant for fat briefs. He laid down his little all in the service of Hinduism and to exalt Hindu India."

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 3rd Aug,, Eng. cols.

16. "A Prince and a Great Man has fallen. Bhárat Mata has lost her noblest son..... The whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin is now plunged in sorrow and despair..... The Lokamanya stood head and shoulders above his contemporaries in that he was the adored man of the untold millions of the country, the idol of his nation, the patriarch of his people..... Over thirty years ago the Lokamanya started his political life, determined to win *swarájya* for his country. He stuck to his guns through good report and evil report. He was persecuted, misrepresented, vilified and punished..... He was the embodiment of the struggles, the sufferings and the aspirations of a great and ancient nation. He never truckled to the mob. Remote, unfriended and melancholy, he stood alone as a beacon light, when he began his political life. It is the country that understood him and followed him; he never followed the country. He is the Indian Moses who brought the country within sight of the Promised Land. He was not destined to enter it. His reward, nevertheless, was great. He saw his people self-respecting, manly, and demanding their birthright."

New Times (8), 3rd Aug.

17. We do not know what antagonism there is in the natal stars of the two communities, Chitpavans and the English, but it is a fact that there is no love lost between them. But no astrologer is required to find out its cause. If we bear in mind the broad fact that in place of the present English rulers of Mahárashtra formerly there were Chitpavan rulers, it will be understood why there is mutual hatred between them. It is well known that the English conquered the kingdom of the Chitpavans and they suspect the Chitpavan of an intention to recapture it. It naturally explains the hatred between the two communities. In his student days as well as his old age Mr. Tilak was all along guided by the sole object of the uplift of his people and the defeat of the alien. It is because Government considered Tilak to be a powerful antagonist that they always kept the weapon of law raised against him and prosecuted him thrice for sedition and caused him to rot in jail for seven years. In the Tai Maharaj case also they took

Kesari (109), 3rd Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 3rd Aug.; *Lokasangraha* (112), 5th Aug.; *Muslim Herald* (152), 6th Aug.

an indirect part against him and criminally prosecuted him and in the civil case they opposed him with their might and main. Government servants however used to show regard for Mr. Tilak's many good qualities in their private conversation. Sir Narayan Chandawarkar who had hardly an occasion to agree with Mr. Tilak used to call him 'great' of late. Mr. Tilak was extremely frank in his attitude towards Government. His work is priceless and unequalled inasmuch as he rooted out the attitude of excessive humility pervading the minds of the people owing to the practice of many years and prepared the ground for planting national self-respect in it. From the beginning Mr. Tilak adopted the rule of opposing Government openly and he kept it up till his death. In all India there was no equal to Mr. Tilak in carrying on political agitation. The title 'Father of Indian Unrest' conferred on Tilak by Sir Valentine Chirol correctly applies to him and it must have been also valued by him. In the Ganapati festival Tilak's attitude was more against Government than against Muhammadans and of late Muhammadans even have approved of it. In the controversy about Afzulkhan's murder, the side taken by Tilak was one in consonance with the self-respect of Marathas and as soon as English historians began to take an impartial attitude they also had to support Shivaji, as illustrated in the caseof Mr. Kincaid and Mr. Rawlinson. Government had a bad habit of always giving a distorted form to Mr. Tilak's public work. They tried to saddle Mr. Tilak's agitation with the responsibility of Mr. Rand's murder but ultimately the Police Department itself removed that suspicion. During the last hundred years, there could be found no one in India so popular as Mr. Tilak. Even his official enemies have given up the delusion after recent experience that his followers were uneducated. His word was respected even more than the King's word. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* expresses deep sorrow and says that a discussion of his merits and demerits would be out of place for the present but that there could be no difference of opinion regarding his patriotism and scholarship. It remarks that Tilak's death is a great loss at this juncture. The *Lokasangraha* writes:—Though Tilak is dead he will be immortal. Just as the names of Shivaji, Ramdas, Dnyaneshvar and Tukaram will never disappear from Mahárashtra, Tilak's glory will ever remain in Mahárashtra. Lokamanya has brought you to the foot of the mountain of *Swarájya*. The way up is difficult and full of thorns. But do not fear! Marathas of Shivaji, do not be afraid! Boys of Tilak, do not be disheartened. Say 'victory to Tilak Maharaj' and mount your way towards the foot of *Swarájya*. Has not Lokamanya told you that though he be dead, his bones would be crying for *Swarájya*? *Swarájya* is therefore your *mantra*; remember it and Tilak as your battle cry; repeat it and attain the mountain of *Swarájya*.] [Referring to the death of Mr. B. G. Tilak the *Muslim Herald* says:—India has lost a true patriot and statesman by the death of Lokamanya Tilak. Apart from his ability and wisdom, he had acquired unquestioned popularity among all communities. The deceased was a man of a marked singleness of purpose. There is no city or town or village where his death is not mourned to-day. Some time ago Musalmans listened to harangues delivered by Hindus from the pulpits in the mosques. Now Mian Muhammad Chhottani and Mr. Shaukat Ali have set an example of shouldering the corpse of a Hindu.]

18. The whole of India has been plunged in grief by the death of Mr. Tilak. It is Mr. Tilak's endeavours that have roused the country from its sleep and made the people clamour for *Swarajya*. People may differ from Mr. Tilak on some questions of social reform, but all agree in according him the first place amongst those who taught the people to demand *Swarajya*. He played the part of a hero in the fight for *Swarajya*. Mr. Tilak has shown us the way and let us do our level best to complete the task he has commenced. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—The Government of Sir George Lloyd have allowed an opportunity to slip from their hands by refraining from referring to Mr. Tilak's death in the Legislative Council. It is to be regretted that no non-official member of the Council had the courage to propose a resolution with

Hindusthán (23), 2nd and 4th Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 2nd and 3rd Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 3rd Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (55), 3rd Aug.; *Deshodaya* (63), 3rd Aug.

regard to Mr. Tilak's death. The *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—Mr. Tilak now sleeps in eternity after serving the country in an indefatigable manner for forty years, during which he suffered many privations and incarcerations for a number of years. He roused the people from sleep, struggled like a hero into the fight against the bureaucracy, kept a cool mind under all circumstances, won over the hearts of the people by the purity of his character and left the people in a much better political state than the one that prevailed at the time of his birth. Mr. Tilak was not at all disloyal to Government. He was a man of undaunted courage who carried on political agitation in a legitimate manner. Mr. Tilak possessed all the qualities of a leader and he never even dreamt of upsetting the Government. The comments on his death published by the *Times of India* are the wickedest of calumnies that have ever been written against him. In the subsequent issue the paper writes :—The people of Bombay should send a requisition to the Sheriff for holding a public meeting to express sorrow for Mr. Tilak's death, to make amends for the narrow-mindedness shown by the Bombay Legislative Council in respect of expressing their feelings for his death and to give an effective reply to the calumnies indulged in by the *Times of India*. Mr. Tilak spent the whole of his life in struggling to secure for India a position of equality with the Colonies and it should be our duty to try to walk in his footsteps aud secure the goal for which he strove so hard. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes :—In Mr. Tilak Maharashtra has lost an uncrowned kiug and India a staunch patriot and advocate of her political rights. The political awakening and regeneration of India was his motto. He conducted his agitation in a strenuous manner and had the satisfaction of seeing India placed on the path of the realisation of the goal of his political ambition. He was opposed to the non-co-operation movement, and it is hoped that the followers of the movement will respect his memory by carrying out his wishes in the matter. *Akhabar-e-Islám* remarks :—India loses a true patriot and an able politician in Mr. Tilak. The *Deshodaya* says :—The country has to mourn the irreparable loss of a dauntless leader and true patriot.]

19. Tilak has at last departed this world. Every moment of his life was spent in the service of the country. The parties were sharply divided so long as he was alive. We think people should utilize this sad event to close their ranks. The real test of devotion for Tilak lies in serving one's country to the best of one' ability. [In a subsequent issue the paper expresses the belief that His Excellency the Governor will sympathetically consider the request for permission to erect a memorial on the spot on which Mr. Tilak's remains were cremated.]

Indu Prakásh (44), 2nd and 3rd Aug.

*20. "Looking at the record of Mr. Tilak's life, not with the dazzled eyes of a hero-worshipper but with an unbiassed gaze, we find that his tendency was more towards destructive criticism than towards constructive work. In early life, his mind had been embittered against the bureaucracy. All his life he was busy striking blows at this burcaucracy and its supporters. His uncompromising attitude towards them evoked their dislike and was the cause of almost all his troubles. Had he been more moderate in his attacks upon a class of men, who, in spite of their many shortcomings, have done valuable service to India; had they shown greater consideration for his genius and sincerity of motive, the history of his life would perhaps have been differently written. His impatience of slow but steady progress, his eagerness to realise his ideal as quickly as possible, led him to destroy far more rapidly than he or anyone else could build. But even this destructive criticism had, we must admit, its good results. It laid open the faults of a system of government which India has now outgrown; it cleared the ground for a new and more suitable system; it aroused within the people a desire to definitely declare their right to self-government. This was a great service to the country, and the man who rendered it deserves to be gratefully remembered. Whatever difference of opinion Mr. Tilak's extreme political views may have created, no one can deny that he was a true patriot who worked according to his lights for the good of his country."

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 8th Aug., Eng. cols.

21. Mr. Damodar Vishwanath Gokhale writes in the *Chitramaya Jagat*.—It is the general opinion that in passing the Government of India Act British statesmen succeeded in playing their game of merely creating an impression among the people that they have received the rights of *swarajya* without actually giving them anything. In this respect Mr. Montagu has been more successful than those who control the affairs of Egypt and Ireland. His Reforms have no doubt dazzled the Moderates. India has always kept the example of Ireland before her and has learnt much from the pitfalls into which that country has occasionally fallen. When we learn what the present demands of Ireland and Egypt are, we do not know whether we should admire Mr. Montagu's statesmanship or lament our own shortsightedness. All these three countries are more or less similarly situated. At any rate, all of them are being boiled in the same hot cauldron of the British Empire. Even those of us who at first thought highly of the Reforms are gradually being undeceived. The Punjáb affair has opened the eyes of all. Mahatma Gandhi has declared that the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs have necessitated the complete withdrawal of co-operation from Government. India demands that officials who were guilty of excesses in the Punjáb should be suitably punished and that Lord Chelmsford should be recalled. Who can have respect for a Government which does not accede even to such a simple request? It is an intolerable act of injustice that Bosworth-Smith who submitted Indian women to indignities should still continue to be in power. What is there worse in slavery? Can slavery present a more hideous picture than that the masters should practice oppression on their slaves and their womenfolk and that the slaves should quietly put up with it? Who will not be exasperated when Government trample upon popular opinion and promote such fiends instead of punishing them? Every self-respecting man would prefer death to such humiliation. One is forced to the conclusion that it is but right to boycott the councils of a Government which employs a Bosworth-Smith and of which men like Thompson are members.

Condition of India no better than slavery.
Chitramayá Jagat (61) (Marathi), June

22. A contributor writes in the *Rájakáran*:—Formerly, a soldier who shot a *sádhu*, thinking him to be a peacock, was let off by Mr. Justice Tudball of the Allahabad High Court. Now a planter who took the life of a coolie, because the latter refused to hand over his daughter to him for immoral purposes, has been acquitted by a European jury. Fine justice! These incidents have of late been largely on the increase since the winning of the great war by England. It is because of the intoxication caused by that victory that happenings like those of the Jhallianwalla Bagh took place and injustice is on the increase.

The winning of the war by England has intoxicated the Europeans in India.
Rájakáran (122), 1st Aug.

23. "The decision to acquire this area for the purposes of the Railway appears to us to be strange, and in the present condition of things absolutely indefensible. We can only think that it has been arrived at hastily and without due consideration, and hope that now that it has been shown how inexpedient, if not impossible, it is, it will be speedily retracted. No more unsuitable locality for compulsory acquisition could have been selected. The choice seems to have been determined by only one consideration, *viz.*, that the proposed site is in the vicinity of the existing station—as if a new railwaystation can only be built on the site of the old. The mere cost of acquisition of an area like this ought to have given pause to the Railway Company and to Government, irrespective of other considerations. But there are other considerations of public policy and expediency which ought to carry the greatest weight with a responsible Government. The area is thickly populated, and covered from end to end by numerous and costly buildings. There are hundreds of houses inhabited by thousands of people. And it is not a slum locality.

Comments on the proposed acquisition of properties in the Bombay City in connection with the construction of a terminal station at Grant Road.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 4th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 2nd Aug.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 1st Aug.

The inhabitants are in the main middle class respectable people, and the houses are all, for the greater part, clean solid buildings, many of them of recent construction..... The scheme in fact is calculated to effect the demolition of one of the most important residential localities in Bombay, and no practical substitute is indicated, or in fact is available anywhere. We think it is the business of an authority, that proposes to pull down a number of houses fit for habitation and actually inhabited, to see that there is a practical substitute provided, before it proceeds with the demolition. ..... At the present day such a process of wholesale demolition, without due regard to consequences, would be an act of criminal rashness and recklessness. The Parsis would be most heavily hit if the scheme is put into execution, for the region is largely inhabited by them. It is also pointed out quite pertinently that the threatened area includes several buildings erected from charity funds and inhabited by poorer Parsis, who have found decent quarters for a nominal rent. There are said to be 200 Parsi families living like that. There are also not less than half a dozen schools within a radius of half a mile from the Grant Road Station, attneded by thousands of boys and girls. Is all this to be swept away at one stroke to make room for the more effective service of the B. B.and C. I. Railway?..... If the railway service cannot be improved, without rendering thousands of people practically homeless, we can do without the improvement..... Could not another site be found for erecting the terminus? As has been pointed out by many persons, there is plenty of open ground a little to the north of the present Grant Road Station, between the Tardeo Bridge and the Mahaluxmi Station. Surely that area could be utilised for the projected purpose. If that is done much avoidable misery would be spared. We have no doubt at all that, if the case is properly presented to His Excellency the Governor, he will at once see the enormous hardship involved in the proposed scheme and reconsider the matter." [The *Bombay Samdchdr* also dwells on the hardships that would be caused if the proposed acquisition was carried into effect and remarks:—At a time when we are faced with the problem of providing more houses, Government declare their intention of pulling them down. If this is done, the feelings of the public will be greatly hurt. The proposed acquisition will also to a great extent neutralise the beneficial effects of the Rent Act. We do not think that our present sympathetic Governor would wish to create the impression that he wants to shirk his responsibilities. We, therefore, hope that Government will either abandon the scheme altogether or see their way to building the proposed terminal station a little further off from Grant Road on the open space in the neighbourhood of Mahalaxmi. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* declares that it would be a great calamity for the Parsi community should the large colony of 200 poor Parsi families inhabiting the Murzban Chawls be broken up in pursuance of this scheme. The paper expresses surprise that while on the one hand His Excellency the Governor is anxiously considering schemes for affording increased housing facilities to the people, on the other hand he contemplates a scheme which will oust the residents of an area measuring two and a half lakhs square yards. It appeals to His Excellency to give thought to the question of making provision for those who will be dishoused, especially for the 200 poor Parsi families inhabiting the Murzban Chawls. It prays for a postponement of the scheme, and asks His Excellency not to let it come down like a bomb-shell upon the public but will put it into operation only after winning for it the support of the popular members of the Legislative Council.]

24. Commenting on the new departments of Information in the various provinces of India, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—

Comments on the Department of Information in the Indian Provinces.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Aug.

"We believe that the control and regulation of news during the war made Governments partial to the device, and the bureaucracy, never afraid of costly and questionable expedients, went for it as a means of evolving the attachment of the masses. A number of gentlemen, versatile and fit for everything, were promptly engaged to supply correct and healthy information to the misguided..... We have not the slighest objection to the dissemination

of correct news. We welcome it as an aid to our business, expensive though it may be to the taxpayer. The trouble is that these gentry forget how limited is their scope in the formation of public opinion..... Man is a polemical being, and the Directors possibly feel provoked to mould opinion and to give a healthy tone to the public. They forget that *primâ facie* their position is difficult. The people look upon them as paid apologists of Government who naturally want their achievements to be appreciated by the public. People in India read even blue-books in a spirit of disbelief extenuated by a readiness to judge by facts; so profoundly is the bureaucracy distrusted as to its claims and professions. Such is the sorry fact, and even a Director cannot disprove it by contradiction. It is in such circumstances that the Director comes to put a relish on day to day history. As a rule he is himself in a state of incomprehension, wondering what to say for the improvement of the people and the justification of his existence..... We have in some provinces our Directors now taking to the congenial function of being harbingers to the Prince's visit. We do not object. If, however, they want to shape opinion delectable to their superiors, they will do it at the cost of their own reputation. The fact is they do not know enough of India; they do not realise the nature of the hierarchy in whose praise they have to pipe. From our limited experience, we fear that this effort at publicity has been woefully misdirected. If the business is not confined to the publication of facts but directed to secure 'sympathetic' opinion, we shall soon have another bloated department whose actual use will soar above the level of public appreciation. So far, some of them have worked to no purpose. The bureau at Simla takes the palm for artfulness; the Punjáb for omniscience; Bengal for Bahadurism; Madras for somnolence and Bombay for modesty. If without concerning themselves with vindicating the grandeur of the Empire and the iniquity of potential rebels, they say what they know, the country will put up with the cost, without further annoyance."

Government servants should have nothing to do with the collection of the Pandharpur Dharamsala Fund.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Aug.

25. "Mr. Simcox, the Collector of Sholapur, framed a scheme to build *serais* for Pandharpur pilgrims at an estimated cost of 20 lakhs and Government accorded their general administrative approval, but at the same time they directed that no advertisement should be issued by the Collector or any Government official and that a non-official committee should raise the funds, *though Government had no objection to the Collector using his personal influence to obtain members of the Committee and contributions.* It is quite strange that Government should take such a view. Government servants are prohibited from taking part in the collection of public funds, mainly because it is desired that they should not use their influence in getting funds. Government do not want the Collector to work in his own name, but he is apparently free to use his personal influence in getting men and money. Do Government desire that he should work on the sly? He should have nothing to do either publicy or privately with the collection of funds. The rule prohibiting Government servants from collecting funds is a healthy one and there should be no infractions of it in any form or under any guise."

Comments on His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar's speech at a London dinner.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Aug.

26. "What is wrong with our princes and our princelings? If any Indian were to say that Dyer was a humanitarian or that the action of the House of Lords was the vindication of justice, his countrymen would be sore put to it to save him from the selection of a lunatic asylum. But at a dinner in London given to the ruling princes of India the Maharaja of Alwar said: 'The recent unfortunate controversy had again proved to India that Britain's power stood on the pedestal of justice'. Most of them were careful to disown the view that India had gone through a period of threatened mutiny—which is all to the good. But they were one and all enthusiastic in praise of Mr. Montagu, who 'had emerged with the single determination to carry the banner of liberty a step forward'. We are thankful that the standard of liberty and justice of the great majority of our country-

men is not that of the Maharaja of Alwar. Lord Curzon declared that the maintenance of the prestige of the Princes was most necessary to the integrity of the Empire. We are afraid the sentiments expressed by the Maharaja of Alwar, the deeds of the Nizam and the silence of them all in the hour of our country's sore need—are facts not likely to preserve the prestige of the Princes in India. Such prestige is not worth a day's purchase, and is only as valuable as the wreath of smoke from the last gun of a princely salute."

27. "Even those in India, who have felt that the feelings of the people, which have been deeply lacerated by the Punjáb atrocities and their open condonation in high official quarters and by the injustice of the Khilafat, should in no way be allowed to interfere with the warmth of the popular welcome to the Prince of Wales when His Royal Highness comes to this country, will feel relieved by the announcement that there is every likelihood of the Prince's visit being postponed for a time. It may be the decision to postpone the visit is prompted by reasons of health alone, as undoubtedly the strain of the prolonged tours through Canada, United States and Australia, accompanied, as it was bound to be, with tiresome ceremonies, must prove too great even for such an active and enthusiastic youth as His Royal Highness. The respite will give an added zest to the Prince's natural desire to meet the people of this great country. But, as we have said, the postponement is likely to prove doubly providential. Apart from all loyal sentiments of Indians, which nothing will repress, the idea of asking the people of this country at a time when they are, as it were, in deep mourning over grave wrongs unredressed, to participate in joyful demonstrations in honour of the Prince, does a great injustice to the feelings of both the hosts and the guest..... ... Mr. Montagu, who sees 'disloyalty' in what is a truly loyal and reasonable suggestion, either has no real conception of loyalty or has been grievously misinformed about the nature of Mr. Gandhi's suggestion. Loyalty based on hypocrisy would be more dangerous than open disloyalty."

The reported postponement of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit to India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Aug.

28. "There will be widespread disappointment in India at the intelligence that the severe strain of the protracted tour of the Prince of Wales in Australasia has told upon his health and rendered it necessary to consider whether it will be desirable to postpone for a short period his projected visit to India. Considering the political importance of that visit, and since the new Legislative Assembly and the Council of State are to be inaugurated by His Royal Highness, greater care should have been taken in arranging the programme of the Prince's tour so that there would have been no strain upon him."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 2nd Aug.; Eng. cols.

29. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses regret that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit should have to be postponed on account of ill-health, and remarks:—"But there will be many who will try to read between the lines in this postponement. There is not the least question of a doubt that under happier circumstances the Prince is assured of a most cordial and a loyal welcome from the whole of India..... But India at present is sore at heart; and honesty compels us to point out that at the present juncture, with India's wounds gaping wide, India is in no mood for enjoyment..... Let us sincerely hope that India's pleasure is only deferred for a short time; but whenever the Prince comes, under happier times, he is assured of a welcome, which, in warmth, cordiality and loyalty, if it does not surpass the welcome given to his august grandfather and father, will be, at least, as good and equal as in the past."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 6th Aug.; Eng. cols.

30. Commenting upon the postponement of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit to India the *Lokasangraha* writes:—Government should right the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs if they really desire that Indians should give a hearty welcome to His Royal Highness. Condign punishments must be inflicted on the officials who persecuted the Indians and the Sultan's

Lokasangrha (112), 1st August.

power must not be impaired. If this is not done the welcome to the Prince will necessarily be half-hearted. We do not think after their experience Government will dare put the Rowlatt law into operation. They must not, therefore, hope to placate Indians by repealing the law which is practically a dead letter in honour of the Prince's visit.

Akhbár-e-Islám (55), 2nd Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 2nd Aug.; *Gujarát Mitra* (19), 1st Aug.; *Praja Pokar* (71), 4th Aug.; *Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra* (31), 1st Aug.; *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* (81), 30th July.

31. Adverting to the report in the *Daily News* that the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India is likely to be postponed, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes:—The news about the postponement of the visit of His Royal Highness has been received by the people of India with great regret. The loyal Indians will surely be sorry if they will not be able to welcome the Prince. We pray that His Royal Highness may be completely restored to health and gratify the people of this country by coming out here. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks:—In spite of her regret at the news of the postponement of his visit, India will prefer to receive His Royal Highness only after he completely recovers his health. The *Gujarát Mitra* remarks that the movement for boycotting the Prince's visit will, do more harm than good, and that it should, therefore, be given up. It concludes by saying that if the visit of His Royal Highness is postponed, there will be widespread disappointment throughout the country. The *Praja Pokar* reproduces the article on the subject in the *Gujarát Mitra*. In this connection, *Pravási*, a constant contributor, writes in the *Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra*:—Those leaders who advise the people to abstain from taking part in the loyal reception to be accorded to His Royal Highness gratuitously insult him and the British Crown. The King-Emperor and the Prince of Wales have no hand in politics, and it is not proper to insult the latter by wrongly thinking that he is coming over to India under the instructions of the ministers. The *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* writes:—The report is that the visit of His Royal Highness is likely to be postponed on account of ill-health, but we are afraid that his visit has been postponed on account of the silly movement for boycotting his visit. If this is a fact, we would ask our leaders to take early steps to set matters right.]

Mr. Gandhi's reasons for refusing to welcome the Prince of Wales.
Navjivan (68), 1st Aug.

32. Mr. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—I see no disloyalty in refusing to welcome the Prince of Wales. On the contrary, I consider it a faithlessness towards the people to take part in welcoming him in such times as these. In the words of the Prime Minister the Prince is coming to India as an ambassador of the Empire. We know that he is coming to show the power and grandeur of the Empire. To welcome the Prince is tantamount to honouring all officials, from the Viceroy downwards, including those who disgraced themselves in the Punjáb. How can the people take part in welcoming the Prince when their hearts have been lacerated, when their wounds are scarcely healed and when the House of Lords have added insult to injury by overlooking Dyer's crime. To take part in welcoming the Prince is tantamount to certifying to the goodness of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy want to give the appearance of contentedness to the unrest prevailing among the people. If people have no courage and are not prepared to make any sacrifices they can at least manifest their grief by refraining from welcoming the Prince. We do not mean to insult anyone by refusing to participate in welcoming the Prince. It involves no insult to the Prince and no one means to insult him. If it involves any insult at all it is to the bureaucracy. But even they are not insulted. We refuse to obey the bureaucracy and consider it our duty to do so. I hope that people will consider it their duty to refrain from welcoming the Prince in spite of whatever Mr. Montagu might say.

Young India (13), 4th Aug.

33. Mr. Gandhi writes:—"Mr. Montagu has discoved a new definition of disloyalty. He considers my suggestion to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales to be disloyal, and some newspapers taking the cue from him have

called persons who have made the suggestion 'unmannerly'. They have even atributed to these 'unmannerly' persons the suggestion of 'boycotting the Prince'. I draw a sharp and fundamental distinction between boycotting the Prince and boycotting any welcome arranged for him. Personally I would extend the heartiest welcome to His Royal Highnes if he came or could come without official patronage and the protecting wings of the Government of the day. Being the heir to a constitutional monarch, the Prince's movements are regulated and dictated by the ministers, no matter how much the dictation may be concealed beneath diplomatically polite language. In suggesting the boycott, therefore, the promoters have suggested boycott of an insolent bureaucracy and dishonest ministers of His Majesty. You cannot have it both ways. It is true that under a constitutional monarchy the royalty is above politics. But you cannot send the Prince on a political visit for the purpose of making political capital out of him, and then complain that those who will not play your game and, in order to checkmate you, proclaim a boycott of the Royal visit, do not know constitutional usage..... . . I venture to submit that it is adding insult to injury to bring the Prince and through his visit to steal honours and further prestige for a Government that deserves to be dismissed with disgrace. I claim that I prove my loyalty by saying that India is in no mood, is too deeply in mourning, to take part in any welcome to His Royal Highness, and that the ministers and the Indian Government show their disloyalty by making the Prince a cat's paw of their deep political game. If they persist, it is the clear duty of India to have nothing to do with the visit."

34. Day by day the people of this country are casting off false notions of loyalty. The district officials cannot exercise the tyranny they practised in days gone by. The people opposed the movement for giving an address to Lord Willingdon and expressed their true feelings in the matter. But nobody must have dreamt that the people would make such progress as to oppose the movement for welcoming the Prince of Wales. In course of time it is probable that the people will be reluctant to welcome even the King-Emperor if their feelings are hurt. Mr. Gandhi has given the reasons for abstaining from welcoming the Prince of Wales. We do not think that the people will now show any enthusiasm in welcoming the Prince. Let us hope that the bureaucracy, putting their confidence in the loyalty of the people, will not try to aggravate the already wounded feelings of the public. We have not forgotten how the bureaucracy had to suffer a defeat in the matter of the peace celebrations. Breach after breach is being made in the stronghold of the false loyalty of the people and if that fortress is to be maintained in its dilapidated condition, it can only be done by respecting the feelings of the people. But if this is not done and efforts are made in the contrary direction, the fortress will without fail crumble to the dust.

Anavil Sevak (56), June and July.

35. The *New Times* advises the people to pass the 1st of August in peace and quiet, and remarks:—"We shall not be surprised if in some places the Sind bureaucracy seek opportunities to come in conflict with the Muslim sentiment. The Collecter of Hyderabad has already issued an order prohibiting the circulation of any posters which he may not like! And the Damocles' sword of the Seditious Meetings Act hangs over the whole province. We ask all Muslims to disappoint the official by obeying all police orders with scrupulous care..... Anti-national Anglo-Indian scribes have exhorted Government to take off the velvet glove: it is being taken off in Sind. It is for us to meet the new situation with the challenge of the moral ideal..... The future in this country belongs, we profoundly believe, not to repression but to religious nationalism, and by launching a campaign of coercion against the religious impulse and attitude, which are the strength of the Khilafat movement, the bureaucracy will only break itself and make India an eternal irritation to England."

The Khilafat *hartal* on 1st August.

New Times (8), 31st July.

36. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* publishes an article entitled the 'Khilafat Day', and begins it with a couplet thus:—The greed of power of Europe has usurped Egypt, Palestine, and our India on the plea of civilisation. After a reference to the days of prayer observed during the war it proceeds:—What do we see now? Prayers offered during adversity were only meant to deceive. The seekers after justice, betrayers of old and decrepit nations misled by promises of independence, are determined to-day to commit injustice. Stronger Powers than Turkey consider the latter to be weak, and desire to ruin it for ever. The Arabs have been bound with the bonds of slavery. Independent, patriotic, justice-loving and free Turks have been held to be rebels. Thousands of innocent Turks have been put to the sword after being declared as rebels. Egyptians who desire freedom and claim their right have been accused of conspiring to destroy the British supremacy, and they have been put on trial. However, God will rescue us from our plight. [Elsewhere the paper publishes an Urdu translation of an article on Mosul alleged to have been taken from the *Difa* newspaper of Damascus, in the course of which France is represented as dissatisfied with the allocation of Mosul to Mesopotamia and inclined to side with the Turks for obtaining her desire. The article foreshadows Anglo-French disputes not only in connection with the supply of oil, but also as respects all questions wherever the interests of the two powers clash.]

Mufid-e-Rozgár (151), 1st Aug.

37. The 1st of August 1920 has become memorable in the history of the Indian nation. On that day Lokamanya Tilak died and the non-co-operation movement of which he disapproved came into being. The death of the one and the birth of the other are equally to be deplored. Last year Mahatma Gandhi could not control the storm raised by the *Satyagraha* movement and since that time people have become sceptical about his methods. Since when did the Turkish Khalifa become so very dear to the Indian Musalmans? Why did they keep quiet during the last hundred years when Turkey was being gradually dismembered and how is it that their affection for him is full to overflowing only now? Mahatma Gandhi unfurled the standard of non-co-operation and himself set an example by discarding the honours conferred upon him by Government. His example was imitated at several places and it can be confidently said that the movement has been definitely launched. According to some the movement is to be welcomed inasmuch as it serves to create an awakening among the people. It is a question, however, whether the preservation of the Khilafat with which Indians are not so very intimately concerned should be a motive for the inauguration of this movement when the present system of administration provides any number of reasons in support of this course. Is not the Punjab wrong alone a sufficient reason for starting non-co-operation? The utilization of each and every weapon for fostering political unrest will not fail to produce confusion in the public mind.

Indu Prakásh (44), 5th Aug.

38. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—One of the chief objections taken against the launching of the scheme of non-co-operation is that deeds of violence will follow in its wake. It is very easy to avoid this fault. There can be no difficulty in maintaining peace if there are a few persons in every place who make it their business to preserve it. Preserving the peace is the first step in non-co-operation. If we cannot preserve peace we are not fit to enter upon non-co-operation. Some point out the example of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, and tell us that there non-co-operation and violence go hand in hand. This is true; but it is on that very account that Ireland does not get Home Rule. There is a great deal of difference between India and Ireland. We shall be easily able to gain our object by practising non-co-operation without violence. The non-co-operation movement will come to a standstill as soon as violence is resorted to. People will not be able to achieve their goal by violence in such a vast country like India, and no one will be able to carry on the administration of the country if there is peaceful non-co-operation. Another objection urged

Mr. Gandhi's views on non-co-operation.

Navjivan (68), 1st Aug.

against non-co-operation is that people are not willing to resort to it. This means to say that people do not possess the power of making any sacrifice. How can we show Government that they have attained the final stage of injustice if we feel honoured by the honours bestowed by them, receive education in their schools, and practise as pleaders in their courts? No reforms have ever been unanimously accepted by all in this world. Every movement is started with a few followers and gathers strength by their firmness. Great harm is done to a public cause by hesitation on the part of people to support it till it is supported by every one. It is a sign of diffidence in one's own cause to expect everyone to support one's movement. It is, therefore, hoped that those who have identified themselves with the non-co-operation movement will begin it, be they few or many.

The Moderates' manifesto against non-co-operation.

Young India (13), 4th Aug.

39. Mr. Gandhi writes :—" I have most carefully read the manifesto addressed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and others dissuading the people from joining the non-co-operation movement. I had expected to find some solid argument against non-co-operation, but to my great regret Ihave found nothing but distortion..... The duty of non-co-operation with unjust men and kings is as strictly enjoined by all the religions as is the duty of co-operation with just men and kings. Indeed, most of the scriptures of the world seem even to go beyond non-co-peration and prefer violence to effeminate submission to a wrong..... Hereto I have given historical instances of bloodless non-co-operation. I will not insult the intelligence of the reader by citing historical instances of non-co-operation combined with violence, but I am free to confess that there are on record as many successes as failures in violent non-co-operation. And it is because I know this fact that I have placed before the country a non-violent scheme in which, if at all worked satisfactorily, success is a certainty and in which non-response means no harm..... I fear no disastrous result from non-co-operation save for an outbreak of violence on the part of the people, whether under provocation or otherwise. I would risk violence a thousand times than risk the emasculation of a whole race."

Reflections on Mr. Gandhi's suggestion that pleaders should non-co-operate against Government by giving up practising in the Law Courts.

Anavil Sevak (56) for June and July.

40. A pleader writes to the *Anavil Sevak* :—Mr. Gandhi advises the pleaders to offer non-co-operation to Government by giving up their practice; but he does not seem to have heard the pleaders' point of view in the matter. Mr. Gandhi is of the opinion that pleaders are a great support of Government and that Government will be crippled if they give up practising in the law courts. This delusion of Mr. Gandhi should be cleared up. Does Mr. Gandhi believe that the British administration in India is based on laws? If the administration is based on laws, the pleaders would respect them and exert their influence to get them respected by others. But many of our respected leaders are convinced that India is conquered and maintained by the sword and that law is of secondary importance. Does Mr. Gandhi know that many officials consider that pleaders are persons who encourage litigation, who are obstacles in the way of the exercise of autocratic authority, that they are agitators who enable the people to understand their own rights and thus make the political situation worse? Many officials try to fight shy of pleaders and try to avoid them as far as possible and seek every opportunity to get rid of their presence while deciding cases. Does Mr. Gandhi want the pleaders to forego all the influence and power they possess? It is futile on the part of Mr. Gandhi to think of getting the law courts closed by inducing the pleaders to give up their practice. The doors of the courts will not be closed as long as the nature of the people does not undergo a change. The people are not so much disgusted with lawyers as they are with the law courts. The lawyers are not responsible for the present methods of administrating laws. People will not find relief as long as the laws are not changed. The golden age will not be heralded by non-co-operation. *Swarâjya* is the goal of non-co-operation. There is no reason

to believe that there will be no litigation when *Swarájya* is established. Let Mr. Gandhi establish the courts that will be necessary under *Swarájya* and many pleaders will give up their practice and offer non-co-operation to Government and co-operate with Mr. Gandhi.

It would be wrong to postpone non-co-operation till the holding of the Special Congress.
Young India (13), 4th Aug.

41. Mr. Gandhi writes :—" The Honourable Pandit Malaviya, for whom I entertain the highest regard and whom I have so often described as *dharmatma*, has appealed to me both publicly and privately to suspend non-co-operation till the Congress has pronounced upon it. The *Mahratta* has also done likewise. These appeals have made me pause and think, but I regret to say that I have not been able to respond to them. I would do much and give much to please Punditji. I am anxious to receive his approbation and blessing for all my actions. But a higher duty requires me not to turn from the course mapped out by the Non-co-operation Committee. There are moments in your life when you must act even though you cannot carry your best friends with you. The ' still small voice ' within you must always be the final arbiter when there is a conflict of duty. The reason for asking me to suspend action is that the Congress will presently meet and consider the whole question of non-co-operation and give its verdict..... The Congress is after all the mouthpiece of the nation. And when one has a policy or a programme which one would like to see adopted, but on which one wants to cultivate public opinion, one naturally asks the Congress to discuss it and form an opinion. But when one has an unshakable faith in a particular policy or action, it would be folly to wait for the Congress pronouncement. On the contrary, one must act and demonstrate its efficacy so as to command acceptance by the nation. For me to suspend non-co-operation would be to prove untrue to the Musalman brethren. They have their own religious duty to perform. Their religious sentiment has been deeply hurt by a total disregard of laws of justice and their own promises by British ministers. The Musalmans must take action now. They cannot await the Congress decision..... The Khilafat is a matter of conscience with them. And in the matter of conscience the Law of Majority has no place."

Why *Swadeshi* and Non-co-operation should be practised,
Lokasangraha (112), 7th Aug.

42. Government are ruling over us unjustly. It is an interesting question how a Government can rule over a people and at the same time flout their opinions. Government can enact a law and can do anything they like on the strength of that law. If we do not obey a law it will remain a dead letter. We enter into a contract with Government to obey them: we supply them with funds and thus enable them to oppress us. We are no longer willing thus to subject ourselves to oppression. All Government servants, barring a few fat-salaried men, are discontented. [The paper concludes the article with an exhortation to its readers to follow the lead of men who preach non-co-operation, *swadeshi*, etc.]

Alleged effectiveness of social non-co-operation.
Gujaráti (18), 1st Aug.

43. A difference of opinion has arisen in respect of the political non-co-operation advocated by Mr. Gandhi. Many are of the opinion that public grievances will not be removed by it and that it will retard political progress in this country. People ask their political leaders as to how they mean to safeguard their primary rights that have been imperilled in the Punjáb and whether political progress can be said to be stimulated or retarded if those rights can be safeguarded by political non-co-operation. Those who are opposed to non-co-operation, moreover, say that the religion of the people is against such a movement. This is a novel argument. We cannot believe that any religion asks its followers to serve the tyrant, to be slaves of the bureaucrats and to tolerate injustice. But we must acknowledge that the people have not yet reached the stage when they can so act as to be able to make political non-co-operation a success. We are of the opinion that those who are afraid of Mr. Gandhi's political non-co-operation should

resort to social non-co-operation, as advocated by us in our last issue [*vide* paragraph 27 of Weekly Report No. 31 of 1920] and we feel sure it will be effective. As for economic non-co-operation, if Manchester goods are boycotted, Parliament will be moved to make an inquiry into the state of affairs in India. It is, however, our opinion that social non-co-operation will be more effective in driving away the advocates of frightfulness from India than the boycott of foreign goods or economic non-co-operation. Social non-co-operation will be more effective in bringing about a situation in which the advocates of frightfulness will not be able to draw their salaries from the Indian treasury or carry on their business while in India.

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy with regard to the Khilafat and Punjáb questions.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 5th Aug.

44. In the letter sent to His Excellency the Viceroy Mahatma Gandhi says that he has no faith in petitions, deputations, &c. He is, however, still hopeful that the Viceroy would give justice and has, therefore, suggested to His Excellency that he should discuss the Punjáb and the Khilafat questions with the Indian leaders with a view to arriving at some satisfactory solution. Is it not strange that Mahatma Gandhi should make this suggestion and at the same time declare that he has no faith in petitions and deputations? The Government of India recognise that some of the Peace Terms imposed on Turkey are such as to be painful to Indian Musalmans. The Viceroy also made it plain that he tried his best to secure such modifications in the Peace Terms as would make them more acceptable to Indian Musalmans. Mahatma Gandhi also knows that the decision as to what terms should be imposed on Turkey did not lie exclusively with England. What is the use then of His Excellency discussing the Khilafat question with Indian leaders? Mr. Gandhi is of opinion that Lord Chelmsford should imitate the example of his predecessor and lead the Khilafat movement himself. The Viceroy cannot possibly do this. The conditions which gave rise to the Satyagraha movement in South Africa and the present non-co-operation movement in India are essentially different. Lord Hardinge sought to defend the rights of Indians assailed by one of the units of the Empire. Such is not the case now. Can the Government of India in any way alter the Turkish Peace Terms settled by all the Allies, and to which, therefore, the British Government had to agree? The Government of India have already placed the Muhammadan point of view in regard to the question of the Khilafat before the Imperial Government. What more could they do? The Congress Sub-Committee, of which Mr. Gandhi was a prominent member, recommended that the Viceroy should be recalled. If, therefore, Mr. Gandhi is of opinion that the Viceroy's recall is necessary for the redress of the Punjáb wrong, what good does he expect to accrue from a discussion of the Punjáb question with him?

Comments on the Government Press Note warning the people in Sind against intemperate speeches on the Khilafat question.
Sind Vasi (149), 25th July.

45. The Press Note issued by the Bombay Government, which was published in these columns yesterday, and that issued by the Commissioner in Sind which we publish to-day, object to the speeches delivered in connection with the Khilafat movement. The Government of Bombay say that it has been reported to them that exciting speeches are being delivered and the Commissioner in Sind says that Muhammadans are being misled by wrong facts. Whether it is so or not is not for us to say. We would at any rate observe that the Government of Sir George Lloyd should not necessarily accept as truth a report which has not been corroborated by impartial men. From the past experience it would appear that the ordinary Police and the C. I. D. are looked upon as interested people. Let alone their false reports, even their true reports are condemned by the people as false. Every local Government therefore should before taking any action take care to impress upon the people the propriety of its action. If Government is guided by Police reports only the people will never see the justice of what Government may do. It is reported that two Deputy Collectors were deputed to attend the recent Khilafat Conference in order to see what kind of speeches were made. This method is, at any, rate better than

the deputation of Police officers. Deputy Collectors, who are also Sub-Divisional Magistrates, are in a better position correctly to report speeches than the Police. At the same time we must address a few words to our own people. The reader of both Press Notes will find that the Government of Sir George Lloyd realise the necessity, as far as possible, of appealing to the good sense of the people. Sir George Lloyd is already popular on account of his calm and cool disposition. An O'Dwyer in his place would take drastic steps on reports (true or false) of Khilafat speeches which appeared to be objectionable. But we have great hopes in a Governor like Sir George Lloyd. Our people should also realise their responsibility. We hope that our Sindhi brethren will lay to heart the advice of the Bombay and Sind Governments and give no occasion to Government to find fault with their speeches.

Government should not take steps against Mr. Gandhi.

Lokasangraha (112), 1st Aug.

46. Referring to the speech made by Dewan Bahadur V. P. Madhavrao as President of the Bellary District Conference in which he declared that Government would not be well-advised in proceeding against Mr. Gandhi and that the country is seething with discontent on account of the arbitrary ways of the bureaucracy, the *Lokasangraha* says that the Dewan Bahadur has correctly gauged the state of public feeling. It warns Government that they will have to pay for their rashness if they take any steps against Mr. Gandhi.

Comments on the Dyer Memorial Fund.

New Times (8), 30th July.

47. "It is said in the Hindu scriptures that a man worships a god after his own heart, and we do not grudge our European friends the happiness of worshipping their own Thor and Odin. But the impudence of their business lies in the fact that they invite Indians to subscribe to a fund to honour a butcher of Indians. English people in India are in a minority. They enjoy a position of privilege and superiority. They lionise a man who has ruthlessly killed the people of this country. To invite Indians to subscribe to the fund is to add insult to the injury."

Anglo-Indians and the Jhallianwalla Bagh massacre.

Shubhodaya (86), 1st Aug.

48. If we listen to the opinions of Europeans resident in India regarding the terrible Jhallianwalla Bagh massacre, it appears that the principle of humanity preached in the Bible has not had any effect on their hard hearts and that the maintenance of the Ecclesiastical Department for their benefit has been quite useless. Not a single European felt the slightest grief and not a single European contributed directly or indirectly a cowrie for the maintenance of the helpless families of the sufferers. Government did not care to remedy the evil caused by their officials. If the holy feeling of humanity is not to be found in Europeans, let it not. But they have unanimously supported the misdeed and praised the murderer and prayed for the *avatar* of a mahatma like Dyer from time to time. Will not the world suppose that they are not men, but born of Rakshasas? It is true that the British Empire depends to a great extent on our pure loyalty, but it is also based on the policy, justice and impartiality of Englishmen. If the British do not know, let them understand that guns and rifles will only resist the evil desires of foreign nations but that they cannot be the pillars of the Empire. All of us who are loyalists will not in any way take back from bearing the throne of the King-Emperor on our shoulders firmly. But if the Lords or the Commons or the British papers engage themselves in the bad business of cutting off our hands and feet, shall we not, who are bearing the throne on our shoulders, fall to the ground? And in that case will there not be the inference that the throne borne on our shoulders also may come down, according to the divine law of gravitation? We, the present generation, have vowed loyalty, and we shall not break our promise in any circumstances. But we are not responsible for the future generation. We hope that for the good or bad things to come, the King-Emperor and Parliament and the people of England will be responsible and that our children will not be in any way guilty of injustice.

49. Commenting upon the resolution passed by the Indian Association of Calcutta protesting against the adoption of Lord Finlay's motion in the Lords the *Lokasangraha* writes:—It is childish to distinguish between the Commons and the Lords in the matter of the Punjáb wrong. Both have been equally unjust. The only outcome of the debates in the two Houses is that Montagu is proved to be a hypocrite and Finlay a villain. For the Indian Association to take exception to the attitude of the Lords while passing over the utterances of Montagu in the Commons in silence is, in our opinion, indirectly to endorse the conclusions of the latter.

General Dyer's case in Parliament.
Lokasangraha (112), 1st Aug.

50. Martial Law was proclaimed in the Punjáb even when there was no rebellion. The British Government, however, dare not proclaim Martial Law in Ireland although the avowed object of the Irish is to effect a revolution. This is indeed a remarkable fact. The only change that is proposed to be made in the existing law in Ireland is to supersede the ordinary courts by Martial Law tribunals. The British Government is apparently of opinion that the situation in Ireland is not as acute as it was in the Punjáb last year! We congratulate Ireland on the fact that British statesmen have not forgotten that the Irish are human beings like themselves and not cats and dogs like the Indians.

Steps taken in Ireland and the Punjáb against disorder contrasted.
Lokasangraha (112), 7th Aug.

51. "Speaking at the New Poona College, built up from a very small beginning, and now one of the foremost private colleges in the Bombay Presidency, Sir George Lloyd discussed whether liberal or technical education should be the ideal..... With his eminently sensible contention that the best technical education obtainable in foreign countries should be made available in India, there can hardly be any dispute. With his main argument, we entirely agree; only we cannot allow it to be put forth as a new discovery. The demand for industrial and technical education has been growing in volume day by day, and Government have turned their deaf ear towards it for causes which are obvious. It is not that Indian opinion is averse or apathetic; it is Government that have neglected the technical side of education. If India is in any way crippled and unable to compete with the other nations and even to supply her own urgent and immediate needs, it is so because of the mistaken policy of Government..... Sir George never misses an opportunity of laying an emphasis on the need of industrial and technical education, but has he cared to consider what facilities have been provided by the Bombay Government in these directions? We are nearing the second year of his term. What has been done for industrial and technical education? Sir George seems to labour under the impression that Indians are unwilling to take to industrial pursuits, and that though there are many lines open, they prefer the learned professions. The real fact is that other avenues are closed, and that Indian youths are driven perforce into a particular line. No propaganda is needed to convince Indians of the need of equipping themselves for industrial competition. The only thing required is the provision of due facilities. Next time Sir George proposes to discuss the question, we hope we shall be in a position to know what practical steps he has taken in furtherance of technical education. Such a burning enthusiast for the cause of industrial and technical education can scarcely hope to satisfy the Indian public by mere sermons. Something more is required and expected, and Sir George, we trust, will not be slow to take up the challenge."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's speech at the New Poona College.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Aug.

52. The public of this Presidency will be relieved from their constant anxiety on the completion of some of the schemes for the public benefit organised by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd. They were not wrong in building high hopes on the pronouncement made by His Excellency on his landing in Bombay, as may be seen from some of the schemes of public interest recently launched by him with unexampled celerity

Appeal to His Excellency the Governor to take up the question of irrigation in Gujarát.
Bombay Samáchár (58), 7th Aug.

so soon after the termination of the great European war. The people of this Presidency cannot help feeling grateful to His Excellency for the boons he has conferred upon them. The Deccan Irrigation Scheme will bring large tracts of waste land under cultivation and will afford no small relief to the agriculturists. Similarly agriculture in Sind will receive a stimulus by the completion of the irrigation works in that province. One need not, therefore, be surprised if the people of Gujarát look forward with expectation for a pronouncement from Government on the question of irrigation in that province.

53. The Joint Committee in their report on the rules made by the Government of India under the new Reforms Act commend the wisdom and expedition with which the Government of India have disposed of the work. While we are not quite sure of the wisdom of the Government of India, we know that the Government of India have certainly done their work in hot haste. The Joint Committee further state that the rules made by the Government of India were made with due deference to public opinion. The fact, however, is quite the other way. No body was ever consulted by the Government of India in the matter of these rules. Indeed, as were the proposed Reforms so are the rules. As the proposed Reforms cut at the root of the promises made, so do the rules cut at the root of the Reforms. The Joint Committee again state that the Government of India have shown great statesmanship and generosity of heart in the matter of the rules under the new Government of India Act. We cannot assent to this proposition. Everybody, including the Moderates thinks that the rules and regulations have given a blow to the proposed Reforms and have in some cases encroached upon existing rights.

Comments on the Joint Committee's report on the rules under the Indian Reforms Act.
Hindu (144), 28th July.

54. "When the Reform Bill was rushed through Parliament, Mr. Montagu assured champions of the Indian cause that the Bill was merely a skeleton, that the rules and regulations were all that really mattered, and that full opportunity would be given for a full and detailed discussion of the rules. Mr. Montagu now goes to the House of Commons and wants the whole subject, embracing as it does far-reaching issues, to be disposed of in a few hours! Thus about a dozen people at Simla and White Hall have treated the two Houses of Parliament and Indian opinion as of no consequence, and disposed of the whole matter at their sweet will and pleasure..... The bureaucracy has scored throughout! Talk of co-operation, indeed!..... Not one alteration suggested in these retrograde rules by Indian public opinion has been embodied. And Indians are asked to be content for 10 years with the few crumbs which have fallen from the Bureaucracy's tables! The Reform Act itself is unsatisfactory, inadequate and disappointing; and the rules make it a perfectly impotent thing—one which a bureaucracy can offer and which only mendicant politicians will accept."

Comments on the rules under the Indian Reform Act as passed by Parliament.
New Times (8), 29th July.

55. "We sincerely congratulate the Government of Sir George Lloyd on the promptitude with which they have revised their decision to exclude the subjects of Native States from the franchise under the New Reforms. In the peculiar circumstances in which India is situated, it would be neither wise nor just to differentiate between Native States' subjects and British subjects and to exclude the former from the franchise merely on account of their being born in Native States. A considerable portion of Native States' subjects have settled for all practical purposes in British India who pay its direct and indirect taxes and play an important part in the civic life of the country..... It would thus be most impolitic and unjust to deprive them of their franchise, and we are glad the Bombay Government have seen the unwisdom of their original decision. The promptitude with which they have revised it does them credit, and Sir George

Comments on the grant of the franchise to subjects of Native States under the Reforms.
Gujaráti Punch (20), 1st Aug., Eng. cols.

Lloyd has shown that at least so long as he is at the head of the Government of Bombay it will remain open to conviction."

56. We are of the opinion that if competent people do not come forward as candidates for election to the Councils, incompetent people will get themselves elected and thus do incalculable harm. The best course, therefore, is that competent people should come forward as candidates, get themselves elected and when they are so elected they should abstain from taking part in the Council proceedings by refusing to vote or ask questions. The official members may be allowed to indulge in the farce of enacting legislations, discussing measures and giving votes. We should bear the example of Ireland in mind. In the last Parliamentary elections the Irish people did not at all vote for the Nationalists but gave their votes to the Sinn Feiners who neither take part in the business of Parliament nor allow the Nationalists to enter it. In the same manner it would be better for us to elect competent men to the Councils than to boycott them altogether. We do not subscribe to the opinion that people should not come forward as candidates for the Councils or vote for them.

Comments on the proposed boycott of the new Councils.
Gujaráti (18), 1st Aug.

57. A "Branch Postmaster" writes to the *Hindusthán*:—The Postal Department has employed school masters in most of the villages to look after branch Post Offices for three hours daily. They have been getting Rs. 4 to 8, inclusive of the Contingent grant for this work, in pursuance of arrangements made long ago, and no increase has been made in the same till now. On the contrary, their emoluments have been lessened on account of the commission on the sale of postage stamps having been stopped. While menials get Rs. 6 as war allowance, these branch postmasters are paid only Rs. 2. If, in their deliberations, the Postal Committee have not taken up the question of making an increase in allowance given to these branch postmasters, the higher officers of the Department are requested to put this matter before it. If this question has been considered and a decision arrived at, the Postal Department should give publicity to the same so that these branch postmasters may be satisfied.

Grievances of Branch Postmasters.
Hindusthán (23), 3rd Aug.

58. "The Government of India think it necessary to warn the public that the question of enhancing the Inland postage rates must now be seriously considered..... While it is true that Government are not wrong in insisting that a service like the Post Office should pay its way, it does not prove a justification for the view that as much revenue as possible should be got out of its working. The present revenue and expenditure left now a good surplus and could meet the fresh expenditure involved in the recent decision for increase of pay without resorting to an increase in the present postage rates. The circumstances at present do not make out anything like a case for an immediate increase, and it is up to the Government to show conclusively that an increase is absolutely necessary in the interests of the country."

Comments on the suggested increase in the Postal rates.
Gujárat Mitra (19), 1st Aug., Eng. cols.

59. In connection with the suggestion of the Government of India about an increase in the Postal rates, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—It is commendable on the part of the Government of India that they have, in a way, made an attempt at taking the people into confidence in this connection. We are of opinion that there will be no cause for complaint on the part of the poor people if Government will allow the quarter-anna post card, the half-anna letter post and the concessions allowed to the newspapers to remain as they are at present and think of effecting an increase in the higher rates of postage. If, on the principle of give and take the Government of India will be prepared to meet from the Imperial Treasury a part of the increase in expenditure due to the revision of the salaries of the staff, the additional expenditure will not be a burden on the poor. The bulk of the population of India consists of agriculturists and the poorer classes, and for them even the increase of a pie will prove a great burden.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 1st Aug.

60. "The *Al-Wahid* has paid down the security and started with redoubled life and energy. In a leading article the editor, Mr. Kazi Abdul Rahman, explains his position stating that he was neither surprised nor alarmed at the order which he had been expecting for some time. The paper, we understand, is running at a loss of about Rs. 400 a month, and the amount (Rs. 2,000) paid as security has been borrowed from the Sind Khilafat Committee to be repaid by public subscriptions. The assault on the liberty of the press is an assault on free public opinion, and we would ask the public to contribute generously to the *Al-Wahid* Security Fund. The paper is being run at a great sacrifice; it stands above all for Hindu-Moslem unity, and deserves the support of the Indian public throughout the province."

Comments on the security taken from the *Al-Wahid* newspaper of Karáchi.
New Times (8), 30th July.

61. Commenting at great length on the despatches of the Governor of Fiji on the recent troubles there, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—"As a sequel to the disturbances, the Indian community—and that community alone—is placed under conditions which are hardly removed from those of martial law. No Indian, man or woman, can move about or reside in Suva District without permit. It is an entire community, not merely a few members thereof, that has been subjected to this indignity. The refugees from the tyranny of the Fiji authorities who have been coming into India during the last few weeks have brought tales of suffering and humiliation of an appalling extent, which are confirmed in a great measure by the state of the refugees themselves. There are still thousands of Indians in the Fiji Islands, whose lot, in the circumstances engendered by the recent happenings, is little removed from legalised slavery. The despatches of the Governor, far from affording sufficient justification for the treatment meted out to Indians, make it essential that an independent enquiry, preferably by a Royal Commission, should be held into the origin and developments of the recent trouble there. With a view to justify the high-handed measures taken by them the authorities have been trying to make out that the movement was more political than economic. That this is a wholly perverted view will be apparent to anyone who goes through the official despatches, one-sided though they are. The public of this country must press strongly for a Royal Commission to investigate the recent trouble. Failing a Royal Commission, the Government of India must be urged to send a Commission of their own to Fiji. In the meanwhile, it is also absolutely necessary that a wholly non-official mission should proceed from this country to Fiji to report on the situation there, and we hope the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association will take the necessary steps for the organisation of such a mission."

Necessity of an immediate inquiry in the disturbances in Fiji.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Aug.

62. "Wholesale prosecutions of entire villages on account of forest fires have been condemned by responsible Government officials themselves and if, as is indicated in a question of Mr. Belvi, any such prosecutions are being launched in the Dhárwár District, the sooner they are withdrawn the better. We trust Government will couduct an independent inquiry and pending it stop all prosecutions. The question, however, will not be settled by a stray inquiry. Some intelligible forest policy must be laid down by Government and forest officials should be strictly forbidden from resorting to communal punishments. Prosecutions of entire villages often for no mistake of theirs entail needless harassment and worry and such proceedings are in no sense deterrent, but provocative. Government seem to be in no mood to withdraw revenue work from forest officials. The Divisional Forest officer of Supa Mahal is *ex-officio* Assistant Collector. Government themselves admit that his forest duties are heavy but plead that revenue work is light and simple. They further argue that the forest duties of the official are facilitated by his holding the revenue charge. The combination of forest and revenue duties is in no sense satisfactory and Government take away what little chance the rayats have of the Assistant Collector standing up for them against the harassment of the Forest Depart-

Forest administration in the Dhárwár District.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Aug.

ment. The best thing would be to confine forest officials to forest duties and withdraw revenue powers from them. Whether revenue work be light or heavy, it cannot be properly discharged, apart from other considerations, by one who has had absolutely no revenue training. And what of magisterial duties? Is the forest official also a Magistrate?"

63. A correspondent complains in the *Kánara Leader* that in the forest fire case in which Subbayya Virappa Hegude of Bidakani village in the Shiddapur Taluka (Kánara) was the accused, the *punchnama* and the forester's statement were not supplied to him and that the reply was that the papers could not be found in the case and that two punchnamas were made in the case, one on 27th February 1920 stating that there was a loss of Rs. 25, and another on 2nd March 1920 stating that there was a loss of Rs. 15. He further says that somehow the Magistrate wanted to inflict a fine. He remarks that the accused lived near the threshing floor, that the fire took place on account of a gale and that 30 or 40 persons tried to put it out but could not succeed. He points out that the rule that no fire should be kindled within 200 yards of the forests does not apply to residences, and says that the work of threshing corn goes on for months and that people have to stay temporarily near the threshing floor. He holds that agricultural work cannot be carried out if for every kindling of fire permission and guard are necessary. He remarks that Magistrates interpret the Forest Act in any way they like for the sake of promotion, and that if such Magistrates are appointed to every taluka, Kánara would soon be left without a single homestead and that the Forest Department would be saved much trouble.

A forest complaint from Kánara.
Kánara Leader (37), 3rd Aug.

64. "In Hegde (Kánara) the tigers have carried off and killed not less than 18 of the agriculturists' kine in the course of the last month. They have claimed victims even in Chitrigi, which forms part of the Municipal town of Kumta. We hope the Officers will lose no time in giving suitable protection to the people."

Alleged depredations by wild beasts in parts of Kánara.
Kánara Leader (37), 3rd Aug., Eng. cols.

65. "The Resolution of the Government of India of 1894 stated in very clear terms that the fiscal interests ought to be subordinated to the needs and the agricultural interests of the ryot population in the management of Forests..... But we in Kánara feel that the principle enunciated in the Government Resolution has been more honoured in its breach than in the observance..... The patent facts are that the Forest Department has in its actual working violated the principle enunciated in the Government Resolution of 1894, the Revenue Department has failed to give a fairly decent measure of protection to the agriculturists which was expected of it, and that agriculture has been sadly depressed. The Government of Sir George Lloyd has fortunately for the people felt the need to devise and adopt the correct policy regarding the Forest administration. But we confess we have serious misgivings whether the redress would come with promptitude and fulness or not, as the Commissioner of the Southern Division, who is perhaps the principal adviser of the Government, seems to be, from the replies to the Sirsi Rayat Sabha and the latest circular relating to the pig campaign, still oblivious of the outstanding facts and wanting in sympathy for the agriculturists. To say the least, the Commissioner betrays ignorance of the real situation."

The Revenue Department has failed to give the necessary protection to agriculturists against the Forest Department in Kánara.
Kánara Leader (37), 3rd Aug., Eng. cols.

66. The Bolshevists, after being stigmatised as robbers, will be allowed to participate in the conference that is to be held in London on a footing of equality with the Allies, and those very nations that abused them to their heart's content are now eager to open commercial relations with them! Those who have seen the

The Allies and the Bolshevists.
Hindusthán (22), 1st Aug.

Bolshevists being painted in dark colours will be surprised at the telegrams recently received. But those who are familiar with European politics need feel no such surprise. The Germans were being spoken ill of in no less degree, but now they are objects of sympathy, and in course of time they will become our friends.' It is possible that the Bolshevists will be similarly treated if they give up fighting with the Poles, withhold their sympathy from the Turks in their fight for freedom and do not push their propaganda in the Eastern countries. It is nothing but self-interest that prompts the various nations to meet in conference in London. Turkey will be placed in an awkward position if the Allies succeed in winning over Russia to their side. However, it is difficult to conceive that there will be peace in Asia with the settling up of affairs in Europe. The Christian nations of Europe seem to be actuated with the motive of maintaining amicable relations among themselves with a view to maintaining their world supremacy. The peace of Europe may perhaps be maintained by concluding a treaty with Russia, but it cannot be said with certainty whether the London Conference will accomplish the task of settling the peace of the world or whether it will be decided on the battlefields of the Eastern countries. We shall, however, be glad if the London Conference succeeds in concluding a peace treaty with Russia.

67. "We have on more than one occasion protested against the employment of Indian troops in Turkey to further the aggressive economic ends of British imperialism. How long are the sons of India to be treated as the helots of the British Empire? How long are the bones of Indian soldiers to rot in foreign lands and Indians to die preserving the interests of international financiers? India stands to gain nothing but dishonour in garrisoning the peaks and passes of Mesopotamia, the cotton tracts of Turkey, the oil-fields of Persia..... We know that the 'Gentlemen of England' will think no otherwise than imperially and succeed merely, as the *New Statesman* puts it, in making 'our name stink a little more in the nostrils of honourable men'. But take heed, our countrymen!—for it is time to realise the true significance of the imperialism which uses our soldiers 'to suppress the peoples of Mesopotamia, Arabia, Persia and Egypt in their struggle to achieve national independence'. This is the verdict of a great meeting held in Essex Hall, by our compatriots in London who have demanded the immediate withdrawal of all Indian troops employed in foreign lands..... India is being singled out as the hewer of wood and drawer of water for the Jingoes of the Stock Exchange at a time when neither Africa nor Canada nor Australia is contributing a single soldier or a single penny to the maintenance of an armed peace in the interests of the oil speculators. Our reply should be to call insistently to the 'Imperialists' to bring our soldiers home."

Indian troops should be withdrawn from Turkey and Mesopotamia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Aug.

68. "The Persian gamble is an unwarranted interference in the rights of an independent country. It would be a wrong ordinarily for British commercial interests, which draw the profits, to adopt a policy of aggressive imperialism against Persia. But it is a double wrong to drag India into the engagements which have culminated in the Anglo-Persian Agreement. What have we to gain by meddling in Persian affairs? We have no stake in the country, and yet we are being forced against our will to become sharers in the perpetration of a wrong. We have as much concern in interfering with Persia as she has with interfering in Esquimau land, and yet the bond-holders of the Shah are forcing us to provide soldiers and money to garrison the Persian mountains. Mr. Harmsworth announces in the House of Commons that the British Government expenditure in Persia 'amounted to half a million, *while the Government of India would defray further half a million*'! In Puri, in the streets, Indian children have starved. For want of sufficient funds which would modernise our sanitation, a hundred diseases are rampant in every province taking their yearly

Protest against Indian money being spent over Persia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Aug.

toll. But, reckless of consequences, the mandarins of the Foreign Office have placed the resources of the Indian exchequer at the disposal of the armourers and oil-seekers of Britain. And were the people of India ever consulted?"

LEGISLATION.

69. "The haste with which the Government of India are pushing forward with their scheme of the so-called Indian Auxiliary Forces is difficult to understand. The report of the Esher Committee, which had the question of the whole organisation of the Army in India under consideration, is still the subject of deliberation by the Indian and Imperial Governments. Before the publication of the Committee's recommendations which would have permitted the merits of the scheme of the Auxiliary Force to be considered in its relation to the entire strength of the Army in India, there was no necessity to hurry up with the reconstitution of the European section of the volunteer force in the manner the Simla authorities are doing at present. Apparently the Anglo-Indian agitation, which has been evident for some time past, has forced the hands not only of the Government of India, but also of Mr. Montagu, who at one time appeared rightly to have put his foot down on the scheme..... We have little doubt the European community will leave no stone unturned either to wreck or postpone, for as long a time as they can, any scheme of the Indian territorial force. The Indian public must guard against such an eventuality. It would be, therefore, advisable for the public of this country as well as the Indian members of the Viceregal Council to press for a postponement, if not the withdrawal of the Auxiliary Force Bill till the Esher Committee's recommendations are made known and legislation for the constitution of an Indian Territorial Force is ready. Moreover, since the Imperial Legislative Council is to be shortly reconstituted it would be unfair to rush the Bill through the present Council. There is absolutely no necessity for any hurry to get the Bill passed this year. The country must protest against the undue advantage that is being taken of the present constitution of the Council to rush a measure which perpetuates a principle that is an insult to her people."

The Auxiliary Force Bill.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Aug.

70. Commenting upon the Bombay Port Trust Act Amendment Bill, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—The Bill is not so innocent as it appears to be. The financial resources of the Port Trust must be utilised after some scheme calculated to benefit the people rather than after building and maintaining hotels meant for the convenience of well-to-do tourists. It is the duty of steamer companies whose resources are ample to build and maintain hotels for travellers. The Port Trust has yet to do many things for the benefit of the people and it behoves that body to devote all its attention and resources towards the fulfilment of its primary and legitimate functions. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—We would not object to the Bill if it is meant to meet a temporary emergency in connection with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, when a large number of foreigners are expected to come down to India; but if the Bill is meant to empower the Trustees to build hotels at any time, we would request Government to refrain from giving such powers to the Trust. The management of hotels will be an expensive affair, and the investment of capital in such a scheme will prove to be a white elephant.]

The Bombay Port Trust Act Amendment Bill.

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 2nd Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 2nd Aug.

71. Reviewing the debate on the Port Trust Act Amendment Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The manner in which the first reading of the Bill has been passed shows that the Government of Bombay do not care at áll for popular opinion. The passing of the first reading by the majority of only one vote means a clear defeat for Government. Every Indian member of the Council must fulfil his duty of opposing the Bill when it is brought before the Council in September after the report of the Select Committee. [Writing in a similar strain, the

Sánj Vartmán (32), 6th Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 6th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 6th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 6th Aug.; *Dnyán Prakash* (17), 7th Aug.

Jám-e-Jamshed remarks that the passing of the first reading of the Bill by the casting vote of His Excellency the Governor is significant. It proceeds :—It is satisfactory to note that all the Indian members opposed the Bill. It is not the duty of the Port Trust to build and maintain hotels for tourists, but it is the duty of the railway and steamer companies to do so. Nobody denies that there is a shortage of hotels in Bombay, and that tourists are perhaps subjected to hardships. But what is not Bombay short of in these days? Government from time to time advise mill-owners to build houses for the mill-operatives. Why do not Government make use of their influence with the railway and steamer companies and advise them to build hotels for their clientele? The arguments of His Excellency the Governor and the Honourable Mr. Hatch were not a satisfactory reply to the arguments of the popular members. We hope that before the second reading of the Bill all possible steps will be taken for bringing the popular opinion in this matter to the notice of the Government and that the Legislative Council will deal with the Bill in accordance with the popular view about it. The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that it is to be regretted that Government were not so generous as to accept the Honourable Mr. Purushottamdas's motion for postponing the Bill. It seems that the advocates of the scheme are doubtful about the success of the hotels after the visit of the Prince of Wales. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* points out that the building and maintaining of hotels is not one of the functions of the Port Trust, for, if it were so, the several Port Trusts of England would certainly have built and managed hotels. The *Dnyán Prakásh* also disapproves of the Bill and suggests that it ought to have been postponed.]

72. Commenting upon the Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Improvement Act, 1898, and the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—The novel course adopted by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd of drafting and introducing the Bill in the Legislative Council indicates how very keen and enthusiastic he is about the housing scheme. Many of his predecessors were loud in their talk about the housing problem, but they were themselves ill-informed and had to depend upon their officers. Hence the several schemes inaugurated during their regimes hardly proved useful for adding to the comfort and conveniences of the people. On the contrary, they did grave harm to Bombay. Two glaring instances of this were quoted by His Excellency in the Council. The one is the harm done to the health of Bombay by the disposal of sewage in the sea at Worli. The second is the failure of the City Improvement Trust in providing for the comfortabe housing of the working classes. In connection with the former, His Excellency declared that his Government have undertaken the scheme of removing the pumping station to the North-East Corner of the Island. We congratulate His Excellency on behalf of the people of Bombay on this scheme. His Excellency also announced, to the great relief of the people, that the City Improvement Trust would be transferred to the Municipality in March. Under the present Bill, the development of the suburbs, north of Mahim, will be exclusively undertaken by Government. They have appointed Sir Lawless Hepper for this purpose. The Municipal representatives in the Legislative Council suggested that Municipal representatives should be allowed to have their voice in the proposed arrangements. His Excellency disapproved of the suggestion on the ground that the proposed programme must be gone through with the utmost possible speed. We are not sorry for these arrangements, but at the same time, we would wish that a Municipal representative may also be taken up along with Sir Lawless Hepper. As regards the proposal of levying town duty on cotton in order to meet the expenses entailed by the Scheme, we must say that the proposal is fair and that the people will pay it without a murmur. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes :—It is natural that the people should be anxious to know about the functions of the Development Department, particularly after their experience of the City Improvement Trust. If the details of the scheme had been announced beforehand, the people would not have entertained any suspicion

The Bill to amend the Bombay City Municipal Act and the Improvement Trust Act.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 5th Aug.; *Jam-e-Jamshed* (24), 5th Aug.; *Sánj Vartaman* (32), 5th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchar* (58), 6th Aug.

about it. We are afraid that popular opinion about the proposed reclamation of Back Bay will be found to be divided. What the bulk of the people desire is that buildings should be erected on other lands owned by Government before investing lakhs in the Reclamation Scheme. Government will certainly get the assistance of the people and the popular bodies as desired by His Excellency. Our only prayer is that the Development Department will be solicitous to gauge the popular opinion on such schemes as it might undertake. The idea of housing the middle classes in the suburbs is not so happy as it appears on paper. The suburbs will hardly attract the middle class people unless the railway service is made speedy and cheap, proper arrangements are made for the supply of water, facilities are provided for education and public markets. In these days of high prices, the hardships of the lower middle classes have become unbearable. Government should, therefore, be pleased to supply land at cheap rates in Bombay proper for erecting new buildings for these. We are highly satisfied to note that His Excellency has taken up the problem on such a large scale. The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—Unfortunately the course proposed to be adopted by His Excellency and his Government in connection with this scheme is not calculated to take the people into confidence, but it will rather startle them. We enter our emphatic protest against the Bill on the ground that popular opinion will have no voice in the Schemes of the Development Authorities. Government have in this adopted the policy of putting the cart before the horse. This is a great encroachment upon the rights of local self-government. We never anticipated that such an encroachment would be made during the regime of a liberal and democratic governor like His Excellency Sir George Lloyd. The Bill calls upon the people of Bombay to take a big leap in the dark. The *Bombay Samáchár* eulogises the efforts of His Excellency in connection with the housing scheme and approves of the Bill.]

73. "The speech which Sir George Lloyd made at Tuesday's session of the Legislative Council, in moving the first reading of the Bill further to amend the Bombay Municipal and City Improvement Acts, was truly momentous, so far as this city is concerned. We heartily congratulate him both on his lucid and impressive speech and his desire to embark on, to use his own apt phraseology, 'a scheme of a bold and comprehensive character in order to effect the removal of an evil which was not only becoming a menace to the general industrial and financial prosperity of the city, but which had already become a serious danger to the health of the citizens of Bombay'. ..... But Sir George Lloyd's speech was in some respects also a most astounding one, for not one of the honourable members, not immediately connected with the Government, had, we are sure, anticipated that he would be treated, by the mover of the Bill, to the exposition of a scheme of such a revolutionary character as was outlined by Sir George Lloyd..... We are not exaggerating the feelings of most of the non-official members when we say that they must have been completely taken aback by the nature of the proposals outlined by Sir George Lloyd..... Sir George Lloyd tells the Municipality plainly that it will have no voice at all, that is, so far as the work of the Development authorities is concerned, in the solution of the problem of the future housing of its residents. The Development Department is to be a Government Department and as such no Corporation or outside authority could be represented on it. The public are to furnish the funds to carry out the scheme and the Municipality which is their representative and whose duty it really is to undertake the scheme, is to be placated by the donation of a portion of the funds thus raised—funds which it itself could have raised, at least for its own housing schemes!..... As for Sir George Lloyd's assurance that no new powers will be acquired by Government, which they are not already in possession of, and that, therefore, there will be no trenching on the powers of any other body, the assurance must sound dubious since, even if the Corporation, by the transfer of the Improvement Trust, reacquires the powers of making provision for housing accommodation, it will not be able to undertake any large scheme of housing in future as Government will certainly and, in the circumstance, quite rightly, withhold permission to the Municipality for raising loans to finance the

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Aug.

scheme, on the plea that they themselves, namely, the Development Department, are the proper body to undertake the scheme. It will thus be apparent that unless the Corporation insist on adequate representation for itself on the body which is to be entrusted with the task of dealing with the housing problem, it will be abdicating one of its vital functions. Apparently, no time limit is to be set to the existence of the Development Board, as the housing schemes will take years, if not decades, to materialise fully. Is the Corporation prepared to surrender one of its valued privileges for so long a period? Sir George Lloyd is, he says, keenly anxious to secure the wholehearted co-operation of the public. We do not, then, understand why he should insist, as he seems to do, that the public should provide the funds without their representative body having any voice in the disposal of those funds..... ..... Sir George Lloyd, we are convinced, is anxious to see the housing problem solved most efficiently and on a broad and comprehensive scale. We also realise fully that if this is to be done, time is the most essential factor. And that for that purpose what Sir George Lloyd calls direct action is the only way; that the matter cannot be left entirely to the Municipality and that a special Development Board is indispensable. But we do not agree with Sir George Lloyd that this Development Board shonld wholly be a department of Government and, therefore, the main argument of Sir George Lloyd that the Development Department being a Government Department, 'no Corportion or outside authority could be represented on Government as such,' though very skilful, does not at all impress us and has left us unmoved. We cannot for one moment grant that the Department should necessarily be a wholly Government Department. For we do not see any reason why the Municipality should not be given due statutory representation on this Department, which subject to this representation, may be under Government control. With this all-important reservation we assure Sir George Lloyd—and we speak on behalf of the people of Bombay—that he may count on our fullest co-operation in his efforts. One word more before we conclude. We recognise the force of Sir George's argument as to why details of the official proposals in regard to the creation of the Development Department could not have been made public before the Presidency was called upon to tax itself in order that the ways and means of carrying out these proposals might be found. The passing of the Bill in its present form would commit the public and the Municipality finally to whatever official proposals will be put forward in connection with the Development Department; and, therefore, sufficient time for consideration of the details—which must soon be published—should be given. For the rest we have nothing but praise for the scheme and the best thanks of the public are due to Sir George Lloyd for his earnest efforts to grapple with a problem which is every day growing more and more serious."

*74. *Gujarâti* (18), 8th Aug., Eng. cols.

"One of the most important legislative measures that were laid before the Bombay Legislative Council this week was a Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Improvement Act, 1898, and the City of Bombay Municipal Act, 1888. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd himself moved the first reading of the Bill in a lengthy explanatory speech..... It was, as he said, a somewhat unusual step for the Governor of the Presidency to take, but it was not unprecedented. His Excellency has all along identified himself with the housing problem, and we take it that the Bill now proposed represents the final result of the deliberations of Government in which he must have taken special interest. This unusual procedure has, however, one or two disadvantages. Governors and Viceroys must be impartial and disinterested intermediaries between the governing authorities and the people, and when the former have completely indentified themselves with particular measures, they naturally cease to be such independent intermediaries or arbiters. As far as one can judge from the published report of the proceedings, His Excellency's speech in support of his motion, and especially his reply, seem to betray some signs of excessive confidence in the success of the proposed measures, and of impatience with the criticism passed by some of the Councillors. That is likely to discourage independent and free criticism, which is absolutely necessary in the examination of costly and complicated schemes..... If His Excellency had known the history of the unpleasant agitation against the high-handed ways and the grievous blunders of the Trust, he would

have easily appreciated the desire of the members of the Council to know all about the Bill and all that it involves. Neither they nor the public have the divine gift of the Anglo-Indian press which enables it to discover at a glance marvellous perfection in all official projects or theories. There can be no doubt that the housing problem has become acute in Bombay. It is beyond dispute that it must be dealt with on a compehensive scale and with an eye to the future needs and requirements of a rapidly growing city like Bombay. It is also unquestionable that His Excellency has set his heart upon the right solution of a difficult and complicated problem, which has remained unsolved for the last twenty years and more. In solving it there ought to be no undue delay. But at the same time, undue haste, over-confidence and impatience will be fruitful of friction and misunderstanding in the long run ; which must be avoided if the hearty co-operation of all the parties concerned is to be secured and the whole scheme carried out to the satisfaction of all. The public of Bombay are grateful to His Excellency for the deep interest he has shown in the question of housing the poor since his arrival in Bombay, and we wish him every success in piloting the Bill with tact and sympathy, and patience and toleration in all its stages."

75. The *Lokasangraha* expresses its satisfaction that His Excellency the Governor himself brought forward a measure for providing better housing accommodation for the poorer classes in Bombay, and adds :—The present-day improvements are generally aimed at ensuring the convenience of the rich, to the detriment of the poor. This view is supported by the work done by the Bombay City Improvement Trust. His Excellency has now taken upon himself the task of providing suitable housing accommodation for the poorer classes. We trust he will extend his sympathy to other places as well. We invite His Excellency's attention to the fact that the interests of the poor are not taken into account in the proposed Town Planning arrangements for Poona. We make this appeal to His Excellency himself, as we do not expect calm consideration of this question from the few enthusiasts who only want to see improvements made at all costs.

Lokasangaaha (112), 7th Aug.

76. "The present Bill, by one of its clauses, professes ostensibly to withdraw from all subordinate courts, excepting District and Sessions Courts, the Chief Judge of the Small Causes Court, Bombay, and the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, all disciplinary powers to fine and punish pleaders for professional misconduct. But its real effect would be to emphasise and encourage the practical exercise of disciplinary powers by these subordinate courts. Whereas it is essential to confine disciplinary jurisdiction, both theoretically and in practice, entirely in the hands of the High Court nothing should be done to impair the position and independence of the legal profession..... The High Court is after all controlled by men of law. The high and free traditions of the English Courts of judicature have been in a large measure inherited by the Indian High Courts; and in assessing an advocate's conduct the High Court is not likely to do anything calculated to affect the prestige and independence of the profession. A District Judge or a Magistrate in India may not be a lawyer at all. He may be, and in fact generally is, a mere Government official. He cannot, therefore, be expected to have the same regard for the prestige of the profession as one who has inherited the temper and traditions of the law. We trust, therefore, that this clause will be deleted in the Select Committee to which the Bill has now been referred, and the law on the point left where it is. It is always open to all courts to bring to the notice of the High Court any suspected lapse of professional standard. But to inquire into it and take action upon it should be left absolutely to the High Court. If the powers are already there residing in the subordinate Courts, as the Advocate-General stated, then the clause is superfluous. If they are not there it is a dangerous and uncalled for extension of disciplinary jurisdiction..... One point which seems to have escaped the notice of the honourable members, and which deserves to be emphasised, is the footnote to the revised form of issuing sanads, which says that action may be taken against a pleader for 'reasonable cause', and that includes participating in a 'disloyal movement'. It is necessary, in view of the amplified political atmosphere of the present day, to clearly define what is

Comments on the Bombay Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Legal Practitioners.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 6th Aug., Eng. cols.

a disloyal movement. It would not do at all to leave it to the individual caprice of some judge or official to say what is the test and measure of disloyalty."

MUNICIPALITIES.

77. "The Government of Bombay have done well to adhere to the principle of a uniform franchise in their proposals for the reconstitution of the Bombay Municipality. The plea advanced in some quarters for the retention of the franchise for the rate-payers as a separate constituency is an utterly hollow plea put forward in the selfish interests of a class which has long been enjoying the monopoly of this privilege and which now sees it slipping from its fingers..... There will be keen disappointment, no doubt, among university graduates at the loss of a valuable privilege which they had been enjoying all these years. Many of them will probably be neither tenants nor owners of buildings. We trust Government will yet realise the unwisdom of depriving the graduates of their vote. As for the Justices of the Peace, the public have no regrets for them. If they are worth anything they will certainly be elected by tenants and owners. We hope Government, who have reserved—quite unnecessarily as we think—some seats for nomination by themselves, will not repeat the mistake of conferring on them a separate franchise by including them among the 'associations' or 'bodies' whom Government, under the draft constitution, may ask to elect members to the Corporation. The associations and bodies on which Government will confer the privilege of election must be such as will be entirely free from the taint of subserviency to officialdom. So long as the present mode of nomination of J. P.'s continues in vogue, it is impossible to expect a preponderating section of them to be free from this taint, as the annals of the Corporation have amply shown..... Regarding the limit of the rental, *viz.*, Rs. 20 per mensem, which is held to qualify an elector, it is on the face of it too high. Seeing that the limit is kept at Rs. 10 for voters in Bombay City for the Legislative Council elections, it is absurd that a higher qualification should be required in the case of the Municipality. On the other hand, it must obviously be a lower qualification. We should think that Rs. 5 would be a just limit..... There is one more alteration that is needed in the proposed constitution. In the Standing Committee Government reserve four out of sixteen seats for nomination by themselves. We are firmly of opinion that there is no need at all of any such nominated members in the reconstituted Standing Committee."

The proposed reformed Municipal franchise in Bombay.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Aug.

78. "The loyalty of Government to their officials is splendid, but what of the interests of the people? The Poona Drainage has endangered the health of Poona and now Government turn round and say that such assertions are usually made in the beginning in respect of all towns which adopt modern methods of sanitation. Is that the end? Are Government going to do nothing for saving malaria-sodden Poona? And what about the defects in the Poona Drainage Works? Are Government still unconvinced? Mere vital statistics do not prove much. There may not be more deaths but malaria has now found a permanent home in Poona. A week's stay in the city proper would cure Government officials of all such tall talk. We trust Government will liberally help the Poona Municipality, which is clearly unable to remedy the defects of the Poona Drainage Works unaided."

Government should see that the Poona Drainage is improved.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Aug.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 13th August 1920.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 14th August 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "Ever since His Excellency Sir George Lloyd landed in this city the public of the Presidency has been watching with the keenest expectation his housing programme. It was a bit overdue, and was ultimately made known in a remarkable speech which His Excellency delivered on the first day of meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council..... The present housing scheme is not devoid of short-comings, but we welcome it most heartily, because it is the first, the boldest and the most comprehensive attempt ever made in this city to grapple with an immense evil which the foresight of our forefathers ought not to have made possible. If it succeeds in effecting vast changes in the conditions of life of this city it has achieved its great purpose."

Comments on the Bombay Housing Scheme. *Indian Commercial Mercury* (12), 9th Aug., Eng. cols.

*2. "His Excellency the Governor outlined in a speech at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council the Government scheme for solving the housing problem in Bombay city..... His Excellency gave some reasons for thinking that this work can be executed neither by the Improvement Trust or by the Municipal Corporation. We do not dispute these reasons though we cannot wholly accept the statement that the provision of housing accommodation for the working classes on a large scale was never intended to be the duty of the Trust..... We agree that neither that body nor the Municipal Corporation as at present constituted can deal effectively with the problem as it confronts us to-day, but it does not follow that direct Government action is likely to be more effective. Our chief reason for agreeing with the view that neither the Improvement Trust nor the Municipal Corporation is equal to this task, is that the two methods of these two bodies so nearly resemble the methods of Government. We are not prepared at the moment to suggest off-hand what other alternatives are possible. We can only indicate in a general way that some scheme which leaves the initiative in the hands of a non-official body with the government on the background, will probably be found to be most efficacious. The utility of having non-official advisers on the agency which deals with such vast questions, found striking illustration recently when it was proposed to lease a large area of excellent building land for a sectional purpose at a rent much below what it would have fetched in the open market. Under the new scheme the whole matter would be disposed of by one man before any one heard of it..... In passing, it is not clear what the position of this Department will be in the new scheme of things six months hence. The question is essentially one pertaining to Local self-government and should come under 'transferred heads'. If so, we are not sure that the Minister in charge of the portfolio will be glad to be tied hand and foot to this white elephant. If not, it looks like a device to defeat in detail what the reforms concede in general. How a Government Department could elaborate an extensive scheme with utter indifference to its effect on the people is well illustrated by the proposal to acquire the thickly populated houses round about Grant Road Station in order to provide a terminal station for the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway. The whole scheme was hatched in secrecy and the first intimation of it to the public was the notification in the *Government Gazette* for the acquisition of the locality under the Land Acquisition Act..... In another matter, that of building a Council Hall on a small part of the oval, Government hastily abandoned its plan which, in our opinion, was not a thousandth part so objectionable as this fatuous scheme for de-housing a large number of families. That is the soulless method of departmental development. Another wild-cat scheme for which Government sought the sanction of the Legislature and carried their motion by the casting vote of the President—it is stated that this has since been abandoned at the instance of the Government of India—is to build a mammoth hotel at public cost to house the passengers arriving and departing by the ocean-going steamers. This was defended on the ground that it was on the same principle as that

Indian Social Reformer (6), 15th Aug.

on which sheds were provided for passengers by coasting boats! What guarantee is there that the Development Department will be exempt from the inveterate proclivities of other departments?..... The method proposed to finance this scheme is open to grave objections. It is to levy a duty of one rupee on every bale of cotton which comes to Bombay. The only reasons that have been adduced to justify this are that it would bring in the requisite amount and its incidence would be inappreciable. A tax on railway tickets issued to Bombay may also bring in a large enough sum of money and, from at least one point of view, it will be a more equitable way of raising the funds needed than the proposed duty on cotton. It will probably be disregarded as academic if we urge the well-known principle that raw materials should not be taxed except under exceptional circumstances. That principle is common ground between Free Traders and National Economists—we quoted some weeks ago List's opinion on the point—and, therefore, His Excellency's somewhat airy disquisition on exploded economic doctrines leaves it untouched. Because one part of the old Economics is found to need modification, it does not follow that the only thing to do is to discard the guidance of any principle. We cannot appreciate the justice of mulcting the ryot who grows cotton for the benefit of a wealthy Imperial city. Elsewhere, they give bonuses to cultivators to grow this raw material which, next to food-grains, is a bare necessity of life. The conditions in which much of the cultivation of export crops are carried on in this country, are such that the middle-men who are in a position of supremacy in relation to the cultivator, will exact from the latter a toll in excess of that which it is proposed to levy. It is significant of the trend of the new angle of vision, that the voiceless ryot no longer finds in high officials the champions he used to have in days gone by. He is to be made to pay for housing the operatives in industries from which fortunes are being made by Indian and English capitalists. In our opinion, the arrangement for financing the scheme is not the least objectionable part of it."

*3. "The Bombay of today cannot remain the Bombay of our forefathers; it must change, it must develop. This is the main object of the grand scheme unfolded before the Legislative Council at Poona last week by His Excellency the Governor. Sir George Lloyd deserves credit for the bold and energetic manner in which he has tackled a problem replete with many difficulties. Bombay is greatly indebted to His Excellency for the keen personal interest he has taken in this matter, and his *regimé* will always be connected with an important epoch in the history of this city. The scheme which has been put forward by His Excellency embraces several great and expensive projects which, when completed, will have far reaching effect upon the future of Bombay..... The development of Salsette becomes the chief objective of the whole scheme. In order to induce people to leave the congested portions of the city it is necessary first of all to make adequate provision for water-supply, railway and tram service, good lighting, bazaars, post offices and all other conveniences of civilised life. People should not find living in the suburbs more expensive and less comfortable than living in the town. Nor should they be in danger of having to pay a greater amount of tax than people living in the town. Provided all these inducements are offered, we are sure that in course of time a large number of people will migrate to the suburbs, and the frightful overcrowding that prevails at present will in a great measure be removed. The problem of housing accommodation for the labouring class has been a very vexing one. It is a great relief, therefore, to see that Government have boldly taken the responsibility of building 50,000 rooms at an expense of five and a half crores on their own shoulders, even at the risk of suffering a loss of thirteen and a half lakhs per year. One point requires to be considered. The labourers will have their dwellings far off from their own mills and workshops, an arrangement which will most probably not be to their liking. The Back Bay reclamation is to be carried out with a view to provide more housing accommodation for well-to-do people, and also to remove the want of offices which is so keenly felt at present in the Fort. This project was bound to come some day or other, and we can have no objection to it, provided that for the future good of one class of the

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 15th Aug., Eng. cols.

people another class is not asked to make too great a present sacrifice. ..... We suggest that side by side with the Development Board there should be an Advisory Board composed of non-officials, the heads of various public bodies, leading engineers, architects, financiers, etc. The Development Board should consult this Advisory Board in all matters and work hand and glove with it. We can understand the reason why Government desire to give the proposed Development Board as free a hand as possible. We admire and fully share the earnest desire of Government 'to get a move on' with the work as quick as possible. But in a scheme of this nature, costing crores of rupees, it is better to take the public fully into confidence than to rush eagerly into unpopular projects. The history of the Improvement Trust provides ample illustration of the harm done by launching into expensive schemes in the face of public opposition. We hope that the committee in charge of this Bill will take these points fully into consideration. Finally when we come to the important question of money, we find that the scheme is to be financed in two ways. Firstly, there is to be a tax of Re. 1 per bale on every bale of cotton imported. This tax is to be levied by the Municipality which will get twelve lakhs per annum out of an estimated income of twenty-nine lakhs. As this will not be sufficient, Government intend later on to raise a loan on favourable terms. Before deciding upon such a measure we would rather like to see private enterprise encouraged as much as possible. There is a great field for land and building companies in Bombay, and if such companies are willing to take up the work with a fair margin of profit for themselves, we think Government should rather entrust the work to them than undertake the responsibility themselves. Many important projects have in the past been carried out by private enterprise."

4. "It was long known that Sir George Lloyd had a settled plan of his own regarding some of the emergent problems of this Presidency. He did not publish his programme beforehand. He did not advertise like Lord Curzon a catalogue of unachieved reforms. To this was added his temperamental disinclination to tawdry toying with words. This gave a false impression. His vigilant critics remarked an absence of speech where they expected one. Now the Governor has come forward with deeds having omitted words. He has elaborated a most comprehensive scheme to meet the house shortage of Bombay. His project overshadows the vast plans of his predecessor Sir George Clarke as he then was. There may be some difference of opinion touching the controlling voice in the Governor's scheme. We have no doubt popular element will ultimately be adequately represented..... Bombay has grown impatient in the matter of living accommodation. Had it not been for the Rent Act our dear 'Jatbhais,' the insatiable landlords, would have made life intolerable in the city and suburbs. We trust His Excellency will be able to launch his deliberate scheme as early as he himself is eager to do, and that no obstacles will be placed in his path in the name of the people who after all are not the flourishers of facile pen."

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 9th Aug., Eng cols.

5. "Happily for Bombay, at the right moment, in Sir Lloyd was found the right person and thanks to his general interest and influence a bold and a comprehensive scheme of improvement has been evolved, which, if the early impression is not subsequently belied, bids fair to change the very face of Bombay and its suburbs. Fortunately for the scheme, the Governor undertook the unusual course 'not unprecedented for the Governor of the Presidency' of proposing the first reading of the Bill. This was a wise procedure since we had the first-hand exposition of the Scheme from the mouth of the father and projector of the scheme..... We have purposely dwelt at some length on this aspect of the Trust's activities, in order to show in what fatal grooves that body worked and because we hope that the Development Department, which is to come into existence under the ægis of the Housing Scheme, may not fall into the same fatal error. The failure of the Improvement Trust cannot be written in larger letters than in the fact that after an existence of more than twenty years it will cease to exist and another body will come into existence to carry on the work for which it was primarily intended."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 11th Aug.; Eng. cols.

6. "The Government of Bombay committed a very grave blunder in not consulting the opinion of the public and the residents directly concerned before proceeding to notify the acquisition of large properties near the Grant Road station for the purpose of the location there of the long-distance terminal station of the B. B. & C. I. Railway..... Sir George Lloyd has left himself still open to conviction at the hands of the Zoroastrian Association, if they can show him that the Bellasis Bridge site would be preferable all-round to the site near the Grant Road station. So far so good. But if it is ultimately decided, to the complete satisfaction of the public, that the latter site should be adhered to at any cost, Government ought to see to one or two necessary things before the residents are evicted from the properties in question. Adequate compensation must be given to the owners of the properties which are to be acquired. In view of the fact that the values of properties have risen enormously since 1914, the bare compensation to which the owners are legally entitled under the Acquisition Act would not at all be a fair compensation to them. The land is being acquired not by Government but by a public company, *viz.*, the B. B. and C. I. Railway Company, which is in a sufficiently flourishing condition to pay a reasonably fair and adequate price for the land it will acquire. Hence Government should see that the landlords receive a fairly generous compensation for the loss of their properties. Secondly, the educational and other institutions should be actively and liberally helped by Government in their endeavours to find suitable quarters elsewhere. Accommodation for the workmen and other helpless poor, who will be unhoused, must, of course, be provided for before they are asked to leave their present homes, while arrangements should be made in co-operation with the leaders of the Parsi community to build chawls for poor Parsis on lines similar to those existing, and to give the latter reasonable compensation for the inconvenience and hardship involved. If in this manner the difficulty of housing those who will be evicted from the notified area is surmounted, the main objection to the utilisation of the Grant Road site will disappear. Since Sir George Lloyd has undertaken to discuss the question of the site with an engineer of the Zoroastrian Association and has given assurances of every help to those likely to be affected by the scheme, we think the public would be justified in confidently leaving the ultimate decision in the hands of the Government provided the latter take the representatives of the people in confidence and convince them that no alternative site is feasible. Before we conclude, however, we ought to say that Sir George Lloyd's Government would have been better advised if they had taken the public into their confidence fully prior to coming to a final decision and proceeding to notify the acquisition. There was no need at all to preserve secrecy in the matter. Government have seen, on the other hand, what unnecessary public commotion they have caused by their present procedure. And this we hope will be an object lesson to Government in the carrying out of their housing scheme. The success of that scheme will depend entirely on the co-operation of the people. That co-operation will not be given, with full confidence, so long as the Government, by their cunning but wholly uncalled-for device of creating a Department of their own, usurp the functions of the Corporation, so far as the development of the city is concerned and deprive it of its legitimate voice and control in the shaping and execution of their schemes."

The proposed land acquisition in Bombay in connection with the Grant Road Terminal Station Scheme.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Aug.

7. Protesting against the proposed acquisition of properties near Grant Road for erecting a long-distance Terminal Station, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—"The Scheme prepared for erecting a terminal station at Grant Road is such that if it is put into operation, fifteen thousand citizens will be dishoused. We welcome the movement made by the Parsis so far for entering their protest against it. But it is not the question of the interests of the Parsi Community alone or of the Hindu community alone that is involved in this Scheme. Not only is the question of the interests of the whole population of Bombay involved in it, but important questions of the rights of the people are also involved therein. The whole of Bombay should, therefore,

Sánj Vartmán (32), 9th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (22), 11th Aug.

raise its strongest protest against the scheme, and the citizens should consider as to what steps should be taken if Government do not withdraw from the scheme in spite of their protest. In the last resort, the owners of the properties should flatly refuse to sell them and the tenants should not vacate them. The scheme for the transformation of the railway station at Grant Road into a terminal station is only a part of the big schemes for the development of Bombay. From the manner in which Government propose to inaugurate these schemes, we fear that such a heavy burden of expenses will have to be borne by the people of Bombay that an increase in taxes will be inevitable. Government have kept all the powers for preparing these schemes and putting them into execution in their own hands. We know nothing as to how many crores will have to be spent on them. Only a Bill was presented before the Legislative Council by which Government mean to acquire power for creating "Development Authorities". The people are not at all taken into confidence as to how the development is going to be made. The people will not be consulted at all for ascertaining whether the schemes of development are practicable or otherwise. Government will put the schemes into execution, and the scheme of erecting a terminal station at Grant Road is an example of how they will do so. We are, therefore, of opinion that the people of Bombay should enter their strongest protest not only against the Grant Road Scheme but also against the Bill brought before the Legislative Council. In the first place, it is not a function of the Government of Bombay to undertake the development of Bombay, but it is a function of the Municipal Corporation. If, therefore, Government take up that function, we might lose the right of local self-government that we have obtained. A monster meeting of the people of Bombay should, therefore, be convened in order to raise a protest against the Grant Road Scheme as well as the Bill before the Council. [The *Hindusthán* dwells at length upon the hardships that would be caused to the dishoused residents at Grant Road and proceeds:—The development of Bombay is not a thing to be desired if it is to be done at the cost of the people, and this is not, in fact, a function of the Government. If Bombay is to be developed, the people should be taken into confidence, and their opinion should be ascertained as to whether a particular scheme would be beneficial or not before putting it into practice. The scheme deserves to be abandoned from more than one points of view.]

8. The Parsi deputation has returned disappointed, and from the reply of His Excellency it appears that the members were not sufficiently tactful in their arguments with him. Their plea that waste lands at Bellasis Road and Byculla should be utilised for the purpose was very hasty, and His Excellency therefore had no difficulty in refuting it. We once again express our regret that His Excellency has committed a great mistake by not taking the people into confidence before arriving at a final decision in the matter, and by not giving publicity to the details of the scheme that he has prepared so as to give an opportunity to the people to consider them. His Excellency has, on several occasions, declared himself to be a democrat, expressed his pride in Parliamentary procedure and his firm determination to act according to that procedure. We are also staunch advocates of that procedure. But His Excellency could not have been unaware of the fact that it is not in keeping with Parliamentary procedure to publish as final a contentious scheme like the present big one without taking the people into confidence. The lower middle-class people affected by the scheme are in fear of being turned adrift. They are entitled to claim assistance from Government for obtaining convenient residences in these extraordinary times. We yet hope that His Excellency will be kind enough to allay their fears in this matter. [The *Jam-e-Jamshed* writes that there is yet a ray of hope inasmuch as His Excellency has cordially invited the co-operation of a Parsi Engineer with railway experience for suggesting a more convenient scheme.]

Praja Mitra and Parsi (30), 13th Aug.; *Jam-e-Jamshed* (24), 13th Aug.

*9. "His Excellency, who received the deputation very sympathetically and asked the individual members of the deputation to state their views with freedom, was pleased to add that if the Zoroastrian Association could

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 15th Aug., Eng. cols.

submit an alternative scheme as efficient as the present one and costing about the same, he would be prepared to give it every consideration. We must be thankful to His Excellency for this very kind assurance, for it shows that with his characteristic tact and desire for the good of the people he has kept his mind free on the point and has not tied himself down unrevocably to any cut-and-dried scheme. We quite agree with His Excellency's opinion that people should not look at this scheme from a narrow point of view. We fully share in his earnest desire to look to the greatest good of the greatest number; but at the same time we respectfully submit that if it is possible to obviate unnecessary suffering and inconvenience by some alternative plan, it would be the part of wisdom not to persist in asking a large number of people to make a great sacrifice. From certain inquiries that we have made it would appear that the authorities of the B. B. & C. I. Railway Company are in no way persistent about the site which has now been proposed. In fact, Major-General Sir Henry Freeland, K.C.I.E., is willing to relinquish the proposed plan provided an equally suitable site were suggested. We thus see that an alternative scheme is not only quite open both to the Government and to the Railway Company, but is quite practicable. We earnestly pray that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd will put an end to the agitation and dissatisfaction which has been created, by adopting a more suitable plan which will obviate unnecessary hardship and suffering. By doing so His Excellency will gain the blessings not only of a large number of the Parsi community but thousands of poor people belonging to the other communities as well."

Comments on the disallowing of a resolution regarding the demise of Mr. B. G. Tilak in the Bombay Legislative Council.

New Times (8), 7th Aug.; *Kesari* (109), 10th Aug.

10. "The Bombay Legislative Council—Honourable Mr. Belvi's efforts notwithstanding—did not adjourn even for a short time to show respect to the memory of Lokamanya Tilak, nor did it move any resolution referring to his unique services to the Presidency. And Lokamanya Tilak was once a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. Nothing could prove better the impotency of Indian members of the Council than this indifference to notice the passing away of a world-figure in Bombay itself—a figure whose death has plunged millions of Indian homes into gloom. But our great nation-builder made history not in gilded council-chambers but in India's jails. And whatever Anglo-Indians may say or do, Tilak's name will continue to be a beacon-light to generations of his countrymen." [The *Kesari* writes:—There was no statement in the resolution which even Tilak's enemies could object to and among the signatories there were many who could be counted amongst his political opponents. But His Excellency denied permission, putting forth a paltry excuse. We thought that the present Governor was more liberal-minded, but he showed his hand when an opportunity presented itself. European members could have avoided their difficulty by absenting themselves. Nobody would have opposed, and if anybody did and the motion was lost the responsibility would have been Mr. Belvi's. The excuse of want of time was dishonest. We plainly say that His Excellency did not want the resolution to be moved. This is but a proof of the Government idea that the Legislative Council is an official body, that its chief authorities are Government, and that people have no power, though the new era has begun. The whole world praised Tilak very highly and expressed sorrow. If His Excellency could not bear the brilliance and hid his head in the darkness of rules, Government would not gain but lose. Many of the gentlemen seeking permission for the resolution will not certainly forget this disappointment and insult. They will have many opportunities to retaliate, and it is trusted that the Honourable Mr. Belvi and others will not keep quiet.]

Lokasangraha (112), 9th Aug.

11. The death of Lokamanya Tilak has made known how mean the minds of the so-called big Englishmen are with regard to the opposite party. His Excellency may have ability to manage things as occasions arise, but there appears to be a complete absence of real greatness of mind in him. We had suspected ever since his arrival that he is not what he seemed to be and our experience of him for the last 18 months is a confirmation of our suspicion. If he felt so much shame to utter the name of Tilak in the Council Hall, he

should have exercised his freedom of opinion like the *Times of Iadia*; but he has not the frankness required for it nor has he the largeness of mind to allow others to do what they think proper. His natural arrogance is to be seen in his rejection of the request for a condolence resolution for want of a fortnight's notice. He felt pleasure in showing such indifference to the public opinion of the whole of India, but we suggest to him that he should not be disquieted by the effect it will have on the true Indian heart and the protests it will give rise to. Even if His Excellency holds Mr. Tilak to be an enemy, what right has he, justly speaking, to prohibit the members of the Council to give their opinion? To-day law and power are in his hands, but he should not suppose that it will turn out altogether happy for him if he murders good manners by holding to the letter of the law on the strength of his authority. Sir George has insulted the whole Indian nation; he has the power to permit a condolence resolution; we think he acted very unreasonably in exhibiting to the world that he has no courtesy in him by putting forth a trumpery excuse. If you treat with contempt a thing that all the people so heartily love, nobody will blame the people if they pay you back in the same coin. Sir George has no right to expect good manners from those whom he treats so haughtily and our request to him is that he should not feel sorry if any such occasion arises. The life and honour of Indians are in his hands, but he should clearly understand that their minds are not to be controlled by him. He should know that the people also can show contempt just as he does. If he thinks he is polluted by the name of Mr. Tilak, he should not feel sorry if the same feeling rises in the minds of the people about him. We have not forgotten that our necks are in his hands; but our sense of self-respect has not certainly been destroyed altogether. His Excellency feels shame even to utter a few formal and courteous words about the death of a divine person lamented by the whole of India; nay, he prohibits a resolution when eighteen other members of the Council were about to move it. This thing and this insult, it is not possible for Maharashtra to forget. It is not Tilak that is insulted; he is for ever free from the harassment of the bureaucracy, but we think it is opprobrious treatment of all the Indian people. It does not mean that the soul of Tilak is yearning for a few words from His Excellency or that we are expecting them even. But insult is a thing keenly felt by all men; and by the grace of the British Government self-respect is not yet altogether dead in India. Nothing can make up for the opportunity lost. Though a resolution can be moved in the September Council with 15 days' notice, it will not be so appropriate. If His Excellency disallows it even then by the use of his additional powers, it is his business. What more? It would have been well if His Excellency could get an explanation as to how Tilak came to die so awkwardly without making it possible for a forthnight's notice! It is well known that Tilak was the adversary of the bureaucracy; and it is natural that while he lived, hatred was felt for him who kept the bureaucracy wide awake for a quarter of a century; but after his death, it would be according to human nature to remember only his greatness. It is very regrettable that on the contrary a sort of meanness was exhibited. Tilak never expected even in his dreams the sympathy of the bureaucracy, while he lived. It is, therefore, in one sense good that even after his death he was not polluted by it. We just suggest to those who raise a hollow cry that Tilak hated the British without reason to note carefully what has been exhibited by an Englishman occupying the position of a Governor.

12. "For at least one hundred thousand people—one report says two hundred thousand—to assemble for the funeral of a popular hero and no representative of Government to be present is, to say the least, regrettable..... More unfortunate still, in our opinion—for we have a consuming desire that Government shall stand well with the people—was His Excellency's refusal of the earnest request of seventeen non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council to pass a resolution of condolence, the refusal being on the merely formal ground that it was 'out of order for want of notice'..... We say that a great opportunity has been missed by Government and others of identifying themselves with the feelings of the people."

Dnyánodaya (40), 12th Aug., Eng. cols.

13. "As for the replies they do not differ from those given in the past, while in the case of some the stereotyped reply—information will be obtained, or inquiry will be made—was given. In this connection both the non-official members as well as the section of the public taking interest in public matters have a legitimate cause for complaint, for the very obvious reason that they fail to understand why Government, with their almost unlimited resources, cannot obtain the asked for information during the period intervening between the receipt of the interpellations from the non-official members and the date of the Council meeting. We think it is high time for Government to remove this ground for complaint. While, therefore, once more drawing their attention to it we shall proceed to notice briefly some of the most important interpellations and the replies given to them on behalf of Government."

Comments on the replies to interpellations at the recent session of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Praja Bandhu (29), 8th Aug., Eng. cols.

14. Mr. Keshav Ramchandra Kanitkar, writing in the *Dnyán Prakásh*, says that the reply given by Government to the Honourable Mr. Kamat's question on the subject of the present insanitary condition of Poona is most unsatisfactory. The writer remarks that the object of such interpellations is to elicit the truth, and that the reply is disappointing in view of the fact that Government possess the means of arriving at a correct conclusion which are not available to the ordinary people. He quotes facts and figures to show that a large volume of water percolates through the newly-made drains and is thus responsible for the unhealthy condition of the city.

Dnyán Prakásh (42), 12th Aug.

15. Sir George Lloyd is a very painstaking and sympathetic Governor. But the British system of administration is such that while an ordinary policeman can do harm, even a Governor or a Viceroy cannot do good to the people. While addressing students not only the Governors, but also the Viceroy, tell them that there are enough of doctors and pleaders and that, therefore, they should choose some industrial pursuit. But these wise people forget that there is hardly any industrial opening anywhere. Our Governor thinks it necessary to remind the people of their duty, but does not think it necessary in the same way to remind the officials of their duty towards the people. Government did not wish to go beyond the mere expression of disapproval of the conduct of a Deputy Commissioner in Sind, who called a Khilafat worker to his office and gave him stripes. Are the people alone to do their duty and the officials to behave in any way they like? Sir George's sense of duty has obviously its limitations.

Dunia (104), 8th Aug.

16. "Nobody would say that a man's caste, colour or creed should be a disqualification for holding any office in the State. But it is absurd to argue that a man's caste should be a qualification in itself. But this is precisely what Mr. Mountford wants to do. He has issued a circular to Collectors under him to endeavour to obtain Lingayat candidates for mamlats and to pay special attention to Lingayat karkuns with that view. In reply to a question of the Honourable Mr. Belvi, Government state that they approve of the circular. The question is whether Mr. Mountford issued the circular with the knowledge and consent of Government and the vague nature of the reply of Government shows that Government had no knowledge of the circular when it was issued, though prestige has made them say that they approve of it. It is again a mistake to suggest that the Government resolution regarding the employment of Lingayats in Government service endorses the Mountford circular. It is one thing to say that the claims of Lingayat candidates should be considered along with those of others as occasions arise. It is quite another to ask the Collectors to endeavour to obtain Lingayat candidates for mamlats and to pay special attention to Lingayat karkuns, as Mr. Mountford did. The former is the Government policy and the latter is the Mountford policy. The Lingayats are under no disability. They are not

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Aug.

a backward class. If there are not many Lingayats in Government service, it is because they have not cared for it, being mainly a trading community. ..... It would be better if the Bombay Government were to study the reply of Lord Lamington to Lingayats, when a similar request was made to him."

17. "The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye was responsible for a long series of questions on the subject of the Sholápur riots of February last. People who have followed the events at Sholápur with some care have always formed the impression that, but for the interference and indiscreet haste on the part of the then District Magistrate, Mr. Simcox, the strikers would not have been fired upon and the answers to Mr. Paranjpye's questions do not necessitate any revision of that view. Far from helping in the settlement of the dispute between capital and labour at Sholápur, Mr. Simcox hindered it by setting up a conciliation board containing people of doubtful credentials as a counterblast to the Committee presided over by Mr. Sathaye. This enjoyed the confidence of all the parties concerned and, left to itself, would have been able to make up the dispute, without resort to firing and the consequent loss of life. How hastily the order to fire was given is shown by the fact that the Indian officer who was sent to pacify the strikers was wounded by a bullet in the palm of his hand while he was just beckoning them to be calm."

Servant of India (9), 12th Aug.

18. The indebtedness of the agriculturists is on the increase and, therefore, it is much to be regretted that Government did not accept the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's motion for the postponement of the revised assessment of the Erandol Taluka. The Honourable Mr. Parekh's argument that it was unjust to mete out punishment to particular sections of the people of Nadiád, since only one man out of thirteen was convicted before the Special Tribunal was of no avail. The Honourable Sir George Carmichael's reasons as to why relief cannot be given to Government pensioners were not convincing. He was not right in assuming that it was open to Government pensioners to augument their incomes by taking up some employment since most of them are too enfeebled to do so. Similarly, the arguments put forward by official spokesmen against closing liquor shops on Sundays were not satisfactory, and Mr. Kamat very properly met them by saying that he suggested Sunday only with a view to bringing about the closing of the shops on one day in the week and that he would not mind if any other day in the week were substituted for Sunday.

Resolutions before the Bombay Legislative Council.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 12th Aug.

19. Referring to the withdrawal of Mr. Paranjpey's resolution regarding the establishment of a Medical College in Poona, the *Kesari* says:—The resolution was withdrawn without any definite assurance from the bureaucracy that the College would be started within a stated period. The question depends as before on the will of Government and there is no certainty. The debate was fruitless. Mr. Paranjpe's second resolution was about the Revision Settlement of the Erandol Taluka and Government could have postponed the levy of the increased rates, but the bureaucracy opposed the resolution as it wants obstinately to stick to the idea that the rayats are more prosperous under British rule, as it has not the generosity to give up the income from revised settlement, as there is complete absence of real sympathy for the rayats and as especially it is the determination of the bureaucracy not to allow the democratic party to interfere with the reserved subject of land revenue. It is regrettable that even some elected members opposed the resolution. Electors should keep an eye on the work of the members they send to the Council and see that such examples of men injuring their own people do not occur. Government were not kind enough to accept the resolution of the Honourable Mr. Garud asking for the appointment of a Committee regarding increments to pensioners. Is it not the duty of Government to give war allowances of 25 to 30 per cent. to those who served

Kesari (109), 10th Aug.

Government for 30 years loyally for the last five or ten years of their life? It is shameful to adopt an attitude of cruel stinginess towards pensioners because they cannot go on strike as they are not in active service. It is necessary and just to give concessions to pensioners getting pensions below Rs. 100, as in the case of men actually in service. Government should, therefore, reconsider the matter. Anglo-Indian pensioners also have made an appeal to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State and there is, therefore, some hope of a reconsideration of the question.

Lokasangraha (112), 10th Aug.

20. The *Lokasangraha* thinks that Government should have adopted the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's motion to start a Medical College at Poona from June 1921, instead of asking him to withdraw it on the ground that the project is already under the consideration of Government. The adoption of the motion, it remarks, would have served to accelerate this project, since during the last two or three years Government have had several such projects under consideration, but none of them has yet materialized.

Bombay Samáchár (58), 10th Aug.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 15th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 9th Aug.

21. The Bill to amend the Bombay Rent Act has passed through its first reading in the Legislative Council. This has given ground for complaint to the landlords and the Honourable Mr. Sethna has taken up a brief for them and successfully moved a resolution for the appointment of a Committee to recommend to Government what amendments should be made in the Act. We would like to record our emphatic protest against the demand made by Mr. Sethna for a further increase in the standard rent. The tenants will be placed in a precarious position if the landlords are allowed to increase rents as they like. There is no truth in the argument advanced that the standard rent does not give an adequate return to the landlord. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"We can have no objection to the appointment of such a Committee, but we must strongly protest against any useless tinkering with the Act which will satisfy neither landlords nor tenants. On the contrary, we are looking forward to a permanent Rent Act the provisions of which will be fair to both parties." The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, endorses the arguments advanced by the Honourable Mr. Sethna to show how tenants take undue advantage of the Rent Act, and expresses gratification that Government were pleased to accept the resolution for the appointment of the Committee.]

The Honourable Mr. Purshottamdas Thakordas' protest against the Bombay Department of Industries.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Aug.

22. "The Honourable Mr. Purshottamdas Thakordas was justified in launching a strong protest in the Bombay Legislative Council against the manner in which the Local Department of Industries is being conducted. ..... Unfortunately, the policy of Government remains unchanged and the Department has been run from the start by the all-knowing civilians to whom formulae and precedents constitute the be-all and the end-all of existence. It is natural that originality will die out and no substantial work done when the presiding geniuses are ruled by the cramping influence of red tape. From the very beginning it was urged that the Department of Industries should be manned and staffed as far as possible by Indians. Nothing of the sort has been done with regard to the local Department. The Government take care to see that officials appointed to it are Europeans. Up to this time only one Indian has been appointed. Not only this but as far as our information goes, the Advisory Committee has never been consulted with regard to all such appointments. Recently a personal assistant was appointed to the Director of Industries. The Honourable Mr. Manmohandas Ramji had an interpellation in the recent session of the Council regarding this appointment, and it is found that Mr. Carr Davies, who is the fortunate gentleman to be appointed to this post, was educated in the Sheffield Technical College and for six years was with the British Westing House Company and had four years' commercial and engineering experience. Prodigious! The Government could not get any

Indian with such qualifications! The Government gave the information also that the Bombay Resettlement Committee was asked to secure applications for the post. Presumably this business of securing applications being a confidential business of the State was conducted most secretly and confidentially, and as a result only Mr. Davies could be found worthy of recommendation. The game goes on merrily like this."

23. Mr. Tilak was the foremost patriot and leader of the country. He was a worker in the cause of the country for whom even his enemies must have had respect. His ideals and methods apart, no Indian can for a moment doubt the love he had for his country. Let people like Sir Valentine Chirol or Sir Edward Carson say what they like and let the judges of England and India hold any view they like, Mr. Tilak was a man of sterling worth in the eyes of his fellow countrymen. He had dedicated his life to his country. From the very outset of his career he was anxious to improve the condition of his country and Indians are proud today that he sacrificed his all in order to achieve that object. Although we did not agree with the politics of the departed leader, there is no doubt that the country needed him specially at the present time, the more so because he exercised a great check on the excited public opinion of the present day. The loss that his death has caused to the country is too deep for us to describe. [The *Hindu* writes:—Our pen refuses to work, our heart is drooping, our brains are stunned, so that we can write nothing. The thought that Lokamanya Tilak is no more with us is too deep for words. When this heart-breaking news reached our ears, we refused to believe it. We never thought that he would leave us at the present critical time and that the God of Death would show no mercy to us. But no: we were mistaken; our prayers were not heard. Today darkness has spread all over India. India has lost her beloved, the adored of the people. To whom should we look today for guidance? Look where we may, we see nothing but darkness. Who will be our helper now? Oh God, why have you added this sorrow to our already great burden? Is there to be no end to our sufferings? You know and do not need to be told how much we have suffered. God's ways are inscrutable. His will must be done.]

Death of Mr. B. G. Tilak.
Sind Vásí (149), 3rd Aug.; *Hindu* (144), 2nd Aug.

24. While struggling with Government, Mr. Tilak dashed forward like one possessed. Though he thrice went to jail, because of the power of Government, he eagerly sought again similar opportunities. The secret of this is the heroic character of Mahárashtra infused in his blood. He looked with the eye of a mother towards his people, but he looked at the rulers with the eye of a hero. He went to jail thrice for three articles; all these articles were not written by him, but he never uttered any complaint on that score. He deliberately chose the path to jail, thinking that he found a good opportunity to achieve divine work just as a brave soldier rushes into the thick of the battle and offers his all to the country as soon as he receives the order. Even those who bitterly hated Tilak in public matters will have to admit that his private life was of the utmost purity. The plague of the Tai Maharaj case was made to pursue him for about 15 years continuously with the object of casting a stain on his private and public character in one form or another. He was more troubled by the Tai Maharaj case than even by the sentence of six years' transportation to Mandalay. It is the greatest glory of India that such a self-sacrificing hero came forward to awaken the country.

Kesari (109), 10th Aug.

25. The greatest achievement of Mr. Tilak consisted in rousing the Indian nation from its deep sleep. He devoted his life to securing a place of honour for India among the countries of the world. His nature could not tolerate a position of dependence and servitude for India. He did not approve of the grant of political concessions to India by gradual stages. He had no faith in the policy of

Gujaráti (18), 8th Aug.; *Navjivan* (68), 8th Aug.; *Arya Prakásh* (14), 8th Aug.; *Surya Prakásh* (74), 7th Aug.

mendicancy towards England and so he showed the courage of representing the cause of India before the League of Nations. Why should Indians not be allowed to have a form of government suitable to themselves? Why should Indians be treated as children and their form of government be determined upon by foreigners? Mr. Tilak was of the opinion that nothing could be gained unless the people put up an earnest fight against the bureaucracy. He was of the opinion that the bureaucracy would not bow down to public opinion without a struggle and that such a struggle should be entered upon though it might entail the wrath of the bureaucracy and weaken the present form of government. This was the guiding principle of Mr. Tilak's life and we should try to understand it and to act upto it and thus show our reverence for Mr. Tilak. [Mr. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—Mr. Tilak was a bitter enemy of the existing administration; but there is no truth in the belief held in certain quarters that he was inimical to the British. I have often heard him praising the British. He was not of the opinion that the connection of India with Britain was wholly detrimental; but he wanted Indians to be recognised as the equals of Englishmen. He could not brook subservience to any one. He had such faith in the British public that he made the novel suggestion of making them acquainted with the injustice done in the Punjab by means of the cinema! The *Arya Prakâsh* remarks:—India will never forget the services rendered and the sacrifices made by Mr. Tilak in the cause of *swarajya*. Even his bitterest enemies cannot help praising his tremendous sacrifices, his patriotism and his farsighted policy. India has lost a hero in Mr. Tilak and his absence will be keenly felt in such critical times as the present. The *Surya Prakâsh* observes:—Mr. Tilak's death is an irreparable loss to India. Personalities like his are meant to infuse life into the people and serve as a guide to them and then pass away. Such were also the lives of Shri Krishna and other great personalities.]

26. "As a matter of fact Mr. Tilak was an Emperor in the real sense of the term; for his empire over millions of men was not the result of howitzers and machine-guns, of submarines and dreadnoughts, of aeroplanes and zeppelins but of the silent yet a thousand times more powerful influence of an unselfish devotion to an idea uppermost in their minds..... Mr. Tilak may be confined to a dungeon, and Lord Chelmsford may live in a palace. Mr. Tilak may have to suffer the pangs of poverty and Lord Chelmsford may roll in riches; but who can deny that the rule of Mr. Tilak over the people of his country was more real and more abiding than that of Lord Chelmsford? Mr. Tilak is not dead. As a matter of fact men like Mr. Tilak cannot die. They can only be killed and killed by the ungratefulness of their own followers..... Let us then be up and doing, let us ingrain in our life even a thousandth part of the unselfishness and zeal of Mr. Tilak, let us make up our minds to do our mite for the cause for which he gave his life, let us erect a living memorial to him by installing Swaraja in India, and Mr. Tilak lives." [The *Praja Bandhu* remarks:—"We are on the eve of a great constitutional struggle, when we cannot spare without a wrench the protecting wings of his distinguished leadership..... Friend and foe alike confess that he was an extraordinary man, endowed with the magic charm of personality, capable of eliciting in unstinted profusion the enthusiastic admiration of millions of common people."]

Gujarâti Punch (20), 8th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Praja Bandhu* (29), 8th Aug., Eng. cols.

27. Referring to the death of Mr. Tilak, the *Hindi Punch* remarks:—"Notwithstanding the differences of opinion on political and social questions, Mr. Punch had great admiration for his pure moral character, his high intellectual attainments, his supreme love for the Motherland, his lofty patriotism, and his noble self-sacrifice. His life's watchwords were *Duty*, *Service*, *Selfless Devotion*, and he religiously kept them before his eyes till the end. It was said of Gladstone that 'there was something magnificently, though simply, lofty in his moral attitude'. The same might be said safely of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. There was something magnificently lofty in his

Hindi Punch (21), 8th Aug., Eng. cols.

pure moral character, which made people adore him, and from which he found his strength. Whatever faults he had, he worked according to his lights with a singleness of purpose and the sole object of advancing his country on the path of Progress and Reform. For the achievement of his object in view he resorted to methods which were open to grave criticism..... His scholarship was the admiration of oriental savants all the world over, and I quite agree with my friend P. Jam that if anybody deserved the honour of LL.D. from the Bombay University for his profound erudition and research work, it was Bal Gangadhar Tilak."

Comments on concessions given to the Central Provinces Tanning and Trading Company.

Gujarâti Punch (20), 8th Aug., Eng. cols.

28. "The present economic helplessness of India, there is reason to believe, is in no small measure due to the economic policy of our Rulers, and the Indian public has taken every occasion to protest against it..... With the practical demonstration during the late war of the utter absurdity of reducing a whole country to a position of economic servility and after the clear verdict of the Indian Industrial Commission, however, to the effect that 'We consider that, where Industrial undertakings received Government aid, *e. g.*, by way of guarantee or subscription to share capital, their capital should be raised in India in rupees,' we had hoped for a change in the 'angle of vision' of the Government of India. To expect, however, any such thing from a Government which in the words of the present Secretary of State for India is 'too wooden, too inelastic, and too anti-diluvian to be of any use for modern purposes to have in view' is to expect the impossible, and the attitude of the Government towards the Central Provinces Tanning and Trading Company furnishes us with a practical proof—if one were needed—that the Government of India is incapable of learning anything. It would be well to bear in mind that a Government that has always shown such criminal indifference to the economic welfare of Indians has given the following concessions to this English company, the managing agents of which are Messrs. Davenport and Company:—(1) The sale of 843 acres of land at a nominal price. (2) Special privileges from the Forest Department. (3) A slaughter-house and a tank to be built for the benefit of the said company at the cost of the Government, *i.e.*, public. [*N.B.*—It is estimated that the slaughter-house will absorb about 2 lacs of cattle every year.] The moral is obvious."

Alleged renewal of the Opium Traffic with China by back-door methods.

Young India (13), 11th Aug.

29. "Elsewhere we publish a letter from Mr. Andrews on the renewal of Opium Traffic with China by 'back-door methods'. The letter is full of righteous indignation at the connivance of the authorities concerned who in fact have been encouraging this immoral and illegal trade. This is clear from a recently published book, 'The Opium Monopoly,' written by an American, Ellen La Motte. The book, it is reported, has caused jubilation among representative Chinese as a very useful and timely publication, while the British officials all over China are said to resent it very much and are cursing the author for exposing their system of 'drugging the world'. There are seven hundred thousand acres of the best land of India which are used to grow poppy for the manufacture of opium. There are 18,000 licensed opium stalls where opium is sold to men, women and children though upto a given quantity. The best minds of the country strongly resent, nay, positively and wholeheartedly condemn this drugging and demoralisation of the nation, but to no purpose. The Chinese Government prohibits and penalises the production and sale of opium in China; but the British poison China not only by encouraging the illegal traffic in the country from British territories, but directly by the import of morphine manufactured in the laboratories of England and Scotland. The British and Indian Governments will be loath to discourage the production and traffic of this poisonous drug as it undoubtedly helps them to a great extent financially and even politically. It is, however, left to the people both here in India and in China to muster their own strength and boycott the production, consumption and traffic of this fatal drug."

30. Referring to the question of cow-slaughter, the *Sindwási* writes:—

Complaint that Musalmans are doing nothing to carry out the Moslem League resolution asking them to refrain from cow-slaughter.

Sindwási (149), 28th July.

We thought the Mussalmans of India would take all possible steps to put into practice the resolution passed by the Moslem League; but we are sorry to say that our Moslem brethren have so far done nothing. We have received letters from correspondents saying that in the face of such sympathy and sacrifice from Hindus and the coalition of the two communities, cow-killing still continues in Sind. We too have on several occasions invited the attention of the Moslem leaders of Sind to this question, but to no purpose. Here in Hyderabad beef is still sold at the Beef Market opposite the Navalrai Hiranand Academy which must cause pain of mind to Hindus. What is true of Hyderabad is true of other towns. The question, therefore, is, whether the duty of Mussalmans ended with passing a resolution at the Moslem League or Conference? Hindus have done so much for Muhammadans; they have even endorsed a dangerous doctrine like non-co-operation and a short-sighted measure like *hijrat*. They will even do more for the sake of unity. We again ask what practical proofs have Moslems given of their sympathy with Hindus? Even the telegram which a leader like Moulana Abdul Bari has issued on the subject is disappointing. This gentleman advises Mussalmans to slaughter no cows on certain conditions, which must be fulfilled before Muhammadans can abstain from cow-killing.

31. "It is a queer order issued by the Hyderabad District Magistrate that no one within the limits of Hyderabad city should take any rod with himself. As a result of this order, the scouts of the National School going on parade were asked to surrender their sticks and one of the scouts is reported to have been beaten! Again, an old man who could not walk without a stick was deprived of it by the police! It is reported, too, that a policeman very conveniently deprived a *bawa* of his stick with a silver top! It is too much to ask the District Magistrate to revise his order: all revision is supposed to affect bureaucratic prestige!! But we do feel that such orders as have been issued at Hyderabad should have the greatest publicity."

Comments on an order of the District Magistrate of Hyderabad (Sind) prohibiting the carrying of sticks.

New Times (8), 6th Aug.

32. "We publish in our vernacular columns a detailed account of the scuffle that ensued yesterday between military sepoys on the one hand and some cloth merchants on the other. As the quarrels of this kind have become frequent in which military sepoys take the law in their own hands, beat the people unhesitatingly and go scot-free, people of the town have got frightened. They closed their shops immediately after the scuffle yesterday, and waited in a body on the Mukhtiarkar and the District Superintendent of Police. The latter directed the Sub-Inspector of Police to investigate the matter and to keep a special guard in the market. We hope the offenders will be brought to book and sense of security restored."

Complaint about rowdiness on the part of Military sepoys at Jacobabad (Sind).

Frontier Gazette (49), 31st July, Eng. cols.

33. "None can gainsay that the postponement is likely to prove doubly providential. There is a large body of public opinion in this country which refuses to participate in joyful demonstrations in honour of the Prince, so long as the Khilafat and the Punjáb questions are not satisfactorily settled. In fact it would have been the height of folly to attempt to influence their decision by forcing upon them the considerations of loyalty. Loyalty degenerates into hypocrisy, when used as a cloak for concealing the real depth of sentiments. Who can say India is in a mood to enjoy the empty trappings of power? With her Muhammadan population and the whole of the Punjáb writhing under the agonies of mental death, she cannot think of anything but justice and reparation. Let, therefore, the

Comments on the report that the visit of the Prince of Wales is likely to be postponed.

Praja Bandhu (29), 8th Aug., Eng. Cols.

Prince come at a moment when the healing balm has done its work. Then the people of India will with one voice acclaim the advent of His Royal Highness."

34. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is visiting India with a view to acquaint himself with his future subjects, and the welcome that we accord to him on his landing in Bombay would be instrumental in creating a good opinion in his mind about the city and the Presidency. India has no cause for being on unfriendly terms with the Royal Family. On the contrary, the benefits conferred on India by that family in the years 1858 and 1901 will never be forgotten. Mr. Gandhi's movement against the reception of the Prince is, therefore, a mistake. When His Royal Highness lands in Bombay, every man, whether rich or poor, should endeavour to make the occasion a success.

Nirikshak (new), 30th July.

35. "It has been announced that Mr. Bosworth Smith will be going on leave preparatory to retirement. What is the exact significance of this announcement? Is his retirement to be regarded as a common incident in the public service happening in its natural course? Or is this officer made to retire for the brutality he practised upon the people of his district, during last year's disturbances? Even if in fact he be retired, the Indian public will not tolerate this secret method of disposing of the cases of offending officers. They must be held up to public execration and must be punished in sight of all. What India wants is not merely to be rid of them, but that they should be officially censured and that the Government should emphatically dissociate themselves from the inhuman acts perpetrated by their agents in their name. Any suspicion in the public mind that the Government wish to shield their officers, although in their own judgment guilty of improper conduct, will have disastrous consequences. The Secretary of State for War has had openly to complain that Dyer could not be awarded the punishment he deserved because of virtual condonation of his acts by his superiors. We hope the Government are free, and willing, to take against Mr. Bosworth Smith the disciplinary action which he richly deserves. We shall also repeat what we said before, that the Indian treasury must not bear any longer the burden of an anna on account of these officials, either by way of pension or compassionate allowance."

Comments on the retirement of Mr. Bosworth Smith from service.

Servant of India (9), 12th Aug.

36. "The desire has been expressed in some quarters that we ought to try and secure the conviction of a few at least of the Punjáb miscreants in a court of law..... .. The proposal of a prosecution exists in some quarters, and if it comes for private discussion at the time of the Congress, it well be well to weigh the possibilities of success with care..... The first purpose of a prosecution is, as we have said, the securing of justice. If there was the prospect of a decently impartial jury, we would press that we ought to take the chances usual in a court of law. If Dyer is prosecuted, a jury of Englishmen will have to adjudge as to the fact and the definition of his alleged crime.... ..... There is no known case of an Englishman suffering on the gallows for the murder of an Indian. Like Brahmins in Travancore, they are never executed; it just happens so, and in neither case is there the excuse of written law. In the Jamaica riots of the sixties in which General Eyre figured, the negro leader, Gordon, a man of sterling worth, was the victim of murder that was not even 'judicial murder.' Eyre was prosecuted for his murderous antipathy of 'natives,' but the jury, more than once, refused to convict him..... We have also had demonstrations of perversity in England and in India which makes us mistrust the impartiality of Britishers over the Punjáb issue; for the labourer who condemned atrocities at Scarborough is not of the ordinary jury-serving order..... In his address to the jury in the Chirol case, Sir Edward Carson exhibited the 'whites' of his eyes as he asked them to remember the 'Empire' and the 'British officers' and not to accord a triumph to the 'enemies' of law

Prosecution of the Punjáb officials guilty of outrages will be useless.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Aug.

and order. The judge was so moved that he tuned up his charge in sympathy and Mr. Tilak had to say: 'This kind of justice I could have got in India.' (The Bombay Government were in turn moved to publish the proceedings of the trial at their own expense, besides deputing Mr. Montgomery, an official to support Sir Valentine.) Besides the fact of prepossession on behalf of the 'Saviour of the Punjáb'—as the saviouresses of Dyer call him—there is the question of evidence. Now, if Dyer had chosen to tell a lie before the Hunter Committee, he would have been officially acclaimed in public as in private. As it was, he told the truth about the motives of his action and the inoffensive character of the crowd. Dyerites in Parliament lamented that he was not able to 'correct' his evidence. If he had like any bureaucrat tried to gloss his actions he would have escaped scot-free, without a word of censure..... Let us remember that Dyer's evidence before the Hunter Committee will not be evidence before a court of law. A new version as to the violence of the 'revolutionary army'—as the lawyers put it in Dyer's explanation to the Army Council—may be embellished and the truth attempted to be obscured. The old braggart may be sobered in the use of words now. The point is that the means of evidence should be thoroughly explored before definite action..... There is another point. Dyerites might welcome the chance of an acquittal by a 'British jury', at the hands of 'British justice', which is an institution holy and incorruptible. We are not afraid of the moral effect of any such acquittal, as it would only advertise the shame of so-called British police abroad. No one who is not a Prussian disputes the grossness of official outrages, and comparison with Prussianism has been resented as an insult to Prussians. Therefore, the chance of an acquittal by a shameless jury will be of the nature of a Pyrrhic victory for the Junkers. We have set forth some of the considerations that ought to count in the testing of the question by leaders, and our inclination is strengthened by the belief that the way of our escape is in our own hands and not in trust of old catchwords like 'British justice', which has failed India."

*37. "The forthcoming elections at any rate to the Bombay Legislative Council are not likely to take place under very favourable circumstances..... Copies of the Rules and Regulations are not easily available even in English, and we understand that Government have not arranged for their publication in different vernaculars! Most of the electors at large are absolutely ignorant of their contents. Besides, the electoral rolls have been prepared in such a perfunctory manner that instances have been brought to our knowledge in which even the names of some of the honourable members of the local Legislative Council, fellows of the University, High Court pleaders and other citizens have found no place in the electoral rolls that have been published! The names of the electors should have been notified in a prominent manner in each constituency and not simply in the Collector's office to enable the citizens to ascertain whether their names have been enrolled as voters or omitted, or the names of men who are disqualified to vote have been registered as voters. The time given to the aggrieved parties to appeal to the Chief Judge of the Court of Small Causes is only ten days from the 10th instant and the appeals must reach his office on or before the 20th instant. Having regard to the fact that the published lists of voters and even copies of Rules for the election of members and of electoral Regulations have not been placed before the public in an accessible form, it is likely that even persons who are qualified to vote will not be able to comply with the procedure laid down in the Regulations within the prescribed time. It is simply ridiculous to require all those whose names have been omitted from the electoral rolls through oversight or negligence on the part of those who framed them, to appeal to the Chief Judge. If Government had formed small Committees in each constituency to help the officers in charge of the work of preparing these registers, most of the ridiculous or astounding errors that have occurred would have been avoided. The time prescribed for appealing to the Chief Judge is, as we have already observed, absolutely insufficient, and we must enter our strong protest against

Alleged defects in the electoral rolls for the new Council elections.

Gujarátí (18), 15th Aug., Eng. cols.

the manner in which the whole electoral business has so far been managed. The Rules and Regulations ought to have been published in cheap and handy booklets for the use of the public and made accessible to all in English and all the leading vernaculars. That has not been done and the result is gross ignorance even amongst educated electors as to what they are liable or entitled to do according to law. The Rules and Regulations are being sold at the Government Central Press for Rs. 1-8-0. This is an extravagant price to charge and will not conduce to the enlightenment of the electorate or of the public at large."

38. "The rules regarding the election of members to the reformed Councils have emerged from the Parliamentary scrutiny in a cramped and illiberal form at least in so far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned. Under the draft rules as they were submitted to Parliament it was allowable for persons resident in the cities of Poona, Sholápur, Ahmedabad, Surat and Karáchi to stand for election to the Council on behalf of the electors of the districts. But under the rules as revised by Parliament this petty concession has been withdrawn..... England cannot tolerate for India the conditions which have been permitted to exist in England after an experience of hundreds of years in Parliamentary Government. But the beauty of the whole affair is that this change is stated to have been made at the suggestion of the Government of Sir George Lloyd. A very broad and liberal-minded Government indeed!" [The *Kesari* writes in a similar strain and says:—Why are the educated, specially in the Bombay Presidency, such an eyesore? What sin have they committed?]

Election rules for the Bombay Legislative Council.

**Mahrátta* (7), 15th Aug.; *Kesari* (109), 10th Aug.

***39.** "We quite agree that the 'still small voice' must be the final arbiter; but when a policy is purposed to be All-India national policy and when that policy is bound to affect and is deliberately meant to affect all provinces and the people therein all national leaders must put their heads together and get the train on right rails..... Have Lala Lajpat Rai and the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya no 'still small voice' pricking them that they have determined to submit to the bidding of the Congress? ..... Although we sound these notes of warning we have firm faith in the principle [of non-co-operation]; we implicitly believe in its immense potentialities for good to India; we have no hesitation in admitting the principle and executing it. But the question of how to execute it, of what shape it should take, bristles with numerous difficulties which are likely to make the stubbornest of apologists to pause and think twice before beginning to break ground. Let us all, like the Congressmen to the backbone that we are, wait and see what the Congress does."

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's refusal to postpone non-co-operation till the Congress decision.

Mahrátta (7), 15th Aug.

40. The leaders of the Extremist party themselves have now begun to tell the people that Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation movement is unconstitutional. The object of this movement is to make government impossible, and Mahatma Gandhi never disguised it from the people. He had also made it plain that a part of this movement is unconstitutional. The Moderate leaders had warned the people of the dangers of this movement. It is easy to understand why the Extremists had forgotten so long that the movement was unconstitutional and why they wish to back out of it only now when they ought to translate their convictions into practice. It is customary with them to advise people to join in a movement so long as they themselves do not stand to lose anything. They would have dissembled longer still, but as a boycott of the Councils is one of the items in the programme of non-co-operation, they are left no other alternative but to characterize the whole movement as unconstitutional. Owing to their love for seats on the Councils, the Extremist leaders have at last dubbed the non-co-operation movement as unconstitutional. [The *Vichari* disapproves of the non-co-operation

Extremists and the non-co-operation movement.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 11th Aug., *Vichari* (132), 11th Aug., *Lokasangraha* (112), 13th Aug.

movement and fears that it might lead ultimately to untoward results. The *Lokasangraha*, on the other hand, writes:—As we are a nation of slaves, whenever a new movement is started in our country the first question that confronts us is whether or not it is constitutional. Some people are making the despicable attempt of frightening the people by telling them that the movement is unconstitutional. We are quite sure they will not succeed but only make fools of themselves.]

How law-courts and Government schools can be boycotted under the scheme of non-co-operation.

Young India (13), 11th Aug.

41. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"The Non-co-operation Committee has included, in the first stage, boycott of law-courts by lawyers and of Government schools and colleges by parents or scholars as the case may be. I know that, it is only my reputation as a worker and fighter, which has saved me from an open charge of lunacy for having given the advice about boycott of courts and schools. I venture, however, to claim some method about my madness. It does not require much reflection to see that it is through courts that a Government establishes its authority and it is through schools that it manufactures clerks and other employees. They are both healthy institutions when the Government in charge of them is on the whole just. They are death-traps when the Government is unjust..... I submit that national non-co-operation requires suspension of their practice by lawyers. Perhaps no one co-operates with a government more than lawyers through its law-courts. Lawyers interpret laws to the people and thus support authority. It is for that reason that they are styled officers of the court. They may be called honorary office-holders. It is said that it is the lawyers who have put up the most stubborn fight against the Government. This is no doubt partly true. But that does not undo the mischief that is inherent in the profession. So when the nation wishes to paralyse the Government, that profession, if it wishes to help the nation to bend the Government to its will, must suspend practice..... Moreover, in my scheme, suspension does not mean stagnation. The lawyers are not to suspend practice and enjoy rest. They will be expected to induce their clients to boycott courts. They will improvise arbitration-boards in order to settle disputes. I feel that if we have not the courage to suspend the education of our children, we do not deserve to win the battle. The first stage includes renunciation of honours or favours. As a matter of fact no government bestows favours without taking more than the favours are worth. It would be a bad and extravagant government which threw away its favours. In a government broad-based upon a people's will, we give our lives to secure a trinket which is a symbol of service. Under an unjust government which defies a people's will, rich Jagirs become a sign of servitude and dishonour. Thus considered, the schools must be given up without a moment's thought..... But I contend that there is no sacrifice involved in emptying the schools. We must be specially unfit for non-co-operation if we are so helpless as to be unable to manage our own education in total independence of the government. Every village should manage the education of its own children. I would not depend upon government aid. If there is a real awakening the schooling need not be interrupted for a single day. The very school-masters who are now conducting Government-schools, if they are good enough to resign their offices, could take charge of national schools and teach our children the thing they need, and not make of the majority of them indifferent clerks. I do look to the Aligarh College to give the lead in this matter. The moral effect created by the emptying of our Madressas will be tremendous. I doubt not that the Hindu parents and scholars would not fail to copy their Musulman brethren."

Condemnation of the non-co-operation movement.

Broach Samdchár (60), 12th Aug.

42. The *Broach Samdchár* declares that, although the Punjáb wrongs and the Khilafat question have its fullest sympathy, it is entirely against the non-co-operation movement, which, it thinks, is calculated to drag this country into the depths of unimaginable ruin. It hopes that the Special Congress to be held next month will have the wisdom and far-sightedness of deciding

against non-co-operation ; otherwise, the Moderate leaders will have to hold a special conference of their own and take up the task of leading the people along the right path. As for the suggestion that no welcome should be given to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his visit, the paper declares that it is worthy of the utmost detestation, and it appeals to the Moderate leaders now to come forward and calm down the disturbed political atmosphere and lead the people to the right path.

Mr. Montagu and Mr. Gandhi.
Sindhi (51), 24th July.

43. Mr. Montagu has now threatened the Mahatma that further forbearance on the part of Government is out of the question and that the authorities in India have been authorised to deal with him as they like and that the Secretary of State will endorse whatever action they may take. This threat cannot frighten Indians today. Indians are ready to sacrifice their all for the good of India according to their high ideals—and the confinement of Mahatma Gandhi will, thanks to his blessing, give rise to men in every household ready to take up his work. Mahatma Gandhi is dear to every Indian heart and Indians will not allow a hair of his head to be touched.

The Khilafat agitation in Sind.
Lokasangraha (112), 8th Aug.

44. The *Lokasangraha* expresses the hope that the Government of Bombay will tactfully handle the situation created by the injustice done to the cause of the Khilafat by the British Government. In its opinion men like Mahatma Gandhi fearing an explosion advise recourse to non-co-operation so that the pent up feelings of the people might find an outlet in some way or other. It comments with satifaction on the courage exhibited by Pir Mahbub Shah of Hyderabad (Sind) in facing a prosecution under Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code. Although this prosecution, remarks the paper, has caused considerable bitterness, the conduct of the people is remarkably peaceful, and it asks the authorities, therefore, to refrain from any act which would irritate them.

Comments on the passing of the non-co-operation resolutionn by the Hyderabad (Sind) District Congress Committee.
Sind Vasi (149), 31st July.

45. The Hyderabad District Congress Committee have passed a resolution in favour of non-co-operation. This does not surprise us. We would, however, ask those who voted in its favour how many of them are in a position to practise it? How many of them are title-holders who will give up their honours? How many of them are Governmont officials who will resign their appointments? Will they be affected directly if they induce resignations in the Military and Police Departments? We think that those who have voted for this dangerous movement will suffer 'no direct personal loss though it is certain that they will also suffer when the country suffers as it is sure to suffer by the adoption of non-co-operaeion. But how can these people take long views?

Comments on the arrest of Pir Mahbub Shah of Sind for sedition.
New Times (8), 6th and 7th Aug.

46. "Pir Muhbub Shah is the first to be arrested for the Khilafat Cause. And he is standing the test nobly. His trial is postponed on the ostensible ground that arrangements have not yet been made to secure a Government pleader! One fails to understand why a religious head of thousands must be detained in jail for some days before the Government are in a position to proceed with the case against him! But in these days we must be prepared to face the situation with patience ; we must be surprised at nothing ; we must suffer and gather strength in that suffering..... Thousands of his followers stood outside the Hyderabad Central Jail where the Pir Sahib has been detained by the wise bureaucracy. ..... His brother, the Pir Sahib of Jhanda, who has a following of about two lakhs, has also arrived at Hyderabad with several followers. The men devoted to the Pir Sahibs have behaved with commendable self-restraint. Yet the District Magistrate of Hyderabad has issued orders prohibiting, for one month, the distribution of any printed matter relating to the Khilafat and non-co-operation propaganda and, for five months, possession of clubs, axes, or daggers! We are told further that any one found collecting stones in Hyderabad will be prosecuted! The air is full

of rumours regarding more arrests in Karáchi and Hyderabad. We must not complain; we must let the bureaucracy run its mad course of repression; we must suffer in silence. Such sufferings will contribute to our strength." [In the next issue the paper writes:—" Pir Mahbub Shah has been on hunger-strike for five days. This is the first instance in India of a man revered by thousands going on hunger-strike as a protest against the treatment accorded him. The Pir and his family have several lakhs of followers in Sind, and it is easy to understand their grief and indignation. The very idea of the Pir Sahib's trial has outraged Muslim sentiment. Will the bureaucracy pause to consider if even from their point of view it is wise to proceed with the prosecution."]

47. " The bureaucracy in Sind seem bent upon repression; and we must expect more arrests and prosecutions in the course of the next few weeks at Karáchi and Hyderabad. Lies and scandals will continue to be spread against the nationalists to justify repression and frighten the people into silence. But the spirit of the Province, we trust, will not be browbeaten by repression: suffering should make us fearless, should purify our public life. The Khilafat leaders welcome persecution; and the Sind bureaucracy's policy should give a new life to the national movement and unmask, in all its hideous nakedness, the character of the present administration. No repression can repress the purpose of the National Movement."

Exhortation to the people of Sind not to be browbeaten by official repression.

New Times (8), 5th Aug.

48. " The world knows that the Treaty which the Turkish Government has been coerced into signing, at the threats of Allied guns, is not worth the paper on which it is inscribed. The war was fought to save the world for justice and democracy. The 'Victors' seem now triumphat in their justice and hypocrisy. But unless the blood-sacrifice of humanity in the Great War has been in vain—we, for our part, have not yet lost faith in the ultimate vindication of the moral idealism that prompted the sacrifice—the 'Peace-makers' will soon find their Nemesis. It is with the signature of the Treaty that the real difficulties of the 'victors' in enforcing it will begin. A grim commentary on their tragic failure is furnished by the absence of any representative of the King of the Hedjaz, the staunchest of their Allies, at the signature of the Treaty. It is, however, only one of the portents. The Treaty which has been signed is not a treaty of peace, but a treaty that will begin a new war."

The signing of the Turkish Treaty.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Aug.

49. The Turkish Peace, nay, rather, the death-warrant of the Turkish empire, has been signed! The pitiful end of such a vast empire like Turkey is one of the most tragic episodes of the modern times. Mr. Mohamed Ali and his confreres are of the opinion that the 139th term of the Treaty is opposed to the fundamental principles of the Islamic religion. There are many such objectionable terms in the Treaty. In these circumstances, Indian Moslems cannot acquiesce in the Treaty, and now that it has been signed they must declare that they will refuse to abide by it and that they will agitate against it and will sacrifice their all in persisting in their agitation for the protection of the Khilafat and the Jazirat-ul-Arab. [The *Hindusthán* refers to the signing of the Turkish Peace and remarks:—Turkey will now be reduced to a position lower than that of a third class state. The sun of Turkey may be said to have set in Europe and the Turkish empire is no more.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 13th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (22), 13th Aug.

50. " Lord Curzon makes much of the fact that no reparation or indemnity has been demanded from Turkey. 'What can you expect from a Sanyasi except ashes?' is a homely Indian saying. Having deprived Turkey of all her rich provinces, having confined her to a hilly, inhospitable country which could only provide the sustenance of life by superhuman toil, and seeing Turkey is a most bankrupt country overwhelmed

An explanation as to why no indemnity was demanded by the Allies from Turkey.

New Times (8), 10th Aug.

with national debt beyond her capacity to pay, what could the Allies expect by way of reparation and indemnity? It is no use professing altruism. The Allies have made a virtue of necessity and have taken care to keep control of Turkish finance in their hands! And a country which has no control of its own finances is almost in the position of a subject country."

Comments on the declaration of the Mufti of Adrianople approving of Greek rule in Thrace.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (151), 8th Aug.

51. Referring to the cable about the declaration of the Mufti of Adrianople stating that the Musalmans are willing to live under the Greek Government in Thrace, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* says:—Thrice accursed are such Musalmans and such a Mufti who consider it advantageous to exchange the overlordship of a Moslem King for the subjection to an enemy of Islam! We cannot believe it. This appears to be a deceitful trick. Leaving out the Musalmans of the whole world, why has the attention of Indian Moslems been drawn to this matter? Did the people of the world set such store by their views, would not Great Britain have paid heed to their protests? Hence we declare that the Mufti of Adrianople is not a Musalman, but a Kaffir (unbeliever). [Elsewhere the paper publishes a poem advising Musalmans not to give way to despair, and which *inter alia* says: Those who believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are oblivious of the consequences of their acts. God's beneficenec and kindness have rendered it impossible that the Trinity should rule over a country which is subject to Divine Unity.]

The Bolshevists and the Allies.
Gujarâti (18), 8th Aug.; *Sânj Vartamân* (32), 7th Aug.

52. The news from Europe does not auger well for the future. Peace has been forced upon the vanquished nations and none of them have derived any satisfaction from it and each one of them is fretting over it. It is the rich that influence Government in England and France, and Bolshevism in Russia may be said to be throwing down a challenge to them. It is now well known that England and France have failed in their policy of checking the spread of opinion favourable to Bolshevism, and England had to withdraw her forces from Russia under pressure from the Labour Party. The Bolshevists have, moreover, put the Anglo-Persian Alliance to the test by landing their armies at the Persian Ports on the Caspian Sea. England, instead of helping Persia, was compelled to withdraw her troops from those regions. In the meanwhile England and France supplied munitions to the Poles with a view to enable them to fight against Russia. What authority have England and France to dictate their own terms to Russia in respect of the Government of Poland? They will have to fight against Russia to enforce their will upon it; but it is doubtful whether they will be prepared to wage war for the purpose. If Poland goes under the sway of the Bolshevists, it will be difficult for Germany to escape from Bolshevist influences. Will Germany which has been enfeebled by the Allies be able to stand against the encroachment of the Bolshevists? The Spartacists in Germany who hold almost similar opinions to those of the Bolshevists are waiting for an opportunity for breaking down the form of government set up by the Allies in that country. Once Germany becomes Bolshevist, Austria-Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Serbia will follow suit. This means to say that the peace of Versailles has given rise to a situation that is easily capable of resulting in a conflagration. The instigation by the Allies of Poland to fight against Russia seems to have proved disastrous to themselves. Poland must settle her quarrel with Russia before matters are allowed to grow worse. The future is in the lap of the gods. [The *Sanj Vartaman* writes:—It is feared that the Bolshevists will not keep quiet after occupying Poland and that they will enter Germany and create an opinion favourable to themselves in that country and supplant the German Government. In these circumstances the results of the great European war will be lost to the world. In order to avert this result there is only one course open to the Allies and that is to wage war against the Bolshevists with a view to protect Poland. Matters have reached such a critical stage that England and France will be forced into such a war. Should the Allies declare war against the Bolshevists

they will have to fight against them in the Asiatic countries in which they have penetrated. The Bolshevists possess trained troops but it is open to question whether they will be able to stand against the Allies.]

Indian troops in the near and Middle East should be brought back.
Mahratta (7), 15th Aug.

*53. "It is estimated that the total number of Indian soldiers who are being made use of in the different theatres of war in the Near and Middle East to trample down the liberties of freedom-loving people amounts to an aggregate of nearly one hundred thousand. This fact, the use of our soldiers in such large numbers for purposes alien to our aims, our principles and our civilisation constitutes not only a standing menace to our national self-respect but makes us branded down as a nation of mercenaries in the eyes of our Asiatic fellow-brethren as we have already been branded down as a nation of coolies by the British colonies..... India may be counted upon to spend her last pie and shed her last drop of blood where a question of the security of the Empire is concerned, but when it comes to a question of pure military and economic aggrandisement on the part of one member of the Commonwealth in utter disregard of the interests of the others India will not only not be a silent party to the transaction but will make every endeavour in her power to counteract the effects of any such nefarious policy."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Aug.

54. "It is a reactionary who is reported to have affirmed in the House of Commons 'that there was a growing feeling in India against the use of Indian troops in the Middle East'. Mr. Charles Palmer, although a supporter of Dyer, has been supporting a good cause for once. Mr. Lloyd George's reply is worth treasuring. He did not say that it was wrong to use Indian troops to defend the sordidness of unregenerate commercialists, wrong to make them fight against their country's will, wrong to convert them into 'fighting automatons' and mercenary hirelings. On the contrary, Mr. Lloyd George affirmed 'that there was no reason to believe that Indians were unduly impatient at the unavoidable delays in returning the units from the Middle East'. Mr. Lloyd George is merely using Parliamentary language in order ro extricate himself from a delicate position but he must not misrepresent. Time and again the voice of those who believe that the fact of Indian soldiers fighting other people's quarrels is a dishonour for the whole nation, has been raised in protest. But protests of this nature seldom penetrate the stone-walls of Ministerial residences in and around Downing Street. Does the Imperial Government now promise relief? No. All that the assurance which the Premier gives amounts to is a vague promise that the present units will be relieved and that Indian troops will be withdrawn from Turkey, Mesopotamia, Persia, Arabia and Palestine 'as soon as circumstances permitted'. The 'circumstances' are such that it is doubtful whether they will permit a withdrawal at all unless it be with the concurrence of the conquered nations. In the eighties, Gladstone promised the withdrawal of troops from Egypt 'as soon as possible'. British and Indian troops are still in Egypt in reinforced strength to this day. We have no quarrel with Egypt, Mesopotamia, Turkey, Arabia, Palestine, Persia. Why then should Indian soldiers die in these lands earning dividends for the oil-speculators and dishonour for their own countrymen? Let not the Special Session of the National Congress fail to remind Mr. Lloyd George that his mockery in talking about Indians not being unduly impatient' is a delusion unworthy even of the Welsh wizard."

The repatriation of Indians from South Africa.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 15th Aug.

*55. "Our fears in regard to the so-called 'voluntary repatriation' of Indians from South Africa are confirmed. Mr. Andrews has received serious news concerning the application of the scheme indicating extensions beyond what it professed to have for its object, namely, the helping of destitute Indians to go back to India..... The action of the Asiatic Commission in travelling beyond the limits of its reference to make this *interim* recommendation, and the eager haste with which the Union Government accepted it and put into force, showed that there was more behind the

device than what appeared on the surface. It must be now clear to all that 'voluntary repatriation' was, as we have all along been maintaining, a subterfuge and that the real aim of the scheme is to drive Indians out of South Africa."

*56. "When the South African Commission went out of their way to issue an *interim* report, recommending the adoption of measures for the repatriation of Indians, we felt suspicious as to the motive underlying the proposal as well as its ultimate scope. It is true it is no use keeping such Indians in South Africa as have been leading a very miserable life or cannot help themselves in the least. In their own interests their return to their homes is eminently desirable and even necessary. But we thought that there was the danger of the scheme of voluntary repatriation being converted into a compulsory one and of being used for depriving Indians of the rights of domicile they had acquired after a hard struggle. That danger was not imaginary. Serious news has been received by Mr. C. F. Andrews that the repatriation scheme 'is being extended beyond its legitimate purpose which was to accommodate the poorest submerged labourers'. The motives and policy which have inspired the attitude of the governing authorities of the South African Union or its individual States have never been above board. The South African Commission have not yet issued their final report, and it is disappointing to find that the recommendation they made in their *interim* report is being abused for getting rid of Indians under compulsion. Assuming that the Commission made the proposal with the best of motives, it is clear that the executive authorities are using it as an engine of oppression for the purpose of expelling Indians from South Africa."

Gujarâti (18), 15th Aug., Eng. cols.

57. "While the Colonial Office and the Government of British East Africa manage between themselves to defer the announcement of the policy that is to be followed regarding the Indians settled in that Colony, the insidious campaign of hounding them out from all congenial tracts and segregating them in less hospitable regions proceeds unabated. By the recent administrative change, the salubrious Uplands have been reconstituted into Kenia Colony and are to be reserved for the European settlers, while the less healthy strip of coastland is to be set apart for the 'natives' and Indians. For the few 'natives' and Indians who are to be admitted into Kenia Colony for purposes of trade and labour, an active policy of segregation is to be followed. Colonel Amery's recent designation of the scheme as 'town-planning' will deceive no one, as no attempt is made to disguise the grossly racial features thereof. 'Sanitary experts,' we are told, have advised that the different races should be kept apart as far as possible in planning towns. But may we ask if Europeans in other parts of the Empire, are less exposed to the dangers of contamination with the non-European races than the White settlers in East Africa? As pointed out by the deputation which waited on His Excellency the Viceroy, the other day at Delhi, if sanitation is the only question involved, then, it can and it must be preserved by the laws and bye-laws of the Municipal authorities only, as existing in the whole civilised world. But it is not difficult to see that it is not sanitation so much as the race jealousy and racial pride of the Whites that is at the bottom of the so-called town-planning scheme. It is a perversion of language to call it by that name. Indians will never agree to this open condonation of the policy of racial subordination and racial exclusion which is favoured by the Whites of British East Africa. The delay in announcing the official policy to be pursued towards Indians must in the face of these undisguised attempts to drive them out of Kenia give rise to the strong suspicion that it is a part of a deliberate policy to hoodwink Indians and ultimately face them with 'settled facts' of the loss of all their valued rights and privileges. The part at present being played by the Colonial Office and the authorities in East Africa is not likely to add to the confidence of Indians, whether in the Colony or here, in the sense of justice and rectitude of British statesmen." [In a subsequent issue the paper says:—"The Governor of British East Africa has

Protest against Government's policy towards Indians in East Africa.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th and 12th Aug.

at last announced the policy of his Government towards the British Indian community resident in the Protectorate. Mr. Andrews does not exaggerate the truth when he describes the declaration as a flagrant breach of the definite pledge given by the Viceroy of this country that the status of Indians in British East Africa can in no way be subordinate to that of any other subjects of that colony.... ..... It is clear from all this that the Government of British East Africa, with the knowledge and full sanction of the colonial office and His Majesty's Government, is determined to keep down Indians in that colony in the position of mere helots to the Whites, in open violation of the definite and repeated pledge given by His Majesty's representative in this country early this year. What answer has Lord Chelmsford to give to the challenge thrown out to him? The country will anxiously await a clear pronouncement from him at the earliest possible moment. During the last few months India has seen the violation of more than one solemn pledge given by His Majesty's Government or their representatives. The latest and most flagrant breach of faith, now sanctioned in a British Colony, is bound to deal an almost mortal blow to the faith of our countrymen, in the words of British statesmen. If the Government of India can secure no effective protection to Indians from the aggression of the Whites in a colony, which is pre-eminently an Indian colony, then the word 'Empire' can have no meaning to Indians. It is for British statesmen to justify the confidence of the Indian people in the rectitude and high traditions of the British nation."]

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of East African Indians.
Gujardti Punch (20), 8th Aug., Eng. cols.

58. "The reply as reply is on the whole sympathetic, but the time has indeed come when words should give place to deeds. If one were to turn the pages of ministerial and viceregal pronouncements he would find enough of honeyed words and fine phrases brimful of benevolent intentions, but in spite of them all the condition of Indians abroad has steadily gone from bad to worse and is every day playing a more conspicuous part in irritating the Indian public. There can be no two opinions about the fact that if for no other reason at least because of their contributing the greatest share in making British East Africa what it is at present, the Indian Settlers have established a claim to that land second only to that of natives, but in these days of sordid Imperialism and criminal hankering after 'spheres of influence,' the Government of India will have to find out some better means of enforcing the status of Indian settlers than the mere enunciation and re-enunciation of high-sounding principles. Will the Government of India do it?"

His Excellency the Viceroy's duty towards Indians in East Africa.
Mahrátta (7), 15th Aug.

*59. Referring to the policy about Indians in the Colony announced by the Governor of East Africa, the *Mahrátta* writes:— "We admit that the status of Indians outside does not depend entirely on His Excellency the Viceroy, but it does rest fully on him to force the hands of the Colonial Secretary and get justice done and wrongs redressed. It is his plain duty to look after the interests of India's sons settling in other parts of the Empire, and if he stops short after giving hollow promises, he fails egregiously in the discharge of his duties. If, being the Governor-General and Viceroy of His Majesty's greatest asset in the Empire, he has no influence with the Secretary of State for Colonies, or if, having it, he cannot exercise it when the lives and properties of His Majesty's Indian subjects are jeopardised he had better take leave of his post of pinch-beck dignity. No man with a sublime sense of self-respect would care to remain in this awkward and derogatory position when once he is convinced that he is a mere figure-head. Will the Lord have the courage of his convictions?"

Dnyán Prakásh (17), 12th Aug.

60. The announcement of the Governor of East Africa with regard to the Indians in that colony cannot possibly satisfy Indians. They ought not to be debarred from owning land in any part of the colony. Indians demand that they must have equal rights with the other subjects of the Empire, and this demand

has the support of the Government of India. It does not appear from the telegraphed summary of the announcement made by the Governor of British East Africa that the legitimate aspirations of the Indians are going to be satisfied. It is necessary that the Government of India should publish a detailed statement about the policy which the Government of British East Africa has decided to follow in respect of Indians.

Dr. Tagore's movement in favour of Mr Montagu's appointment as the next Viceroy.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Aug.

61. "The London *Times* is responsible for the statement that Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has promoted a memorial to the Prime Minister which 'representative' Indians are signing, and 'urging that steps be taken to allay the spirit of mutual mistrust in India which is stated to be growing perilously stronger.' If the London correspondent of the *Ceylon Times* is to be believed, Mr. Montagu is himself anxious to come to India as Viceroy. However that may be, it is necessary to emphasise certain vital considerations in this connection. The memorialists claim that 'India needs at the helm a statesman of political wisdom and exalted sense of righteousness'. This is quite true. And we dare say that, by implication, the memorialists recognise that the present Viceroy is lacking both in political wisdom and the sense of righteousness. So far the whole country will be with the memorialists. But there are two fundamental omissions which depreciate the value of the proposal of the memorialists. In the first place, they fail to realise that the change of Viceroyalty must be immediate. Secondly, they have not grasped the reality of the situation in India and the remedy that is called for, if they think that all that is needed is for Mr. Montagu to come here. The country demands full reparation for the Punjáb wrongs and adequate guarantees against their repetition. The immediate recall of Lord Chelmsford is an essential item of the reparation that is due. But it is only one of the main items. With his immediate recall, the question of his successor will cease, so far as the present situation is concerned, to be a matter of vital concern to the people. Considering the field of possible selection during the tenure of the present Cabinet, Mr. Montagu will certainly be better than any candidate whose name has been mentioned—though the people of this country, while recognising his services, cannot easily forget that he is, in no inconsiderable degree, responsible for the mishandling of the Punjáb question, and have noted with burning indignation the gratuitous praise that he has showered on the Viceroy and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. That Mr. Montagu has meant well for India is not open to doubt. That he has, by his policy of trying to please everybody, failed India in her hour of supreme need, is unquestionable. Perhaps, when he comes here he may be able to carry his profuse liberal intentions into effect. But it is idle to pretend that India's wound can be healed merely by the appointment of Mr. Montagu or even a greater and better man than he to the Viceroyalty. India's wound is too deep for such superficial remedy. Apart altogether from the Khilafat question, so far as the Punjáb is concerned, nothing less than full reparation and adequate guarantees—the immediate recall of Lord Chelmsford, the punishment of O'Dwyer, Dyer and other miscreants, the release of martial law prisoners, the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, to mention the main demands of the people—will satisfy the people. In short, what the situation demands is the scrapping of the present system. Viceroys may come and go, but the system remains. And it is the system which is the root of all our present evils and misfortunes. It is the system that must be changed."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 15th Aug.

*62. "Rabindra Nath Tagore is reported to have told an interviewer that the appointment of Mr. Montagu as Lord Chelmsford's successor in the Viceroyalty of India would be the best that could be made. The most recent news is that the poet is engaged in promoting a memorial to the Prime Minister urging that Mr. Montagu should be appointed the next Viceroy. This is rather going out of the way for the poet, and we are not sure that it will serve its purpose. On the merits of the suggestion, too, we are not convinced that it is the right one. While we recognise that Mr. Montagu has laboured hard for India in a spirit of real enthusiasm, we do

not think that he would be the best successor to Lord Chelmsford. Apart from the fact that he would have to waste much of his time and energy in overcoming blind prejudice, it is fairly certain that he will not secure the unanimous support of Indian politicians. The Congress section, which is by far the largest section, is deeply dissatisfied with his conduct of Indian affairs both with reference to the reforms and the Punjáb troubles. Even the Moderates feel that his attitude in the Punjáb matter has been actuated more by tactical considerations than by sound constitutional principle. We are inclined to think that the appointment of Mr. Fisher, the present Minister for Education, who is also spoken of as a likely successor of Lord Chelmsford, according to the London correspondent of the *Times of India*, would be better than that of Mr. Montagu in more ways than one. Mr. Fisher, as a member of the Public Services Commission, acquired considerable knowledge of Indian politics, and he impressed all with whom he came in contact in India as a statesman with the broad outlook of a scholar and thinker. Educational problems are just now claiming attention everywhere and Mr. Fisher as Viceroy will be able to give valuable guidance in that all-important department of our administrative activities."

63. "The appointment of Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru to succeed Sir George Lowndes, who vacates his office in December next, is now announced. The appointment has been an open secret for a long time. Nevertheless the announcement is not, therefore, the less welcome. Besides being a happy reminder of the fact that this unhapy country will soon see the last of Sir George Lowndes, who has most bitterly disillusioned even his erstwhile admirers, the selection of Dr. Sapru will be welcomed throughout the country as one of the best that could have been made. That the choice in the selection of members to the Executive Councils, both Imperial and Provincial, should fall on the Moderates is, of course, quite in keeping with the tradition of the Government. Nationalists have still many a hard struggle to wage with the bureaucracy, securely entrenched as it is still in power and patronage, before they come into their own. But, fortunately, Dr. Sapru's appointment need not necessarily be regarded as part of the policy of 'rallying the Moderates'; for his claims to the office of the Law Member are as high and indisputable as those of any other lawyer in India." [The *Indu Prakásh* and the *Dnyán Prakásh* also approve of the appointment.]

Appointment of Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru as member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 14th Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (42), 14th Aug.

64. "We are surprised to learn that the local allowance, the war allowance and all other allowances allowed to the teachers of the Elphinstone High and Middle Schools and the Secondary Teachers' Training College have suddenly been stopped by the Director of Public Instruction. It is impossible to discover the reasons that have induced the Director of Public Instruction to take this step. High prices of foodstuffs and other necessaries of life instead of going down have risen considerably after the war. The rents of rooms in Bombay, inspite of the Rent Act, are very high. Why is it, then, that the Government of Bombay have all on a sudden withdrawn all allowances of these poor teachers? The juniormost among them are asked to maintain themselves on a paltry salary of Rs. 50. This is surely a starvation wage. Perhaps permanent increase in the salaries of these low-paid public servants is shortly to be announced. However that may be, immediate explanation of the mystery should be forthcoming."

Protest against the stoppage of the war and other allowances of Government school teachers in Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Aug.

*65. "The Royal College of Science in Bombay was intended to rectify the mistake committed in placing the Tata Institute of Science in Bangalore which has nothing but a beautiful climate to recommend it for such a purpose. We are sorry to say that the Government of Bombay's choice of a Principal of the Royal College has

The principalship of the Royal College of Science.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 15th Aug.

not filled the public with high hopes regarding their intention as to its future. The special qualification of Professor Fox for the post are not evident. The public certainly expected that Government would secure the services of some distinguished scientist from Europe or America for the place. As for the Tata Institute of Science, the excellence of the climate of Bangalore seems likely to prove a serious disadvantage to it. We cannot think of any other reason why Sir Alexander Cardew who was recently a member of the Government of Madras, should be proposed for the Principalship of the premier scientific institution in this country. We are glad to associate ourselves with the observations of the *Citizen* of Madras on this contemplated appointment, as our contemporary is not likely to be ignorant of Sir Alexander's qualifications, if any, for the place..... The Indian members who proposed Professor Thorpe had suggested rupees five thousand a month as his salary. But the majority was overcome by an unusual passion for economy and voted for the ex-civilian on Rs. fifteen hundred a month. We trust that His Excellency the Viceroy, with whom the final decision rests, will prevent the perpetration of this flagrant jobbery."

66. With reference to the complaint that the Hajis sailing from Bombay on the 21st June 1920 were kept confined in a small place enclosed on all sides by curtains, of which all the doors except one were closed, that in consequence the Hajis felt as if they were being suffocated and as if they had been confined in the Black Hole of Calcutta (*vide* paragraph 54 of Weekly Report No. 27 of 1920), the *Akhbár-e-Islám* publishes the following explanation:—The Bombay Government have always been devoting special care to matters concerning the Hajis, and the above complaint is false. The Police Commissioner or his Deputy has been visiting every pilgrim steamer at the time of its departure to satisfy himself that all conveniences have been provided for the passengers. The true facts about the "Black Hole" complaint are that for the purposes of enumeration the Hajis have to be passed through a shed; and in order that they might not get out, all the doors except one are kept closed. This shed is a spacious one, 285 feet long, 117 feet broad and 16 feet high, and as a rule the Hajis get through it in a short time. But even if they were confined in it for days, there is no likelihood of their being suffocated. The authorities try to afford all possible help and facilities to the Hajis; but, unfortunately, very often some excited Hajis behave in a foolish manner and make the task of the Police and the Medical authorities very difficult. [The *Sánj Vartamán* and the *Praja Mitra and Párs*i also publish explanations which are in substance the same as the above.]

Explanation with regard to a complaint about Hajis.
Akhbár-e-Islám (55), 9th Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 9th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 9th Aug.

67. A correspondent writes:—About five days ago a band of about 70 to 80 armed dacoits looted the village of Dantab in the Kapadvanj Taluka at about 10 P.M. They first entered the house of the Patel of the village and harassed his mother, and when he came to her rescue, they caught hold of him and prodded him with the points of their swords, thereby injuring him very severely. It is also reported that they carried away all the ornaments and cash in the house. The *budmashes* had also looted the houses of several patidars, Banias, Lohars, etc., of the village, and had harassed the people a good deal. Earlier in the day, in spite of its being broad daylight, they went to the Soni's Kampa, near Mahadevia, the people of which gave them a sum of Rs. 60. In both places the Police are making inquiries. Whenever a dacoity takes place, the Police investigate for two days and then go away. Then the *budmashes* of the neighbourhood become fearless and do their black deeds. Therefore, it is hoped that on the present occasion, the investigation will be persisted in till the criminals are arrested. The people of the Kapadvanj Taluka and the Atansumba Taluka of the Baroda State are for the most part agriculturists. Owing to the frequency of dacoities and the fact that the dacoits are not caught they cannot get any sleep at night in spite of their

Complaint about dacoities in the Kapadvanj Taluka of the Kaira District.
Hindusthán (22), 7th Aug.

hard work. It is hoped that the Police officers will work with energy and restore a sense of security among the people by arresting the *budmashes.*

Comments on the security taken from the *Al-Wahid* of Karáchi.
Hitechhu (65), 1st. Aug.

68. It is our opinion that, without becoming acquainted with the views voiced by the *Al-Wahid*, the authorities would find their knowledge of the public feeling very defective. Their action in demanding a security of Rs. 2,000 from this paper, therefore, is like stopping one's ears with cotton. At any rate, this step on their part is certainly not wise. It seems that the *Al-Wahid* and its supporters were long expecting this act of repression. We think that the readers of the paper should make up the amount of the security by means of subscriptions. This paper is no doubt a great organ of non-co-operation. But non-co-operation is the mildest of all weapons. A righteous nation like the Indians can make use of only righteous methods. Therefore, the authorities should not view the non-co-operation movement with apprehension. Instead of doing that, they seem to have made up their minds to enforce a policy of repression.

Apology by the *Baroda Vartamán* for an objectionable article.
Baroda Vartamán (57), 9th Aug.

69. We express our regret for the fact that the language of our article on the subject of the Khilafat, published in the issue of our paper, dated the 21st June 1920 (*vide* paragraph 13 of Weekly Report No. 26 of 1920 and paragraph 57 of Weekly Report No. 31 of 1920), has been considered to be objectionable. In writing this article we had not the slightest intention of being discourteous towards the British Government or of insulting them.

LEGISLATION.

The Village Punchayat Bill.
Servant of India (9), 12th Aug.

70. "Another important achievement of the last meeting of the Council was the passing of the Bill reviving the much cherished institution of village panchayats in this presidency. This Bill has been under consideration for some years past, and we are glad it fell to the lot of a liberal-minded executive councillor like Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah to safely pilot it through. As it is, it is an unexceptionable piece of legislation; but it could have been improved upon in one or two ways. The withholding of judicial powers from the proposed panchayats to try petty civil and criminal cases detracts much from the value of the scheme, nor are the reasons for such a course very clear. According to the Honourable Rao Bahadur Sathe, when this question was raised in the Select Committee, Sir Ibrahim ruled it out of order, adding that in case the Committee chose to incorporate such a provision, its re-submission to the Government of India would be necessary, prejudicing the chances of its getting through all its stages before the new councils were formed. What is difficult to understand here is, why was it that the Bombay Government, which had included such a provision in a previous bill, should have left it out of this one? This action on their part is all the more surprising, in view of the fact that the Bengal and C. P. bills contain such a provision, the Government of India raising no difficulties on the point. In the face of these facts it will be unfair to that Government to assume that they would have adopted a different attitude, had the Bombay Government sent up a similar measure for their sanction. Another drawback to which attention may be drawn is the discrimination shown against women in the matter of granting franchise to them on the same terms with men..... We are of the opinion that the depressed classes, circumstanced as they are at present, will not be able to effectively protect their own interests without some sort of special representation until such time as they feel they can safely do without it. It is to be regretted that this aspect of the question received no notice in the last meeting of the Council. Even with these defects we think the bill is a step in the right direction and will go a great way in accelerating the political progress of people in rural areas."

71. Taking everything into consideration, we see that the *panchayats* will consist of elected members. In Sir Ibrahim's words, a measure, analogous to this, has not been tried in any part of India. An experiment of this kind has been tried in the United Provinces and elsewhere before now, yet it must he said that this step of the Government of Bombay is of a somewhat higher order than that of the other provinces. We congratulate His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's Government for making this auspicious beginning, and specially thank the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, to whose good offices is due the drafting and passing of the Bill. The Honourable Mr. Parekh's motion to shelve the Bill on the ground that talukdars, jagirdars and Khots were likely to be unjustly treated under the Bill was indeed objectionable. Some of the members complained that under the Bill the *panchayats* were not vested with judicial powers to try petty cases, that female franchise was not granted and that the *ex-officio* appointment of the Patel was objectionable. We are of opinion that it would certainly have been desirable to invest the *panchayats* with judicial power to try petty cases, civil as well as criminal. Such a provision would have given the villagers an opportunity for training in self-government in their villages. We are at one with those who are of opinion that the grant of franchise to women would be untimely in their present illiterate condition. Though the *ex-officio* appointment of the Patel appears to be objectionable, yet looking to the influence that Patels wield in the villages, we recognise the force of the argument that the interests of the villages would suffer by keeping the Patels out of the *Panchayats*. In conclusion, we wish success to the Bill and to the experiment that it proposes to make. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Bombay Samáchár* emphasises that judicial powers should have been conferred upon the *panchayats* as such a course would have facilitated the administration of justice. It approves of the *ex-officio* appointment of the Patel as a member and expresses satisfaction at Sir Ibrahim's explanation that franchise would be extended to women in future if they are given the vote in connection with the Council elections.] [We welcome the Punchayat Bill. There are some defects in the measure, but if we are to wait for one free from all defects, it will be difficult to have any beginning. On the whole the Bill gives many powers to the people. At least the villagers will have a good opportunity to manage their affairs, and the question of the widening of their powers will depend upon the proper utilisation of those conferred by the Act.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 11th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchar* (58), 9th Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (17), 10th Aug.

72. "The most controversial piece of legislation discussed during the last session was the Bill empowering the Bombay Port Trust to build a hotel for the convenience of ocean-going passengers. Everyone knows that an overwhelming majority of such passengers is European and is bound to remain so in the very nature of things. The principal question, however, is, whether it is the business of the Port authorities to undertake this new responsibility. Once the principle is accepted, it must be made applicable even to railways, not for any particular class of passengers but for all classes. But the railways are as unwilling to take up this burden as ever, even for first class passengers. The analogy of hotels at the principal terminal stations in England cannot hold good here; for there these hotels are maintained not by the Government but by the railway companies themselves. Similarly if shipping companies using the port of Bombay could be persuaded to shoulder the responsibility, there can be no quarrel over it. Then, the item of cost, which is the main thing in the discussion of the proposal, is indefinite. While Government estimates put the figure at fifty lacs, the experts on the non-official side agree in thinking that nothing short of double the official estimate would suffice for putting up a structure to accommodate 280 passengers. Opinions differ equally widely as to whether the scheme could be made a business proposition. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that the motion for first reading had to be passed only with the casting vote

The Bombay Port Trust Act Amendment Bill.

Servant of India (9), 12th Aug.

of the President. We think the more prudent course would have been to defer the further consideration of the measure by the new councils rather than to have rushed it through in such hot haste and in the face of such strong difference of opinion."

73. Passengers travelling by coasting steamers have to suffer much, and no noteworthy improvement has been made though two lakhs have been collected from out of additional taxes for the same. And Government bring forward hastily a Bill empowering the Port Trust to build a hotel at a cost of 50 lakhs for the convenience of passengers going to and coming from Europe! It makes the two angles obvious from which Government look at the European and Indian passengers. The Bill was introduced without due notice being given, and Government, who did not permit the condolence resolution regarding the death of Tilak, felt no compunction at all in breaking their rule for the sake of their favourite Bill. The second objectionable feature was that when there were signs of a majority against the Bill a big official began to sound the half-hearted members; still there were 21 for and 21 against, and His Excellency by his casting vote had the first reading passed.

Kesari (109), 10th Aug.

74. "We do not think the Bill introduced into the Bombay Legislative Council to amend and consolidate the law relating to lawyers is either happily conceived or well-timed. Its ostensible object is to revise the rate of precentage allowed as pleaders' fees fixed a hundred years ago; but it is really aimed as a blow at public life of the presidency in which lawyers play a conspicuous part. And our surprise is that Sir George Lloyd's Government should think of launching the Bill at this critical hour..... We have not known of any demand made publicly by lawyers as a body asking for a revision of their scale of fees. Why then this solicitude on the part of Government to father a Bill on the eve of the inauguration of 'Reformed' Councils? The Bill has not been submitted for public criticism, as is usually done, and we doubt whether the Bar Associations thoughout the Presidency have been given any opportunity to submit their views. The Bill contains heavy penal clauses to gag the politically-minded lawyers..... As in the case of the Rowlatt Act, so in the case of this Bill the bureaucracy has taken particular care not to define what a 'disloyal movement' is so that it can put its own interpretation and punish lawyers wholesale or threaten them with dire consequences for any participation in movements not congenial to itself!..... The Bill is most retrogressive; it aims at killing public life by making lawyers mere dependents on the Executive will. The Honourable Mr. Harchandrai instanced the doings of Sir Edward Carson, Bar-at-Law and K. C., and remarked that lawyers were throughly free in other countries to engage in movements beyond the scope of their profession; he asked:—'why should things be considered differently in India?' The answer to the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai's question is simple:—India is a bureaucracy-ridden country!"

Comments on the Bombay Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to legal practitioners.
New Times (8), 8th Aug.

75. We must congratulate the Government of Bombay on the able manner in which they have drafted the Bill to amend the constitution of the Bombay Municipality. However, we cannot help remarking that the reforms suggested therein are not fully abreast of the times. Have not the people of Bombay acquired sufficient experience to be able to conduct their own affairs? Why should not Bombay get complete local self-government? We are no doubt indebted to Government for doing away with the special representation of the J. P.'s on the Bombay Corporation. It is to be regretted that the franchise has not been extended to people paying a monthly rent below Rs. 20. We fail to understand why those people who pay a monthly rent of Rs. 10 and who have secured the right of electing representatives to the Provincial Legislative Council should be denied the

Comments on the draft Bill to amend the constitution of the Bombay Municipality.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 11th Aug.

right of choosing their own representatives on the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against the introduction of electric light and fans in the city by the Shikárpur (Sind) Municipality.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Aug.

76. "The public of Shikárpur in Sind have been thrown into commotion by a proposal recently made by the Municipality to introduce the installation of electric lights and fans in the city. A local Company, which was formed early this year and styled, 'The Shikárpur Electric Supply Company,' has applied to the Government of Bombay for a license, and the latter have issued a notification inviting objections, if any, to the grant of the license. Since then, those having large interests in the Company—and among them, as we shall show, are several members of the local Municipal Council!—have been, it is reported, moving heaven and earth to saddle the Municipality with the electric scheme, overriding the opposition of almost the entire public of the city. There are one or two facts in connection with this affair which deserve to be noted. Seven out of the ten directors of the Electric Supply Company, with which the Municipality is going to enter into a contract, are Municipal Councillors, and one of these seven who is the Managing Agent of the Company, is no other than the President of the Municipality! It is further stated that several other Municipal Councillors are shareholders in the Company. But leaving these aside, it is obvious that the Municipal Council of Shikárpur, having seven directors of the Company among its members and one of them the Managing Agent himself, cannot be expected to take any disinterested view of the contract. On the other hand, it has been represented to us that these very Councillors and the President are among the most active supporters of the electric installation. There is also the fact that the city itself, in its present condition, is ill-prepared and ill-suited for such installations. Most of the houses are made of highly inflammable material, the streets are very narrow, varying in width, as a rule, from 7 to 10 ft., and the houses are connected with one another very closely. Not one of the eight insurance companies which were consulted in the matter has consented to insure structures in the bazar. In addition to this, the majority of the residents are poor and the houses are small. As we have said, the public of Shikárpur have a decided objection to the scheme. It would be both foolish and high-handed on the part of the Municipality to go in for the scheme in the teeth of such opposition and in the interests of a clique which is now dominating the Council. We hope the Government of Bombay will put their foot firmly down on the scheme till at least it is clear that no Councillor of the city has any direct interest in the contract with the Electric Supply Company and that no jobbery at the sacrifice of the interests of the public is intended by the Municipality."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 20th August 1920.

*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 21st August 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "The selection of Lord Sinha will be received throughout the country with enthusiastic welcome and approval. Of his appointment and the benevolent motive which has evidently inspired it, we shall speak anon. Meanwhile, we draw the attention of the public to one or two salient and significant features of the new appointments. In the first place, it is noteworthy that of the five appointments, four go to the Indian Civil Service. Ever since the conception of Mr. Montagu's reforms, the complaint has been raised, on behalf of the Indian Civil Service, that its vested rights have been threatened, as though this unfortunate country was meant for the Indian Civil Service, and not the service for the country. And the history of Mr. Montagu's reforms is, in no small measure, the history of concessions to-this illegitimate cry—with the inevitable result that the reforms have been truncated, if not wrecked, by the desire not to trespass too much on the preserve of power and privilege of the Civilian master of this country. That, however, is not all. To conciliate the 'outraged' Civilian, his salary and his allowance have been substantially increased—and numerous sinecures and jobs have been created. And as the crowning gift comes the selection of four of them as Governors. So that the Indian Civil Service wins all along the line..... We are, of course, not unmindful of the fact that two of those selected are already heads of the Provinces concerned. We entirely approve of the promotion of Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir Edward Maclagan, though neither of them has yet fully realised the hopes that were raised when they were called upon to assume the responsibilities of their present posts..... It is essential that so long as we are blessed with Diarchy, the Civilian should not rise beyond the Executive Councillorship. Unless this is done it is futile to expect the rapid development of parliamentary government in this country. Exceptions, of course, there will have to be. And it is this consideration which must be the justification of the promotion of Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir Edward Maclagan. Both are exceptions; one distinguished by his ability and tact, the other by his sympathy and his liberal tendencies. Two such appointments should have satisfied the ambition of the Civil Service. But that the Service should monopolise four out of the five new governorships is not only a perpetration of a flagrant piece of jobbery, but a most dangerous precedent. The services of Sir Frank Sly and Sir William Marris, whatever they may be, could have been rewarded in other ways, but not by pitchforking them into Governorships. Their selection may be a feather in the cap of the Civil Service, but it is an insult to the people of this country..... We heartily welcome Lord Sinha's appointment. We consider it as an honour to the country in so for as the appointment of the right man to the right place is an honour to the country. We sincerely congratulate Lord Sinha. But we cannot, we regret, consider Lord Sinha's appointment as something apart. And, therefore, we cannot enthuse over it..... By the appointment of Lord Sinha, a right principle, enunicated decades ago, is given effect to; but, as if the concession were too great, its effect is negatived by the hurling of an insult against the people. We cannot characterise the selection of Sir Frank Sly and Sir William Marris, in addition to that of Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir Edward Maclagan, as anything less than an insult to the people. We mean no disrespect to the gentlemen concerned; for we recognise that both of them are able civilians. But we are here concerned with a principle. In the first place the time is gone by when the Indian people could be satisfied merely by one test appointment. Secondly, are we to imagine that there are not Indians who could fill with greater success and distinction the offices to which Sir Frank Sly and Sir William Marris have been called? Is the man who was but four years ago a mere Inspector-General of Police to be considered fit to 'govern' a province, while able and distinguished Indians, with meritorious record of the service of the people, who, in other civilized countries, would be welcomed as Cabinet

The appointments of the five Governors under the Reforms Act.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Aug.

Ministers, are still to remain content with the solace that one among them has been vouchsafed this honour of being bracketted with such a versatile Civilian?..... To tell the people of India that they are to be governed on the principle of partnership and to refuse to give them a fair proportion of governorships is a great injury. But to ask them to accept a Sir William Marris as a 'Governor' is to add insult to injury."

2. "The major provinces are, under the Reform Act, to have each a Governor, and the new appointments are declared. Of these we have known Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir Edward Maclagan to be sympathetic towards the Indian aspirations, and we hope they will soon translate their sympathy into deeds. One has, however, cause to be disappointed over the appointments of Sir William Marris and Sir Frank Sly. We have not known either of them to be friendly to Indians, and to expect from such men anything of our good and good only would be hoping too much..... We are glad to find at least one Indian in the whole lot, and that is Lord Sinha. We heartily congratulate His Lordship upon being the first Indian to receive such high honour as he did so many others. Notwithstanding his recent advice to his own countrymen to be satisfied with the justice done to the Punjáb, and to divert their attention to 'that large and benevolent measure' as also his strictures upon Mahatma Gandhi, we hope Lord Sinha well knows the grievances of his people and will rise to the occasion when he is in an independent position." [The *New Times* writes:—"Lord Sinha's appointment would have been received with universal joy before or during the war. But political thought is advancing by leaps and bounds; and the advanced section in India who want immediate Home Rule, as demanded by the Amritsar Congress, will not regard this appointment as creating a new heaven or a new earth. The new appointments, indeed, fall far short of the Indian demand, inasmuch as four out of the eight Governors are members of the I. C. S."]

**Mahrátta* (7), 22nd Aug.; *New Times* (8), 17th Aug.

3. "The news of Lord Sinha's appointment as the Governor of Bihar and Orissa will be received with enthusiasm by the 'Moderate' party. But the country has little reason to rejoice over the fact that an Indian of great ability has been admitted to the inner circle of the bureaucracy. The problem of India is not the problem of securing some high posts for a favoured few among the Indians; the problem of India is *swaraj*, is national freedom, is democratisation of the Administration..... The bureaucratic character of the Indian administration is not undermined by the appointment of a few Indians to high posts; it is possible the bureaucracy may become all the stronger by the support it may receive from high-placed Indian bureaucrats..... It is a sign of the times that high posts in the Administration and the titles and honours conferred by the bureaucracy have no longer the values attached to them by the earlier generation."

New Times (8), 18th Aug.

4. "This appointment of an Indian to the office of a provincial Governor tends to approximate British rule to the rule of the Moghuls in one particular in which British rule was compared to the Moghul to the disadvantage of the former. Under the Moghul kings Hindus were freely appointed to pro-consulships of provinces and to commands in the army. Lord Sinha's appointment removes the reproach against British rule in regard to civil administration. We have no doubt that this new departure will be attended with the most brilliant success." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"The appointment of Lord Sinha of Raipur as Governor of Bihar and Orissa will no doubt be hailed with joy throughout the country..... This appointment clearly and definitely confirms the promise given by His Most Gracious Majesty King George V in his last proclamation that the sons of this country are now to be given a larger share in its administration."]

Lord Sinha's appointment as Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

Servant of India (9), 19thAug.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 22nd Aug., Eng cols.

*5. "Even in this appointment, the invidious distinction between the Indian and Englishman is evident. An Englishman who is a Peer and a Privy Councillor, has held office as Under Secretary of State in his Majesty's Government and piloted a great measure in Parliament, would and could aspire to the Viceroyalty. Lord Curzon's case is the most prominent instance. None of the present Presidency Governors—not even the Viceroy—had the status in English politics that Lord Sinha has. And yet he is appointed virtually to a Lieutenant-Governorship..... The secret of political happiness in India is to cultivate the capacity to appreciate microscopic concessions doled out with the celerity of the snail."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 22nd Aug.

6. It is really a good sign that an Indian has been appointed as Governor at the beginning of the new era in the governance of the country. We think it a victory of public opinion due to the time spirit, but we congratulate Lord Sinha because it is through him that Indians have got the honour. If Tilak occupied the highest pinnacle of democracy, Lord Sinha has occupied the highest position in the bureaucracy. It is natural that under foreign rule, royal favours should be shown to a man of mild character useful to the administration and we have nothing to say about it. Lord Sinha is ostensibly a leader of the Moderates, but we think he is a real well-wisher of the country. He introduced the Press Act strangling India, assisted the Rowlatt Act reducing us to the position of slaves, disregarded our sufferings in the Punjáb and let his tongue loose on a saint like Gandhi from whom he is removed by miles. It is doubtful how far his regime would be beneficial to the people as he is antagonistic to the Nationalists. But there are many advantages in having a man occupying a great position, when he desires the good of the people in his own way and we hope Bihar will have that experience. It is true that a narrow and weak-minded countryman will not be so useful as a liberal-minded foreigner and it is not also false that he becomes an instrument of the destruction of his own people. But no one should forget that the atmosphere of foreign rule will be changed only in this way. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—There were some Indian Civil Servants like Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutt in the old regime who had established their claim to a Lieutenant-Governorship by their excellent work. But as they did not possess a white skin, it was not possible for them to get the post. It has been proved by Lord Sinha's appointment that henceforward there will be no colour distinctions in the matter of high appointments, and from this point of view everyone will offer his congratulations. We congratulate both the British Government and Lord Sinha on the appointment of the latter, and we hope it will be a precursor of many such appointments. The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—There will be a majority of Indians in the Government of a Province which will have an Indian Governor. If such a Government means to achieve public good, it can do so to a great extent and, therefore, we congratulate heartily Lord Sinha on his appointment.]

Lokasangraha (112), 19th Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (17), 17th Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (42), 18th Aug.

7. Lord Sinha of Raipur is to be congratulated on being appointed the Governor of Bihar and Orissa. Indians are quite competent to become Governors of Indian Provinces; but so far these posts were reserved for the heaven-born Civil Service and British politicans. The credit for breaking the colour bar in respect of high appointments in India belongs to Lord Morley. We must congratulate Government on conferring this high post on Lord Sinha; but at the same time we are grieved to see that they could not find a suitable Indian to fill any of the other four new governorships. The public should raise a protest against the appointment of Civilians to these posts. No civilian should be appointed to them and they should be reserved for Indian and British politicians. [The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—There can be no two opinions on the fact that Lord Sinha is in every respect qualified for the post conferred upon him. We feel confident that Lord Sinha will prove a success. Let us

Sanj Vartamán (32), 17th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 19th Aug.; *Prajа Mitra and Pársi* (30), 17th Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (55), 19th Aug.; *Bharat Seva* (15), 20th Aug.

hope that Government will not rest content with appointing a single Indian as Governor, but that they will recognise the claims of Indians for being appointed to similar posts in other provinces. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—We are gratified at the appointment of Lord Sinha. The principle has now been accepted by Government that there is no civil post to which an Indian cannot be appointed. The doors of the military department are closed against Indians; but it is hoped they will soon be opened for them. The *Akhbár-i-Islám* considers Lord Sinha fully deserving of the honour done to him. The *Bhárat Seva* thanks His Majesty for vindicating the Queen's Proclamation by appointing Lord Sinha as the Governor of an Indian province.]

*8. "The appoinment of Lord Sinha of Raipur as Governor of Bihar and Orissa is just as much a landmark in the history of British rule in this country as was his elevation to the House of Lords and appointment as Under Secretary of State for India..... We congratulate also the British Government on the high-minded step they have taken for the first time since 1833 when the principle of equality of status, irrespective of creed, colour or caste, was solemnly embodied in a parliamentary statute..... It is not to be supposed that the elevation of a single eminent Indian like Lord Sinha amounts to an honourable and complete redemptiou of those pledges. It is, however, a gratifying step in advance in the history of India's political progress, and to that extent we readily acknowledge our gratitude to the British Government. It is a forward step of very far-reaching importance, and we felicitate the British Government on the courage and magnanimity they have at last shown. The process of national emasculation and national deterioration had been going on apace. It is now arrested to a small extent, and Lord Sinha's elevation will be a notable land-mark in the new era inaugurated by Mr. Montagu's Reform Scheme..... It is a pity that a section of the Extremist press has already begun to depreciate the merits of the appointment and its significance and to declaim against Lord Sinha. A more thoughtless policy it is impossible to conceive. If Lord Sinha's countrymen will not stand by him and lend him their moral support in the discharge of the onerous duties for the first time entrusted to an Indian but endeavour to undermine his political influence and moral prestige, they will be doing precisely what the enemies of Indian progress ardently wish for."

Gujarati (18), 22nd Aug., Eng. cols.

9. All will no doubt praise Government for the appointment of Lord Sinha to a Governor's post. Under Akbar's rule high posts were given to Hindus; and it appears as if Akbar's rule has again commenced. The people wish that this Akbar's rule in the British Moglai should be maintained and also augment. Indians on the present occasion will not, in their minds, fail to ask the question, why should not all the Governors in India be Indians?

Swarájya ( ), 19th Aug.

10. "Mr. Gandhi is developing violence of speech. His last public utterance in Madras proves how hopeless it is to keep non-co-operation as a harmless negative movement..... The Government on the other hand have not lost their equanimity. They have their own campaign of passive resistance. The activity they permit themselves is of the most beneficent co-operation. Lord Sinha will co-operate with Government as Governor of Behar and Orissa. It is a bare due of the authorities to say that the Indians are grateful for at last giving effect to the charter of Victoria the Good."

Jám-Jamshed (24), 20th Aug., Eng. cols.

11. "There are, in every province, numbers of enthusiastic civilian warriors who are anxious to display their prowess. They are the people who consider that the Reforms Act is simply the betrayal of Britain into the hands of Bolshevik emissaries heavy with gold from the coffers of Muscovy! How will Lord Sinha get on with these? On the other hand the position of an Indian Governor must necessarily become difficult if any section of people in his province declare that they will not co-operate with him in the working of his regime. Lord Sinha's remark, therefore, has this much significance in it

Comments on Lord Sinha's interview with the *Sunday Observer*.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Aug.

that he realises the factors he is up against and hopes that all will end well. But the more important portion of his interview refers to the question of world unrest. Lord Sinha thinks there is less unrest in India than 'in the rest of the world, not excepting England'; and he puts this unrest down to economic causes; expressing the 'confidence that all classes in India would soon settle down to the work of the nation-building.' We disagree with Lord Sinha's reading of the situation if he means to convey that all the unrest in India is due solely to economic causes. Is the agitation about the Khilafat wrong due to Mr. Gandhi's fear of the prevailing high prices, or the agitation about the Punjáb tragedy due to the famine conditions which have become endemic in India?..... Lord Sinha must not delude himself or the British public into ignoring the real causes which are agitating the minds of the people of India. It is well to hope that the country will settle down to the peaceful task of nation-building, but India expects Lord Sinha and his colleagues to settle first with the nation-wreckers who have been given a certificate of merit by the noble House of which his Lordship is undoubtedly a worthy member."

12. "'I enter upon my duties', Lord Sinha is reported to have said in an interview with a press representative regarding his new appointment as a Governor, 'with the assured hope of co-operation of all officials and all classes in the province. If my administration is not successful it will be my fault'. These are brave and modest words, and they indicate the spirit in which the first Indian Governor of a province proposes to undertake the duties of his high office..... It is characteristic of his tact and temper that he modestly minimises the difficulties of his position. It is well for the first Indian Governor of a province to enter upon the duties of his office in a spirit of robust optimism, in spite of obvious difficulties..... Lord Sinha's optimism is observable not only in the way in which he minimises the difficulties of his position and the gravity of Indian unrest, but the confident manner in which he anticipates co-operation from all classes of the people. It requires courage and confidence to be sure of co-operation, at a moment when the whole country is resounding with the cry of non-co-operation."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 21st Aug., Eng. cols.

13. "The appointment of Dr. Sapru to be Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council has been received with great enthusiasm by all sections of Indian opinion. His sound knowledge of law joined to his independence of judgment, his broad outlook and his strong commonsense admirably fit him for the office."

Dr. Sapru's appointment as Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Servant of India (9), 19th Aug.

14. "Dr. Sapru's appointment carries complete public approbation, and none the less so because he has had the reputation of being a publicist of a sober, solid and moderate type. He has not been a perfervid patriot, with a striking career of violent excitement and exaltation. In public offices, after all, we want men of experience, judgment and balance, rather than men of fiery enthusiasm. We want men of culture and capacity, of integrity and character. Dr. Sapru fulfils these requirements, and hence his appointment must be welcomed by all shades of Indian opinion, though he has never been an idol of the masses nor has he ever swayed them like a Tilak or a Gandhi." [The *Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra* writes:—"The country will warmly welcome the appointment of the Honourable Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru as an ordinary member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in place of Sir George Lowndes. Although belonging to the Moderate party Dr. Tej Bahadur is a genuine patriot. Not very long ago he declined a Judgeship of the Allahabad High Court..... Of the three Indian members now in the Viceroy's Executive Council he is undoubtedly the best and ablest. The Governmen t are to be congratulated on his appointment."]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 18th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra* (31), 15th Aug., Eng. cols.

15. "The appointment of Dr. Sapru to be Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council as Sir George Lowndes' successor has been heartily welcomed throughout the country by all sections of public opinion. His fine talents and sound knowledge of law, clearness of vision and independence of judgment, persuasive eloquence and strong commonsense eminently fit him for the office. It is impossible that an Indian of his accomplishments and broad outlook will not succeed in making his influence felt at the head-quarters of the Indian Government, though he may be over-ridden by his English colleagues..... We congratulate Dr. Sapru on his elevation and also Lord Chelmsford's government and Mr. Montagu on the very excellent choice they have made on the present occasion. It is likely that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad would have had preference but for the invidious and unpleasant *rôle* he had to play in drawing up the minority report in opposition to Lord Hunter's majority report and to the displeasure of the Indian Government." [The *Kesari* writes:—Dr. Sapru is a leader of the moderates, but he has not sacrificed his independent and brave character. He has done very commendable work, from the point of view of Indian interests, as a member of the Southborough Committee. He was one of those who opposed strongly the Rowlatt Act. We congratulate him upon the honour conferred upon him of serving the motherland and occupying a high seat of power. It is hoped, however, that he will not pick up the faults of the Civil Servants by daily contact with them.]

*Gujarati (18), 22nd Aug., Eng. cols.; *Kesari* (109), 17th Aug.

16. We congratulate Dr. Sapru, the Government of India, and the people of India on his appointment to the Viceroy's Executive Council. Not only has Dr. Sapru made a name for himself as a competent lawyer, but he is also one of the recognised popular leaders in the field of politics. Though he is looked upon as belonging to the Moderate party, yet his views are very liberal, and it may confidently be said that his sympathy for the awakened aspirations of India is entirely cordial. His appointment proves a sincere desire on the part of the authorities to give practical effect to the provisions of the Reforms Act. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* also welcomes the appointment of Dr. Sapru to the Law Membership.]

Bombay Samachár (58), 16th Aug.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 22nd Aug., Eng. cols.

17. Referring to the agitation in favour of Mr. Montagu's appointment as Viceroy of India, the *New Times* remarks:—"We believe Mr. Montagu will be the best of the candidates whose names have been mentioned so far; but we cannot agree with those of our friends who think Mr. Montagu has only to be appointed as Viceroy and India will be 'conciliated'! The *Bengalee* thinks India has 'grappled' Mr. Montagu 'into her heart with hoops of steel'! This is too exaggerated an estimate of Mr. Montagu's 'services' to India. The country cannot feel warm over a Secretary of State whose condemnation of the Amritsar affair is halting, and who has awarded certificates of merit to Lord Chelmsford and Sir Michael..... His 'reforms' are inadequate and unsatisfactory; the Punjáb wound is unhealed; the Khilafat problem is unsolved; his latest strictures on Mr. Gandhi have been resented throughout the country; and his letting the Government of India do what it will to combat the movement of non-co-operation shows that lack of courage which is not a mark of statesmanship. ..... India demands national freedom, the freedom to shape her own destiny, to realise herself, to live out her own life for the service of civilization. India demands *swaraj*; the bureaucracy stands solid against this demand. Mr. Montagu is not strong enough, his friends of the 'moderate' party are not strong enough to break down the bureaucratic system." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"Mr. Montagu's appointment as Viceroy would certainly be welcomed by a large number of his admirers in India. There is no doubt he is a sincere well-wisher of India, and the great services he has rendered to her cause cannot be underestimated..... Were Mr. Montagu appointed as Viceroy he would certainly not find the viceroyalty a bed of roses. There is a narrow-minded class of people in England who dislike Mr. Montagu on account of

Will Mr. Montagu's appointment as Viceroy prove satisfactory?

New Times (8), 20th Aug.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 22nd Aug., Eng. cols.

his nationality. Then the Anglo-Indians in this country do not like him on account of his attitude in the Dyer affair; the military class does not like him for the same reason; and lastly the Extremists were but lately clamouring for his removal from office because he did not satisfy their ideas of justice."]

Comments on the revised scale of salaries fixed by Government for offices in Bombay.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 21st Aug.

18. Government have recently issued a Press Note announcing the increase of salaries the clerks serving in Bombay will get but we do not think that Government will be able through it to realise their hope of spreading contentment among these clerks who have been the victims of high prices. The scale of salaries announced in the Press Note will be made applicable to clerks serving in the lower division of the Secretariat and it is not likely to afford them any relief. The new scale of salaries is not at all sufficient to enable people to stay in Bombay with their families and it does not seem to have been justly applied in the case of those who have grown grey in Government service, nor can it be said to be a fitting recompense for the long services rendered by them. The maximum salary has been fixed at Rs. 160, but very few will be able to reach it owing to the low scale of increments and the imposition of the efficiency bars. Government should offer such salaries to their servants as would attract a good type of men; but the salaries offered by Government to their clerks will be found to be lower than those given by first class commercial firms in Bombay.

The Village Patils should be required to pass certain tests.

Lokasangraha (112), 15th Aug.

19. Mr. S. B. Joshi, writing in the *Lokasangraha*, says that like the Kulkarnis the Patils also should be required to pass certain tests. This is all the more necessary now, he says, when a large measure of responsibility will devolve upon the Patils on the inauguration of the reforms. The spread of education among the masses, remarks the writer, will in future produce greater activity among them and that, therefore, a man cannot fitly fill the position of a Patil who is unable to discharge his duties in a satisfactory manner.

A complaint of the Clerks in the Telegraph Department.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Aug.

20. "There appears to be grave discontent in the clerical establishments of the Telegraph Department all over this country owing to the delay in putting into effect the recently sanctioned revision of their scales of pay..... It is certainly surprising that while all the higher branches of the Department have been allowed to draw the arrears as well as their salaries on the enhanced scales, only the miserably paid clerical staff should be prevented from benefiting from the concessions recently sanctioned. The excuse unofficially advanced for delaying the grant of the concession in the case of these clerks is, it seems, 'want of funds'. But, was the head of the Department unaware what the cost of the whole revision would amount to when the revision was sanctioned? If there is financial stringency, why were all the higher branches of the service allowed to draw their arrears and enhanced salaries? The clerical staff, composed as it is of the most wretchedly-paid branch of the service and at the same time forming the biggest in point of numbers, ought to have received priority of consideration at the hands of Government..... Has the Director-General any valid excuse for this invidious distinction?"

Comments on the Bombay Development Scheme.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 14th Aug., Eng. cols.

21. In the course of its second article on the Bombay Development Scheme, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—"But bold and comprehensive though the Scheme is, and earnest and whole-hearted is the enthusiasm of His Excellency the Governor, we are bound to admit that it is not without its blemishes. In the first instance it is a big jump in the dark. We think that the public have been rather unfairly treated. It is a scheme which is

estimated to cost 5½ crores of rupees, and this sum might easily be doubled or even trebled, and yet in its shaping, modification, or advice, the public have been studiously put aside..... We were all the while under the impression that whenever the Scheme was to see the light of day, the public would be given ample opportunity to discuss it and to offer suggestions. Nothing of the kind is being done. The secret—and God only knows why it was secret—was scrupulously kept and till His Excellency made his exposition in the Council Hall, the public had not the faintest inkling about the nature of the Scheme. To put it quite mildly this treatment of the public was as unfair as it was unwarranted. But one of the drawbacks of the Scheme is its diffusiveness. It aims at too many things at one and the same time. We are quite prepared to admit that ultimately all the different parts of a comprehensive whole are to be made to fit one with the other, but it would have been far more advisable to try one thing at a time, instead of frittering away time, money and energy in several distinct and separate directions. We would suppose that the reclamation of the sea by itself is sufficient to monopolise all the attention of all the experts who might be called upon to participate in the Scheme..... And now let the reader hold his breath, when we point out that all this ambitious and all-embracing work is to be entrusted to the above-mentioned newly created Development Authority. And, pray, what this mighty prodigy is? As far as we could make out, it is the Improvement Trust with another name and much worse in its composition..... If His Excellency is under the impression that the public is likely to be satisfied with the new Authority, then we respectfully want to say, that he will be mistaken..... The Improvement Trust—of whose work we are not at all enamoured, as our readers have already seen—gave the public some sort of semblance of representation..... But the newly created Development Department will be a purely Government concern, and none of the public bodies will have any representation thereon. According to His Excellency's statement, its chief merit will be that it 'will constitute a special department of Government working directly under Government,' and now mark the point emphasised by Sir George Lloyd when he says, that 'it will be hampered by as few red tape rules and as little trammelled by old fashioned methods, as possible.' In all conscience, we are no advocates of red tape, but we would be the last for all that, to champion chartered liberty, and if our reading between the lines is correct it seems that the new Development Department is given full liberty to do as it pleases, oblivious of any public opinion. Since it will be a Government department, manned and controlled by the Government, if will be solely responsible to the Government, but the public who will provide money, the public who are primarily concerned, the public whose interests in the present and the future welfare of the city is at stake, will be totally ignored as if in the whole matter the public had not the least concern whatsoever. We say with all emphasis that the creation of this Department is an insult to the public and the arguments arrayed in its support are nothing more or less than mere eyewash. We heartily acknowledge—and we have already acknowledged—the meritorious part played by His Excellency in the elaboration of the Scheme, but unless the proposed Department thoroughly overhauled or allowed to be finished in still-birth, it will remain a great blemish on the whole project which in its very inception will be a thing of abiding suspicion on the part of the public, which ought to be avoided, if His Excellency's wish for co-operation is to be fulfilled."

22. The *Indu Prakdsh* strongly protests against the proposed acquisition of a large area for the new Grant Road Station and the consequent demolition of a large number of houses. The present Governor of Bombay, it says, attaches due weight to popular opinion and instances in this connection the abandonment by His Excellency of the project of building a Council Hall on the Oval. It expresses its conviction that His Excellency will consider the whole question in a sympathetic spirit if all the public bodies unite in pressing upon his notice the hardships involved in the carrying out

Indu Prakdsh (44), 19th and 20th Aug.; *Lokasangraha* (112), 15th Aug.

of the scheme. [In a subsequent issue the paper says that the various projects for the improvement of the city of Bombay will only add to the amenities hitherto enjoyed by the rich and that the lot of the poor will continue to be as miserable as it is at present. In the opinion of the *Lokasangraha* the proposed establishment of a separate department for the improvement of the city of Bombay will not fail to impoverish the city since its Director alone is to receive the large salary of Rs. 6,000 a month.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 19th Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 16th Aug.; *Gujaráti* (18), 15th Aug.

23. The acceptance of the responsibility by Government of providing houses for the poor and middle-classes is a great reform, but that is no justification for the exclusive undertaking of the development scheme by Government alone, thereby encroaching upon the rights of local self-Government. The problem of the development of Bombay falls within the limits of Local Self-government and the Government of Bombay have no right to devise any schemes for the same and put them into practice. In our conversation with the Honourable Mr. Curtis, we found that he could not give any satisfactory explanation about the financial responsibility entailed by the schemes proposed to be undertaken by Government. What we gathered was that the schemes would, on the whole, cost twenty-five to thirty crores and that the people would have to meet this expenditure by paying duty on cotton. The people will have no voice in the expenditure to be made from the revenue accruing from this taxation. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd will remain in charge of the presidency for only five years and the Honourable Mr. Curtis and Sir Lawless Hepper will retire in due course. After their departure who will be responsible should the schemes prove injurious instead of being beneficial? It was Mr. Dabholkar, President of the Municipal Corporation, who presided over Mr. Curtis' lecture the other day. If he had any proper feelings with regard to the rights of Local Self-Government he would never have accepted the chair. He declared that Government alone could satisfactorily solve the problem of housing in the face of the increasing responsibilities of the Municipal Corporation. Again he assured Mr. Curtis that the public of Bombay were, to a certain extent, satisfied by the housing programme that Government proposed to undertake. Mr. Dabholkar has no right to mislead Government by making such statements, because when he speaks in his individual capacity, he does not represent the people of Bombay. Instead of agitating in vain against the acquisition of properties at Grant Road, the Parsis should, along with other communities, convene monster meetings and pass resolutions praying the Government of India and the Secretary of State to veto the housing-programme of the Government of Bombay inasmuch as it deals a great blow at local self-government, and to direct that local bodies should be entrusted with the function of the development of Bombay. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* complains that Government have not yet taken the public into confidence by giving publicity to the details of the housing programme. It proceeds:—His Excellency deserves our gratitude for the sympathetic attitude that he has shown for the re-housing of the dishoused people of Grant Road. But we would suggest that it would hardly be convenient for a majority of the people, especially Parsi widows, at present residing in that locality, who mantain themselves by doing menial work, to stay in Salsette. In that case, there will arise the question of how they should maintain themselves. We hope that Government will so arrange things as to provide dwellings for them in the vicinity of the centres where they are employed at present. The *Gujaráti* strongly protests against the institution of the Development Department and proceeds:—The head of this department is to receive the monstrous sum of Rs. 6,000 as his monthly salary per mensem. The beauty of all this is that appointments have already been made and some of the work has already been commenced before Government have acquired power to do these things from the Legislative Council. It is absolutely necessary that a representative of the Corporation should be associated with the development authority. The levy of a duty on cotton bales is likely to affect adversely the interest of the consumer.]

24. "The vision of a greater Bombay which the Honourable Mr. Curtis has given the public of this city, no doubt adds considerably to the information which has been so far vouchsafed to them regarding the details of the scheme of development which the Government of Bombay have in view. But there are many more important details in regard to which the public are ingorant but of which they must be apprised before they are called upon to accord their full approval to the Government proposals..... Sir George Lloyd in outlining the scheme in the Council was chary of conveying any information about this machinery beyond mentioning the fact that it will be entirely official. Unless we know more about the proposed Development Department, it will be impossible to acquiesce in any of the proposals which are subsidiary to this vital proposition..... As we had occasion to point out ere this, the question of housing and development being essentially one which concerns the Municipality, the denial of any voice to the latter in the handling of the problem cannot be justified on any ground and, we are sure, will never be acquiesced in by the Municipality without the strongest protest and the most determined struggle..... There is again the important question, which we are glad to see the *Indian Social Reformer* has raised, whether the scheme, being essentially one pertaining to Local Self-Government, does not really come under 'transferred heads.' If it does, would it be fair to tie hand and foot the Minister in charge of the portfolio to this scheme?..... We understand an attempt is being made in 'high quarters' individually to *sumjao*, if we may use the expression, members of the Corporation in regard to the scheme in view, including, no doubt, the proposal to set up a purely official body in control of the whole scheme. We trust this will in no way influence the opinion of the Corporation as a whole towards the question. We regret to note that the present president of the Corporation, who presided on the occasion of Mr. Curtis' lecture on the 'Development of Bombay' at the Empire Theatre, had not a word to say, in his concluding speech, in respect of the grievance of the Municipality that no voice is accorded to it in the scheme officially put forward. On the other hand, Mr. Vasantrao went out of his way to recommend to the citizens of Bombay that 'to a scheme of this nature we must give our hearty support.' It is a sorry commentary on the public life of this city that the President of the Municipality, which is threatened with the forfeiture of one of its vital rights, should publicly call upon the citizens blindly to acquiesce in such a grave injustice..... If the Corporation, constituted as it unfortunately is, fails in its duty in this respect, it will be incumbent on the public of this city to make it quite clear to Government that they cannot acquiesce in proposals which amount to a negation of the fundamental principles of responsible government, which, we are told, are going to be recognised in an increasing measure in the coming days. We are aware that we are striking a discordant note. It is with the greatest regret that we do so..... Our regret is due to the fact that we are obliged to oppose, in this particular aspect of the matter, a Governor whose solicitude for the City is as genuine and enduring as his zeal to see a better and greater Bombay created out of the present chaos is persistent and practical..... Sir George Lloyd, we have no doubt, is inspired by the desire of doing nothing that will be detrimental to the interests of this City or any important section of it. But, after all, Sir George Lloyd cannot do everything himself. Where is the guarantee that the instruments he chooses will always place the welfare of the City above everything else..... We admire the courage of Sir George Lloyd. But we are afraid he has not yet fully realised that the bureaucratic machine once set in motion will baffle the heroic efforts of a single individual however capable and earnest he may be. The only guiding and controlling check to this machine which the collective experience of mankind has discovered is the control of democracy..... There are certain alarming features in the vision of greater Bombay which Mr. Curtis has given us. The underlying idea seems to us to be to set apart the best sites nearest the sea-shore for the rich. Why should this be so?

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Curtis' lecture on the development of Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Aug.

We are entirely and strongly opposed to any scheme that seeks to segregate the working and poorer classes into a separate and less pleasant locality. The Bombay of the future is to belong to the poor as well as the rich. Deliberately to create West Ends with their flaunting luxuries and East Ends with their squalid miseries is not to build a City Beautiful. To do so is not only entirely opposed to the truly democratic instinct of the Oriental, but it is the easiest way of importing into this country the bitter class hatreds of the West. Already we have had enough of rank solicitude for the conveniences of the rich and criminal neglect of the needs of the poor. We shall not permit this any further..... It is, therefore, that we insist, and we shall continue to insist, on this that the Development Authorities are made subject to the due control of the representatives of the people in so far as the execution as well as the conception of the schemes for the modelling of their City is concerned—and that a definite time-limit is laid down at the expiry of which the whole undertaking is re-transferred to a fully popular body—the Bombay County Council, as Mr. Curtis described it."

*25. *Indian Social Reformer* (6), 22nd Aug.

"A high tribute is due to Mr. Curtis for the pluck, public spirit and loyalty with which, while nearing the end of his official career, he emerged from 'the dim, religious light' of the sanctuary of Red Tape and Sealing Wax to face the flare of the foot-lights. The lecture, it may be said at once, was not a success, but the lecturer was. Every one present admired the high sense of public duty impelling such a fine, crusted type of bureaucrat, in obedience to the new dispensation, to do his best to explain to the public the plans and intentions of Government in respect of the development of Bombay City..... For the rest the lecture, and especially the lantern slides, gave one for the first time a general though hazy view of what has been done, what is being done, and what may be done, to develop Bombay into a healthy and beautiful city. It is a good beginning. But it is a very much belated beginning. The public will enthusiastically support a sound scheme of Bombay development..... It has confidence in His Excellency the Governor's earnestness and zeal in this matter. But it resents the springing upon it piecemeal, and without a word of explanation as to why and wherefore, of the different parts of a great scheme which must be viewed as a whole to appreciate the bearing of the parts on one another and in relation to the whole. It is said that secrecy had to be observed in regard to intended acquisitions of land in order to prevent speculation. The practice, however, while it effectually prevents the general public from forming a connected idea of official projects, does not seem to be very effective in its object of keeping speculators, against whom it is aimed, off the scent. Publication would at least localise speculation, while vague rumour lead to its being general all over the city..... We urge, therefore, that a full and connected narrative of the problems of Bombay development, written not in the manner of an office note but for popular exposition, illustrated with maps and pictures, should be issued to the public in English and the vernaculars in a handy form and at a nominal price. Intelligent public support, based on knowledge, can alone assure of permanence any scheme originating in the shifting sands of officialdom..... The appointment of a single man as virtual dictator runs counter to a very strong current of public opinion. He is to be responsible to the Governor, no doubt, but the Governor is—and in the new order of things, he will be—a very busy man with numerous other pre-occupations. Virtually Sir Lawless Hepper will be sole autocrat..... We cannot see any alternative to a small advisory board of Indians to share the responsibility of the new department with Sir Lawless. It is unusual, no doubt, to have such a Board attached to any Department of the Secretariat; but this is not an ordinary Department, and Sir Lawless' appointment is itself very unusual..... We raised in our article last week the question whether the new Department will be, as it should be as coming under the head of Local Self-Government which is a transferred subject, under a Minister which, it cannot be, if it were placed directly under the Governor. An assurance that it is not intended to 'reserve' this part of Local Self-Government will appreciably affect the attitude of the public to the creation of the new Department."

26. "The result of a deputation of five gentlmen who waited on His Excellency the Governor on behalf of the Zoroastrian Association, to protest against the proposed scheme for the Grant Road Terminal Station, has been very disappointing..... We have not the slightest doubt that His Excellency means to do his best and utmost, not only by the general public, but by the inhabitants of the notified area. But the best intentions and the most comprehensive sympathy will not house a single family unless there is a corresponding determination to see that houses are provided first before the work of demolition is commenced. It is not merely a question of balance of convenience, but of absolute necessity. The safety of the public is the supreme law. But in no civilized jurisprudence is it lawful to promote public amenities at the expense of private rights, and the rights affected by the present project are of a fundamental and elementary kind. Meanwhile the Government have shown themselves most reasonable in their attitude towards the agitation on the question. The agitation must continue, and we feel that when Government have fully realised the strength of public opinion, they will either alter and modify the scheme, irrevocable as it has been pronounced to be, or provide proper safeguards for the shelter of those dishoused by the scheme."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's reply to the Parsi Deputation in connection with the Grant Road Terminal Station Scheme.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 16th Aug., Eng. cols.

27. Commenting upon His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's reply to the deputation that waited upon him in connection with the proposed acquisition of buildings at Grant Road, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—Though His Excellency's reply to the deputation is somewhat outspoken, yet the arguments contained in it are not unanswerable. His Excellency declared, in emphatic terms, that the scheme in dispute was decided upon after joint deliberations of Government and the Railway Company, and that no other convenient site than this was available, and that if there was one available, they were not so foolish as not to take it up; that Government had, therefore, decided to put the present scheme into operation which was devised for the benefit of the public in general and that a few thousands ought to be prepared to make some sacrifice for the sake of lakhs. His Excellency sympathetically added that the poor and the mill operatives who would have to suffer hardships on account of the scheme would be given all possible help. Thus the deputation returned with a disappointing reply on the whole. Yet a few words might be said in connection with His Excellency's explanation to the deputation. The scheme of erecting a terminal station at Grant Road plays an important part in the general scheme of the development of Bombay. It is possible that if the Grant Road Scheme is modified, the general scheme of development might also have to be modified. His Excellency perhaps fears that a fresh complication migh arise out of such a modification, and hence his straight reply to the deputation. On the other hand, His Excellency expressed great sympathy for the poor and the working classes. It is said that these will be provided with houses in Salsette and that the Railway Company will provide them with free passes for life. This may be all right, yet the authorities seem to have hardly devoted any thought to the hardships that would be caused to those people who at present reside in the vicinity of the centres of employment. We would only say that imagination plays a greater part in His Excellency's scheme than practicability. It would have been more far-sighted if His Excellency had appointed a joint committee of the railway authorities and the leaders of the people for considering the Grant Road scheme. By the inauguration of the Reformed Legislative Council in January next there will be many modifications in the constitution and policy of His Excellency's Government. In order that the Reformed Legislative Council might in no way be hindered in carrying on its work, it is particularly essential that His Excellency should put the new scheme into operation after full deliberation on the same by the Reformed Legislative Council. We hope that some Honourable member will bring a motion of this nature in the September Sessions of the present Legislative Council, because a Scheme entailing an outlay of twenty

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 15th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 17th Aug.

crores of rupees for housing twenty lakhs of the people is no child's play. [The *Bombay Samachár* writes:—Though His Excellency's reply his highly sympathetic, yet it does not vouchsafe anything definite which is calculated to solve the present difficulties. We are obliged to His Excellency for the solicitude that he has shown for the rehousing of those who will be dishoused by the Grant Road Scheme; yet it can hardly be said that the objections raised against the scheme are baseless or that they can be dismissed without attempting to find out an alternative scheme. Considering the colossal character of the Development programme, some sort of guarantee that convenient houses will be provided for the rehousing of the dishoused people is necessary, because it is likely that the construction of new houses might be considered less urgent than other items in the Development Scheme, such as the reclamation of the sea and that it might, therefore, be delayed. Hence if His Excellency means to stick to the Grant Road Scheme, he should, without reserve, declare that the scheme will not be proceeded with until proper arrangements for the rehousing of the people affected by the scheme are made. We would suggest that houses for this purpose should be erected on the land adjacent to the site contemplated by the scheme, which is considered as less convenient for the purposes of the Railway Company.]

28. "We are rather surprised to see that a certain daily contemporary has issued a report which claims to be published with the sanction of a high Government official, namely, the Honourable Mr. Curtis. In this report it is stated that the Bombay Government have finally and definitely decided not to make any change whatsoever in their plans with regard to the proposed terminus, and that there is not the slightest glimmer of hope left. We cannot understand how the Honourable Mr. Curtis can give his sanction to the publication of any such report in any paper, although he is aware that the final verdict of His Excellency the Governor is still to be published. The publication of this press interview has thrown the whole matter into greater confusion than ever. When the Parsi deputation which had the honour of being granted a special interview by His Excellency the Governor returned from Poona, they sent a report to the papers giving an account of their interview. In this account His Excellency the Governor is reported to have said that he gave a promise to the deputation that if they would appoint a capable engineer on their behalf who could show him that the alternative plan which they proposed was better than the proposed plan, he would still think over the matter. Now in the report published by our contemporary, with the sanction of the Honourable Mr. Curtis, it is given out that His Excellency did not say any such thing at all. What are we to understand from this ?..... The two reports are so contradictory that they place the members of the deputation in a very awkward position, and at the same time increase the anxiety of the community to have some more light thrown upon the matter. We anxiously await the publication of the press communique which is promised, and hope that it will contain a full explanation of the whole affair." [The daily contemporary referred to in the foregoing is the *Jám-e-Jamshed*. In its issue of the 19th the paper writes that its representative had an interview with the Honourable Mr. Curtis. As a result of the interview, the paper declares that the report as given by the deputation of their interview with His Excellency was misleading and calculated to give rise to unwarrantable hopes. Mr. Vimadalal, a member of the Parsi deputation to His Excellency, writes to the same paper in its issue of the 21st August to say that the report of the interview given by the deputation was quite correct and faithful.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 22nd Aug., Eng. cols.; *Jam-e-Jamshed* (24), 19th Aug. and 21st Aug.

29. "We have ceased to expect from Lord Chelmsford a speech that would arrest attention. It is characteristic of his bent of mind that he has sought to dispose of the tremendous issues, affecting the destiny of this country, that hang in the balance, in a few lines, while he has devoted a disproportionately greater space to other questions. His excuse for such meagre treatment of what he is pleased to term 'subjects of acute controversy' is the anxiety to avoid saying anything that may add fuel to the fire. Of course,

Comments on the opening speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at the Simla Session of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Aug.

it does not occur to him that where there is fire, the right thing to do is not to beat a retreat or merely to watch the flames, but to do everything possible to quench it. But Lord Chelmsford is the last person from whom we could expect any indication as to redress of the wrongs from which we are suffering, for this simple reason that he is one of the main causes of these wrongs. 'There is much that I could say with reference to the criticisms on this side or that,' he said, 'but I am content to leave the issues to the verdict of history.' There is nothing that Lord Chelmsford can say which will alter by one jot or tittle the verdict of the Indian people about him..... That Lord Chelmsford himself has already begun to be disturbed by the qualms of conscience is abundantly revealed in his speech, which is markedly distinguished from his recent notorious utterances by a studied avoidance of the minatory tone. So far so good; and it is a matter of some congratulation that even he has learnt some wisdom from the tragic past. But the sting is there all the same. And it is to this sting in the speech that we have to draw the serious attention of the public. The sting lies in the attempt of Lord Chelmsford to cloud the issues. Like Lord Sinha, the Viceroy has sought to call in the aid of a gratuitous assumption and a false analogy. The assumption is that the people of India are merely a party to a controversy—the obvious inference being that much can be said on both sides. That is not an honest way of describing the demand of India so far as the Punjáb is concerned. The people of India are no party to a controversy. They have been shamelessly, brutally wronged and they want justice for their wrongs and guarantees against the perpetration of them in the future..... The people of India even more than their pious admonishers are longing for a clean slate. But they would rather lose the clean slate than fail to vindicate their honour which has been ruthlessly outraged. The false analogy in which Lord Chelmsford, like Lord Sinha, indulges is to attribute India's sufferings to causes common to the world..... To ignore the real causes of India's suffering—the Punjáb and the Khilafat—as Lords Chelmsford and Sinha have done—is hypocritical. And hypocrisy reaches to the depths of bathos when Lord Chelmsford asks the Indian people to practise the great virtues of faith, hope and charity. The Indian people, with their great spiritual tradition, do not need a lesson in these virtues. But they know—every honest man knows—that the basis for the practice of these virtues is justice. Charity forsooth! While yet the wounds are sore, while Lord Chelmsford remains in this country, while O'Dwyer escapes with a certificate of good conduct, while Dyer is merely retired on half pay, while the Rowlatt Act remains on the statute book! Yes let these injustices be removed and the country will be charitable enough to forgive the past..... For the rest, the country will treat Lord Chelmsford's attempt to cloud the issues with the indifference that it deserves."

*30. "We do not believe in the non-co-operation movement, but we do not think that any member of the Government of India connected with the passing of the Rowlatt Act, has a right to throw stones at it. That Act, it will be remembered, was a glaring example of non-co-operation on the part of the Government with Indian leaders, Liberal and Radical, and the inaugurator of one form of non-co-operation is hardly the right man to sit in judgment on the originator of another form of it. The Rowlatt Act, like non-co-operation, 'was repudiated by all thinking people' in the country, but Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues had then no faith in 'India's commonsense'. If you sow the wind, you have to reap the whirlwind, and we are sure that history to whose verdict His Excellency was content to leave the issues raised by the Punjáb Martial Law controversy will find no difficulty in adjudging that Lord Chelmsford, and not Mr. Gandhi, was responsible for originating by the manner of the passing of the Rowlatt Act the 'most foolish of all foolish schemes'—non-co-operation between Government and the governed."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 22nd Aug.

31. "Occurrences in Fiji have once more illustrated the defenceless plight of Indians in the Empire, as also the readiness with which our Government accept the versions of those accused of oppressions without adequate enquiry. The Fiji Government choose to describe Mr. Manilal as a malefactor, and the Government of India lengthen their *Gazette* with republication

Comments on the despatches about the Fiji disturbances.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Aug

of the libel..... The offence of Mr. Manilal is that he fights against racial discrimination in the Fiji and insists on decent conditions of livelihood as the right of his fellow-countrymen. All the episodes counted to his damnation by the rulers—what is the use of the phrase 'fellow-subjects of the King', when it means only sentimental humbug—are subsidiary to the fact of his public championship of Indians..... Frankly the door of mercy is shut in Fiji, and Indians can only chafe at the position and attitude of their Government to secure redress. But why should the Government be fatuous enough to publish, as if they believed the moral of it, a copy of the loyalist declaration from fifteen Punjábis?..... Dense and devoid of humour, the Government have published this puerile and irrelevant declaration to show the approval of the wise and the discreet. We say emphatically that these threats and manœuvres deepen the indignation of India and complete the discredit of pronouncements from Fiji; we cannot trust them, and we resent the haughty damand to quit as a punishment for discontent. The tale of our humiliation, becoming longer with each day, should make the stoutest loyalist despair of safety within the Empire."

Comments on the declaration of their Indian policy by the Government of British East Africa.

Gujarâti Punch (20), 15th Aug., Eng. cols.

32. "The Government of British East Africa have at last announced their Indian policy, and, as Mr. Andrews says, it is an open violation of the definite pledge given by Lord Chelmsford to the people of this country..... British East Africa is only a protectorate and its policy is dictated from Downing Street. There is thus not the least justification or even the excuse to reduce the Indian settler in East Africa to the position of a mere 'hewer of wood and drawer of water', and the attempt will be stoutly resented and even actively opposed..... British statesmen will do well to remember that human nature refuses to remain for ever satisfied with pious platitudes and that in the life of even a 'subject race' a time comes when it is no longer possible to befool it. Such a time has indeed come in the case of India, and British administrators will do well to take note of it..... Lord Chelmsford has always been, to put it most mildly, a weak administrator. Will he for once take a strong line of action and make it difficult for British Imperialists to defy him? For once in his life as Viceroy of India Lord Chelmsford has the whole Indian nation behind his back. Will he then muster sufficient courage to make his voice heard at the British Colonial Office? Let us hope so, else British administrators will have a hard time of it. A too often recurring breach of ministerial and viceregal pledges does not much connote the future safety of such a large Empire as the British Empire is. Besides, India is in no mood to take every kick lying down. The Punjáb and the Khilafat have already roused public distemper almost to a bursting point. Is it, then, desirable that the African question should be so handled as to add to the already over-serious irritation of the public mind?"

Servant of India (9), 19th Aug.

33. "The segregation policy pursued towards Indians by the East African Government is sought to be defended on grounds of sanitation and the sanitary habits of the Indian people; but it is hard to believe that that is the only consideration weighing with that Government in restricting the residence of our countrymen to the low-lands now known as the Kenia protectorate. If no such restriction is found necessary in the interests of the health of the European population here, why should it be so in East Africa? In this country Indians can safely have their places of residence in military cantonments, where special attention is paid to keeping the areas sanitary and clean. They can even go and live along with Europeans in the best health resorts without any detriment to the latter's health. Nay, more; they are considered fit and qualified to be entrusted with the management of that department (under the new scheme) without the least harm. But in East Africa they must not pollute the European part of the Colony with their presence! Lord Milner recently invited the Indian Government to send out a representative 'to assure the Indian Government that land was not limited to Europeans.' We would urge that this should be done at an early date."

34. The *Lokasangraha* says that the effect of the new regulations promulgated by the Government of the Kenia Colony will be to reduce Indians to a condition of slavery. The wrong done to Indians, it remarks, is intolerable in that the Indians preceded the English and they are still seven times as numerous as the latter. It observes that this treatment of Indians in foreign lands ought not to cause them surprise since they meet with scant consideration in their own couutry. [The *Prakdsh* remarks that the Indian settlers in the Kenia Colony can rely on the support of Nationalists in India in their struggle against the white Colonists.]

Lokasangraha (112), 15th Aug.; *Prakdsh* (121), 18th Aug.

35. "We get a terse telegraphic message from South Africa stating that the repatriation scheme is being abused by hurrying away as many Indians on board as they can manage; from which we infer that besides the insufficient accommodation and the inhuman way in which the returned emigrants are being decked up the steamers, many of them are being forcibly repatriated. If this be so, it will be a flagrant abuse of the letter and spirit of the 'voluntary' scheme, and we have no hesitation to say it will defeat the very end in view. Indians will resent and resist to a man any attempt to eject or lure their countrymen out of the Colony. Instead of leading up to a peaceful and happy solution, any such misuse of purely voluntary repatriation will simply confuse the issue and make the struggle one of greater strife and bitterness."

Complaint that the scheme for the voluntary repatriation of South African Indians is being abused.
Young India (13), 18th Aug.

*36. Referring to the repatriation of South African Indians the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"In this connection, attention should be called to the Viceroy's statement in his speech on the opening of the Legislative Council on Friday. His Excellency said that the Government of India was not consulted and that there was no reason why it should have been consulted. On the other hand, we have Sir Benjamin Robertson's statement that voluntary repatriation was his idea, and that it is for their own good that Indians ought to leave South Africa. Sir Benjamin is the Government of India's representative, and we should like to know if that Government concurs in these statements and whether it authorised him to make them."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 22nd Aug.

37. "As the object of the Territorial Force is, not to meet an urgent need within a short time, but to provide a source for feeding the regular army in times of national danger, it may be assumed that much ampler opportunities for training will be given than were afforded by the Indian Defence Force Act..... It is to be hoped that no attempt will be made to maintain between the Indian and European recruits the proportion which subsists between the European and Indian sections of the Indian Army. The new force should be made use of to rouse the martial spirit of our young men. In constituting the Territorial Force, Government should take care to avoid the mistakes made in organising the Indian section of the Defence Force. Under the Indian Defence Force Act, Indians and Europeans were differentially treated. ..... Indian recruits, who belonged to the educated classes and whom it was desired specially to attract, were to receive the pay of a sepoy, to be liable to be punished with whipping and to be debarred from entering the commissioned ranks..... But although Government took a different view then, it is gratifying to find that Indians are to be trained as officers now. 'The new scheme,' says the *communique*, 'would necessarily involve the training of Indian officers of the Territorial Forces for the efficient performance of their duties, and for the ultimate attainment of higher rank'. It is possible to put a narrow interpretation on these words, and to fear that the words 'Indian Officers' mean no more than Havildars, Jamadars and Subedars. But as the Government of India may be presumed to be desirous of making the Territorial Force a success, it is not unreasonable to assume that the words

The proposed Indian Territorial Force.
Servant of India (9), 19th Aug.

will be liberally construed..... The retention of the present University Corps will be welcomed all over the country. But as Indians are to be officers now, arrangements should be made for forming corps for the training of officers on the lines of those existing at Oxford and Cambridge. Again, the rule which compels Indians who wish to receive military training to join the infantry units only should be abrogated. They should be free to seek admission into any unit they like. Highly objectionable as the discrimination made against Indians in the organisation of the Defence Force was, the arrangements made for their accommodation and training added to the dissatisfaction. To put it mildly, the arrangements left a great deal to be desired..... We trust that when the Territorial Force is organised, no occasion will be given for complaints of the kind to which reference has been made above. Every attempt should be made to enlist the national sentiment in favour of the new force. No racial distinctions should be permitted in regard to the conditions under which its members will be required to serve, and Indian recruits should not be treated as if they belonged to the menial classes."

38. The *Lokasangraha* expresses its satisfaction at the fact that the fears at first entertained that the military education available to College students through the I. D. F. would no longer be within their reach when the war came to an end have not been realised. It suggests that the whole course of military instruction should be finished within six months or at the most within one year at the beginning of the College career of the students instead of spreading it over a period of four years. It complains that the uniform provided to the students is made of material too coarse to befit their station in life and requests the authorities to give them the same kind of uniform as that which is given to British soldiers.

The Indian Branch of the I. D. F.
Lokasangraha (112), 16th Aug.

*39. "It was in 1917-18 that some of the students from the various colleges in Poona, enrolled themselves in the Poona University Company. At that time, these men were called student-soldiers. But after some agitation, the Military authorities at Simla were pleased to call them 'privates,' meaning thereby that these men were volunteers and not regulars. Since these men have volunteered their services for the good of the Emplre and their country, we think it is the essential duty of the Government to look to their comforts. We hear that the dress which is issued to students does not contain tunics, shirts and helmets, but contains instead loose blouses and pithed 'topees'..... We hear that these privates are ridiculed as 'police' or 'tongawalla', the dresses of the three being similar. They had requested their officers for issuing tunics, shirts, and helmets, and had also complained how they were ridiculed. But they were quieted by being told that the dress was 'King's uniform' and that they must honour it. They were not allowed to have their own tunics and helmets. The Government of India spend millions of rupees on the Military Department. Can we suppose that the Government have no money to spend in outfitting these privates with tunics, shirts and helmets? Another thing is about the training of the privates. Students enrolled in 1917-18 have not as yet completed their training. On authority we know that this training can be given in a shorter time. Now, it is more than two years, since they have enrolled, and still they are as raw as ordinary recruits. They were not trained because it was alleged that the instructors were not available. Now from this, are we to suppose that Government are not serious about the matter? Again to crown the sorrows of the privates, the University has stopped the concession that was granted to them for the last two years. The private is obliged to be in the company till he leaves the University. Also the daily time he is obliged to spend in all is from 4-30 P.M. to 8 P.M. and when he returns home, he is thoroughly exhausted, and unable to study. We, therefore, hope that the University and Government will try to remove the grievances of the privates as soon as possible."

Grievances of the University Company of the I. D. F. at Poona.
Mahrátta (7), 22nd Aug.

40. We welcome the movement that has been set afoot to convene a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay through the Sheriff of Bombay to honour the memory of the late Mr. Tilak. Such a movement clearly points to the success of *swarajya* in this country, and it is a matter for gratification that both Moderates and Extremists have participated in it. It is not only the duty of the people but of the Government as well to express their gratitude to Mr. Tilak for carrying on his *swarajya* propaganda and for making immense sacrifices in conducting it. Government now admit that their former angle of vision was wrong and that they have now changed it and that they recognise that no harm could be done to the Empire by giving *swarajya* to India. Such an acknowledgment on their part is tantamount to a confession that they were wrong in taking severe steps against Mr. Tilak. We hope that officials will participate in the proposed Sheriff's meeting and thus make amends for the wrongs done to Mr. Tilak by Government and that they will have the foresight to pass a resolution expressing regret for Mr. Tilak's death in the next meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Comments on the movement to convene a Sheriff's meeting in Bombay to honour the memory of Mr. B. G. Tilak.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 20th Aug.

41. In the course of a leading article commenting on the death of the late Mr. Tilak, the *O Anglo-Lusitano* remarks:— The cause which he represented gained much. India woke up and is making incredible progress to the admiration of the European Powers. A new spirit is burning within the hearts of the new generation, a spirit which is breathed by a group of men of renown, who, moved by the highest patriotic motives, are endeavouring to break the shackles and win the independence of their country; and as they are cultured men they are branded as agitators, as the present Secretary of State for India himself has confessed. One of the greatest agitators who won the title of the "Uncrowned King of Maharashtra" was undoubtedly Bal Gangadhar Tilak, whose death the whole of India is mourning, and before whose corpse we bow down reverently, in the same manner as thousands of men did without difference of political creed or religious faith, as was manifested on the occasion of his funeral.

Comments on the death of Mr. B. G. Tilak.
O Anglo-Lusitano (48), 7th Aug., Portuguese cols.

42. "By his prohibition of the sacrifice of cows in the State during the coming Id, the Nizam has laid under a deep debt of gratitude not only the Hindu community all over India, but also those who have been labouring during the last few years to bring about a lasting concord between the two communities..... Since the Joint Congress-League Session at Lucknow, the movement to refrain from cow slaughter during Bakr-Id has progressed rapidly. The resolution of the All-India Muslim League, the pronouncements of learned Moulvies like Mr. Abdul Barï and others, and the appeal of Hakim Ajmal Khan have set the seal of Muslim approval on the movement. Now the decree of the Nizam, the premier Moslem Ruler of India, has put the finishing touch, and it rests with other Muslim States to follow in the footsteps of Hyderabad and earn the esteem of the well-wishers of the two sister communities."

The Nizam's *firman* prohibiting cow sacrifice during the Id.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Aug.

43. Sir R. Craddock is right in saying that the well ordered administration of India under the British Government has been due to the sympathetic attitude of Indians towards the British. But what sympathy have the British shown to the Indians in return? What sympathy have they shown for the two lakhs of police who have maintained the peace in India? What sympathy have they shown to Indians for their achievements in the recent war? As soon as the war was over, the Rowlatt Act was passed and the inhabitants of the Punjáb, who had fought so bravely, were subjected to machine-gun fire and to bombs thrown from aeroplanes. This was the

What has been the return for the sympathy shown by Indians for the British?
Swarájya ( ), 19th Aug.

sympathy shown to them! What was the return made to the Muhammadans who showed their sympathy for the British by sacrificing men and money against their co-religionists? Pledges given were broken and the Turkish Empire was dismembered. This was the sympathy shown for the Muhammadans!

44. "True national education for a people in bondage is, then, not merely the teaching of politics or Indian history, but learning how to live and how to sacrifice. Satyagrah Ashrams and Gurukuls should spring up in all parts of the country where a new generation will get sound and useful knowledge without losing the capacity to use their hands and feet, who, when they grow up to be men and women, can live on little and earn that little in ways not dependent on any particular governmental institution, and who will, therefore, be free in the true sense of the term. How much freer is a weaver, a carpenter or a blacksmith than a Government clerk, lawyer, magistrate or tax-gatherer? The one can earn his bread by the labour of his hands and be responsible only to God, but the other has to starve if he does not serve the Government or chooses to incur its wrath, and has often, therefore, made a religion and a conscience of this bread-relationship with Government. If all our free artisans and other workmen, or even a small fraction of them, were given the knowledge that has made us politicians, how great would be the energy that we could put forth! Let us try to do the converse. Let us make weavers, carpenters or blacksmiths of our future politicians and emancipate them in advance."

What should be the character of true national education.

Young India (13), 18th Aug.

45. "A Proclamation published the other day informed us that the projected visit of the Prince of Wales to this country has been postponed owing to considerations of health. There is no doubt that a formidable movement was brewing in India, headed by Mr. Gandhi, whose object was to withhold a people's welcome to the Prince..... We do not think the attitude of the people will undergo any change now that the Duke of Connaught comes as a substitute. It is probable that the political situation in India a year hence will have altered materially, and there is no reason why the Prince arriving in India in 1921, after having recuperated his health, should not receive a welcome which none can mistake. In the meantime, it is, of course, for the British Government and Democracy to see to it that they contribute their share towards their improvement."

Postponement of the Prince of Wales' visit to India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Aug.

***46.** "The announcement that the visit of the Prince of Wales has been postponed, at least for some time to come, will not be received with much surprise..... The long stay of the Prince in Canada, a country with strong separatist tendencies, was not a little due to the necessity of winning over public opinion in that country to a future continuance of British rule. It may, therefore, be very naturally regarded that the visit of the Prince of Wales to this country was intended for the same purpose and the exclusion of India from the pre-arranged programme of the Prince's travels can only be the direct result of the steadily-growing mass of opinion in favour of the movement of non-co-operation and the boycott of the Prince's visit. If that be so, we are bound to say that His Majesty has been ill-advised by his responsible ministers in regard to the abandonment of the Prince's visit to this country. It would have been much wiser for the British Ministry and their informants, the Indian Government, to remove the causes which led to the proposed boycott of welcome to the Prince, namely, the injustice of the Punjáb wrongs and the break-up of the Khilafat than to advise the abandonment of the visit itself..... The elevation of an Indian to the governorship of a province or a few other concessions of a hesitating and halting nature will not induce the country to pursue a quiet course of orderly and progressive development so long as these basic wrongs remain unredressed. But the Indian bureaucracy has obviously preferred the less desirable course of postponing the visit of the

Mahrátta (7), 22nd Aug.

Prince, thus allowing the forces of discontent to work underground. It is, however, some satisfaction to note that the mission of the Prince of Wales is to be performed by proxy and the work of opening the Chamber of Princes and the Legislative Councils is to devolve upon the Duke of Connaught. The country will be prepared to extend to the Duke of Connaught the welcome which it was loth to extend to the Prince of Wales if the Cabinet announces in due time the removal of the national wrongs."

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 19th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 20th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 19th Aug.

47. Commenting upon the Royal Proclamation announcing that the proposed visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has had to be postponed, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—The people of India will certainly be sorry to hear that the proposed visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has been postponed on account of the strain on his health caused by the Canadian and the Australian tours. The princes and the people of India would certainly have accorded him a rousing welcome, if he had come, in spite of the adverse circumstances. It is a relief to know that it has been arranged to send His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught for opening the Reformed Councils. We are anxiously waiting to hear from him the message that His Majesty has promised to us. We hope that the message will be effective in annihilating the discontent prevailing in this country and that India will proceed with the first instalment of self-government that has been given to her in a peaceful atmosphere. [The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—Though this news does not come as a surprise upon us in view of the information that was being lately received about the Prince's health in Australia, yet it will spread universal anxiety and sorrow throughout India. The whole of India was making preparations for giving the Prince a welcome worthy of his dignity and was eager to hear from him a Royal Message with regard to the future of India. In response to the Royal *firman*, Indians will pray that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales may soon regain his lost health. The arrangement made by His Majesty of sending out His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, in the place of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, is certainly highly satisfactory and will serve to reassure the people. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught endeared himself to the people of India by his sympathetic attitude towards them when he was staying in India. The people of India certainly feel a great obligation to him for his having undertaken the mission of coming out to India at this advanced age and they will consider it a sacred duty to partially make up for it by extending to him a cordial welcome. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* welcomes the news that it has been decided to send His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to India, who, the paper writes, is sympathetic towards the people of India and has won their love and confidence during his stay in India.]

Lokasangraha (112), 20th Aug.

48. From the Royal Proclamation it appears as if the Prince of Wales is much exhausted. May God soon restore His Royal Highness to health and may He also inspire the high officials with a desire to heal the wounds inflicted on India so that the people may have the happiness of beholding the Prince when he comes. His Majesty says that His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught is to be sent to India in the place of the Prince. We of course will be glad to welcome anybody that may be sent. But to make a show about the matter would be like performing a marriage ceremony during mourning, and, therefore, we have doubts as to how far the Duke's reception will be enthusiastic. The persistence of the British bureaucracy is indeed remarkable, for it has prevailed upon His Majesty to send the Duke in place of the Prince. What a blessing it will be if it shows similar persistence in redressing the grievous wrongs of India!

Indu Prakásh (44), 19th Aug.

49. The *Indu Prakásh* says that Indians were eagerly looking forward to the proposed visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The visit would have had the effect, it remarks, of soothing their feelings since they are

generally fond of pomp and splendour. In the opinion of the paper, the visit would have proved of value to the authorities also in that they would have been able to placate the people without being required to redress their wrongs.

Mr. Montagu's statement in Parliament about the eligibility of those who received the Royal Amnesty for Council Elections.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Aug.

50. "Mr. Montagu's latest pronouncement on the question of the eligibility for election to the new Councils of those to whom the benefits of the Royal Amnesty were extended last year, will strengthen the apprehension in the public mind that such public workers as Lala Harkishenlal, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhury, Lala Dunichand, Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Satyapal and others, would be disqualified because they had the misfortune to receive an 'amnesty' from His Majesty and not a 'pardon' from the Viceroy! Mr. Montagu's explanation that the prerogative of pardon is vested in the Viceroy and that he is not disposed to interfere with the latter's discretion in the matter is most unfortunate, for it leaves the decision in the hands of one who was himself responsible, to a great extent, for the tragic happenings in the Punjáb last year..... If the attempt to keep out the trusted leaders of the Province from the Council is persisted in, then all hope may be abandoned of patriotic and honest men seeking to enter the Council."

Comments about considerable omissions in the electoral rolls for Bombay city prepared in connection with the elections to the new Legislative Council.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 18th Aug.

51. The electoral rolls that have been prepared for the city and island of Bombay are, we regret to say, quite unsatisfactory and are such as would subvert the purpose underlying the new reforms. The names of hundreds, nay thousands of voters, have been omitted from these rolls. Persons whose names are omitted from these rolls have been given a right to complain about it to the Chief Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Bombay; but the time within which such complaints must be submitted is so short that it will not be possible to do the needful in the matter. The electoral rolls have not been supplied to the Press and the places where they are kept for inspection are not sufficient to meet the requirements of the public. We would, in these circumstances, appeal to Government to postpone the dates fixed for the general election and to adopt some better and easier means of inserting the names of those voters whose names do not appear in the electoral rolls. The power of inserting these names in the rolls should be vested in the Reforms Commissioner instead of the Chief Judge. At any rate Government should have shown more care in preparing the electoral rolls.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 22nd Aug., Eng. cols.

*52. Referring to the Electoral Rolls prepared for Bombay City, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"It is a matter of regret that a sufficiently large number of these Rolls has not been published and put up at prominent places in each ward for public inspection..... The Election Rolls appear to have been rather perfunctorily prepared..... The Rolls are very incomplete, the names of a large number of rent-payers and tax-payers being left out. In an election of this nature candidates have to depend upon the number of voters from whom they expect to receive support; but if the very names of the voters are inadvertently left out, it would spell disaster to them. During the course of last week a large number of Parsi gentlemen came to see the Electoral Rolls for A, C and D Wards which were put up for inspection at our office; and it was found that the names of many persons who are either rent-payers or income-tax-payers are entirely omitted. The names of workers in textile mills and factories, earning over Rs. 40 per month, are given in a separate list which also appears to be very incomplete. To remove all these discrepancies and make the roll as complete as possible will take some time, but the authorities are in such a hurry that they have allowed only fifteen days from the day of publication for those who intend to lodge any claims or objections. We submit that the time which has been given for this purpose, and which expired last Friday, is totally

inadequate. The period allowed for lodging claims or making objections ought to be extended by at least one month, so as to allow sufficient time to all classes of voters to send in their names if they have been left out from the rolls. The method prescribed in the Electoral Rules for lodging claims or objections is also very inconvenient..... We are afraid many persons will rather give up their votes than take the trouble of going personally to court and standing before a judge in order to assert their right to be registered as voters. We hope the authorities concerned will put their heads together and find out some better procedure than the one laid down in the Electoral Rules. Meanwhile we suggest that offices should be opened in each ward where people can inspect the Election Rolls and get all the information and help which they may need in order to have their names registered."

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Parekh's resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the Nadiad punitive police.

Young India (13), 18th Aug.

53. Referring to the Honourable Mr. Parekh's resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the Nadiad punitive Police, *Young India* writes:—"The Government on its side came forth with its patent arguments of the so-called invasion of the High School by the mob and the seditious leaflet, both of which had been replied to in the petitions. Further, while attempting to fasten the guilt on the Banias, Mr. Robertson on behalf of the Government quoted from a letter of the Collector in which it was stated that 'they (the Banias) were to blame for creating the spirit of opposition to Government, which culminated in the derailment and for closing their shops, which gave the signal for commotion and excitement to the unruly elements in the town.' Sir George Carmichael endorsing his official colleague traced the pedigree of the disturbances to the preachings (*Scil.* of Satyagrah) in 1918. The true bureaucrat in him, however, came out fully when he told the Council, 'The Collector, who knew the state of affairs, thought it (additional police) was necessary.' The fact was, this very 'Collector who knew the state of affairs' wrote on 21st April, 1919, to the Municipal Board appreciating the general respect for law and order maintained by the people during the period of excitement and thanked the leaders who used their influence in the direction of moderation. This letter is now curiously enough explained away as meant to be an appeal to the leaders to see that nothing untoward was repeated! The Collector also knows that some of the Patidars and Banias have strained every nerve to get hold of the real offenders. These genuine co-operators and their whole class, who form one-third of the whole population of Nadiad, are classed as suspects without a tittle of evidence against them, simply because they refuse to take things lying low and because they conduct peaceful, healthy and vigorous political movements. It has never been proved against them (the Banias and Patidars) that they participated in the crime, or that although being in the know they did not actively prevent it or that they were otherwise in active sympathy with the offenders. These were the tests set forth by Mr. Robertson last year as principles for locating additional police. None of them could be applied in this case."

Comments on Government's reply to an interpellation about an election leaflet issued by the Director of Information.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st August.

54. In reply to a question in the Bombay Legislative Council early this month, Government said that no election leaflet had been issued under their orders but that the Director of Information had issued it. Where does the Director of Information stand and what are his relations with Government? Government laid the leaflet in question on the table. Are Government of opinion that it is information and not propaganda in which the Director of Information was engaged in, when he issued the leaflet?..... The battle of election is being fought out by the different parties in India, and Major Dawson's services are not required in this connection. It cannot be seriously meant that the new officials Government have created are free to take part in the elections. Government should advise the Director of Information to withdraw the leaflet in question and such others on the same subject as he may have issued and refrain from such questionable activities in

future. Major Dawson, we are afraid, has mistaken his function. Recently he has been deluging this office as well as those of our contemporaries with 'copy' in which, in many cases, facts and exaggerated praise are mixed up in woeful disproportion. We do not object to Government creating a Department of Information—in fact we welcome Government being anxious to let the public know what they have done or are doing for them. But we certainly object to Government utilising the services of the Director of Information for purposes not far removed from what businessmen call 'window dressing'. ..... The public are willing to be guided by the opinion of others provided the latter enjoy their confidence. They will refuse to swallow the views of the Director of Information and will protest against any attempt on the part of the Government to use the services of a very highly paid officer, whose salary is drawn out of public revenues, for propaganda and advertising purposes."

Comments on the disallowing of the resolution regarding Mr. Tilak's death in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Gujaráti Punch (20), 15th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Praja Bandhu* (29), 15th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Karnátak Mitra* (38), 19th Aug.

55. "It has been truly said that there is almost an unbridgable gulf between rulers and ruled in this country, and the sad occasion of the late Lokamanya's death has served once again to demonstrate that gloomy fact. ..... The people of this Presidency had great hopes in Sir George Lloyd; but he, too, has belied them by disallowing a motion of regret for the death of Mr. Tilak under the absurd plea of want of sufficient notice..... Does Sir George Lloyd seriously believe that the admirers of Mr. Tilak knew beforehand that the idol of the people was to leave this world on the 1st of August and that they evidently wanted to defy the rules of Council procedure in not giving a timely notice for moving a motion of regret for the same? If not, what were His Excellency's 'reasons' for such an absurd procedure? People know it full well that Mr. Tilak was never in the good graces of officials. And such stupid petty-mindedness was not necessary to bring it home to them. Why then this exhibition of it? Was not Mr. Tilak once a member of the Bombay Legislative Council? And is it not almost a rule with the Council to regret the death of their one-time colleague?" [The *Praja Bandhu* remarks:—"But we hope ample notice would now be given for moving the resolution at the September session, so that an unmistakable indication may be offered whether or not Government consider the death of Mr. Tilak—an irreparable loss of undoubted magnitude to the whole country—a matter of public interest such as to merit a reference in the Legislative Assembly of the Presidency. If they do not, the civilized world will get one more proof positive of the studied contempt with which they view Indian public opinion expressed with singular emphasis and unparalleled unanimity." The *Karnátak Mitra* writes:—It is clear how full of hatred the lame excuse of His Excellency is. There is nothing to choose between the bureaucrats. The bureaucrats are fanning the flame of non-co-operation by such reckless behaviour. But how will their foolish minds perceive that they would be endangered thereby?]

Mr. Kamat's resolution regarding the closing of liquor shops on Sundays.

Karnátak Mitra (38), 19th Aug.

56. Referring to the resolution of the Honourable Mr. Kamat on the closing of liquor shops on Sundays and the reply of the Excise Commissioner thereanent, the *Karnátak Mitra* writes:—Christians, look at this reply! Led by the love of money, should you not close the shops even on the day Jesus Christ was crucified? What? Did Christ order that one should not drink oneself but he should not prevent others from drinking? Other considerations apart, at least care for your religion. You trample under foot without any fear the religion of your Master, but it will surely end in your ruin.

A Forest complaint from Kumta (Kánara).

Dunia (104), 15th Aug.

57. Some Forest officers having removed trees cut down in the Reserved Forest in the Kumta Taluka to their destination through standing crops on the ground that the usual road was out of repair, complaint was made to the higher authority. That officer, instead of expressing regret, threatened the complainants that if they again complained, their lands would be taken up under the Land Acquisition Act! Why this persecution of the people?

58. Mr. Gandhi wants people to make non-co-operation effective by boycotting the law courts and the councils. The question naturally arises whether the people will derive any benefit from such a course. If people want justice, where should they get it from? Whose protection should people seek if they are being robbed and looted? Mr. Gandhi should take steps to supply the needs of the people side by side with his advice to them to boycott the courts and the police. The law courts and the police cannot be boycotted in the absence of provision being made to meet the daily requirements of the people. Moreover, money is necessary to protect the life and property of the people. How will Mr. Gandhi be able to raise it? Nothing can be gained by merely asking the pleaders to boycott the courts. Educational institutions must also be provided for boys who are not to be sent to Government schools. Will it be an advantage to boycott the councils? If experienced and self-respecting representatives are not elected to the councils their places will be taken up by inexperienced men who will bow down to the wishes of the officials. We are of the opinion that only such men should be elected to representative bodies as will not bow down to officials but on the other hand will make officials respect public opinion. Non-co-operation will not be successful in our present circumstances as long as people are not in a position to take an initiative even in ordinary public movements without the aid of the officials. We hope the Gujarat Political Conference will not place itself in an awkward position by passing a resolution in favour of non-co-operation.

Some objections against non-co-operation.
Gujarati (18), 15th Aug.

59. We have no quarrel with Mahatma Gandhi about his principle. We have often said that non-co-operation is the crown of constitutional agitation. Nay, we feel that it is the last effective weapon in the armoury of a subject nation. But like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya we wanted to tell Mr. Gandhi to wait till the Congress set its seal on the movement. But the Mahatma is not willing to honour the decision of the majority, holding it to be a matter of conscience. We need not tell Mr. Gandhi that there would be disorganisation if the test of individual conscience were to be applied to public questions. It is our honest opinion that if anything is to be done with a view to national good, all the leaders should act unitedly in ascertaining the opinion of the majority. Though Mahatma Gandhi has himself upheld the non-co-operation movement with determination and heroism, he is not being supported by the provinces as they ought to. The number of those giving up titles and honorary offices has not even reached a dozen. Only three instances have been published of persons withdrawing their children from schools. Instances of persons resigning Government service are still less. We do not think that the movement will assume any decided character till the Congress sessions. In one respect, however, the movement has succeeded beyond expectations. Up till now 20,000 Muhajarins have left for Afghanistan. If the Amir of Afghanistan does not change his order of prohibition, the emigrants will go to Persia. Who can permanently prohibit a *Satyagrahi*? Though it is not possible to practise non-co-operation on a large scale in the present state of the Indians, it is not unconstitutional. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar says that the late Mr. Tilak was against both non-co-operation and passive resistance. As for passive resistance, Sir Narayan is wrong. He approved of it in his very first lecture in Shantaram's Chawl, after his arrival from England. Regarding the present agitation, Mr. Tilak had declared that it is fully constitutional, that one day or the other we will have to take it up, and that it had his full support, if Muhammadans were prepared to go so far. We meant only that people were not ready in their present state, that it was not practical to begin it unless the support of the majority was likely, and that such agitations begun prematurely only weaken the present movements in hand. [The *Lokasangraha* writes:—Mr. Gandhi holds that physical force is quite inferior to spiritual force in wiping off injustice, and that though one may have strength enough to resist tyranny, it should be met with forgiveness. We think that if any Indian thinks of adopting resistance for the wrongs of India, it would be harmful in the present condition of the country. But we firmly hold that Mr. Gandhi's argument that the Sanatana Dharma teaches the same thing and that the same doctrine was followed by the

Kesari (109), 17th Aug.; *Lokasangraha* (112), 19th Aug.

incarnations of God in the Puranic age is quite wrong. God taught Arjun through the Bhagvad Gita to remember Him and fight. He who says that the Hindu religion and the Gita ask the Kshatriya to forgive is consciously or unconsciously perverting Hinduism. Such a terrible shadow has fallen on us at present that it cannot be removed by the spirit of the Kshatriya. It is quite wrong, however, to maintain that the spirit of the Kshatriya is not agreeable to the Sanatan Dharma. Mr. Gandhi says that Rama used his spiritual force in defeating Ravana. It is quite a delusion. The cause of Rama was just and true; but he had to fight in order to conquer Ravana. How can it be concealed that he fought? We admit that there must be moral force in order to win a victory in a fight. It is quite absurd for Mr. Gandhi to quote one in support of non-co-operation who caused Arjun to cut the throats of thousands of his enemies and even to kill his gurus. In the olden times there were great Brahmins and also great Kshatriyas. You may condemn the methods you do not want. But do not make yourself ridiculous by saying anything you like.]

***60.** " Mr. Gandhi has not taken up non-co-peration as a substantive movement but only as a demonstration to Government of the feelings of the people. His view seems to be that Government is blind and deaf to the ordinary methods of constitutional representation. Something more concrete may appeal to them, and non-co-operation without violence may operate as a brick so composed as to crumble harmlessly into dust as soon as it comes in contact with a human head. This position is absolutely logical, but it ignores certain hard facts. The first is that when you lose an avalanche, its destination does not depend upon your intention..... In any case, when the idea permeates to the masses, qualifications and limitations will be left behind..... The Special Congress when it deals with the question should place this issue prominently in view : Does the country seriously wish the British connection to be made impossible ? That is the issue raised by non-co-operation ; and without bearing it closely in mind, no right decision can be arrived at regarding the question. The country, in fact, has already answered the reference to the Special Congress, so that that body can have no difficulty in pronouncing its verdict..... The first of August has come and gone, and with the exception of a few Khan Bahadurs, Sub-Inspectors and honorary Magistrates, no one has resigned anything. The growth of the *hijrat* movement in spite of Mr. Gandhi's deprecation of it shows that the masses are prepared to go with him only so far as he goes with them..... As for withdrawing children from schools, we can only say that Mr. Gandhi does not speak with his accustomed responsibility when he advises it..... How would the country benefit by hundreds of thousands of its youth loafing about in the streets in the name of non-co-operation ? "

Criticism of Mr. Gandhi's propaganda of non-co-operation.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 22nd Aug.

61. The *Indu Prakásh* writes that although the Nationalists of Madras outwardly express sympathy with Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement, they are leaving no stone unturned to get seats on the new councils. It says it has never had any faith in the non-co-operation movement and asks Mr. Gandhi to give it up betimes. [Elsewhere it writes that the leaders of the non-co-operation movement are responsible for all the woes of the *muhajarins* and asks them to stop it before it is too late.]

Indu Prakásh (44), 20th Aug.

62. In the course of an article in which he tries to answer certain difficulties raised by the *Swadesh Mitram* of Madras with regard to the non-co-operation movement, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—" So far as response is concerned, I agree with the Editor that the quickest and the largest response is to be expected in the matter of suspension of payment of taxes, but, as I have said, so long as the masses are not educated to appreciate the value of non-violence even whilst

Certain difficulties in connection with the non-co-operation movement explained by Mr. Gandhi.

Young India (13), 17th Aug.

their holdings are being sold, so long must it be difficult to take up the last stage into any appreciable extent. I agree too that a sudden withdrawal of the military and the police will be a disaster if we have not acquired the ability to protect ourselves against robbers and thieves. But I suggest that when we are ready to call out the military and the police on an extensive scale, we would find ourselves in a position to defend ourselves. If the police and the military resign from patriotic motives, I would certainly expect them to perform the same duty as national volunteers, not as hirelings but as willing protectors of the life and liberty of their countrymen. The movement of non-co-operation is one of automatic adjustment. If the Government schools are emptied, I would certainly expect national schools to come into being. If the lawyers as a whole suspended practice, they would devise arbitration courts, and the nation will have expeditious and cheaper method of settling private disputes and awarding punishment to the wrong-doer..... Regarding the leaving of civil employment, no danger is feared, because no one will leave his employment unless he is in a position to find support for himself and family either through friends or otherwise. Disapproval of the proposed withdrawal of students betrays, in my humble opinion, lack of appreciation of the true nature of non-co-operation. It is true enough that we pay the money wherewith our children are educated. But when the agency imparting the education has become corrupt, we may not employ it without partaking of the agent's corruption."

Mr. Gandhi's views on the forthcoming Gujerát Political Conference.
Navjivan (68), 15th Aug.

63. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—Very great importance must be attached to the forthcoming sessions of the Gujarat Political Conference which is to be held about the end of the current month as it will decide that question of supreme importance, *viz.*, non-co-operation. The Conference is being convened in a hurried manner with a view to educating public opinion in the province of Gujarát and submitting it to the extraordinary sessions of the Indian National Congress. There is need of firmness, courage, tact, self-sacrifice and unity in launching non-co-operation against the Empire. I am beginning to realise every moment in an ever increasing degree that the present British policy is so very wicked that it would be a sin to co-operate with it as long as it continues to be what it is. But it is not easy to get any improvement made in this policy. Non-co-operation, therefore, cannot be easily accomplished. I do not want to secure the opinion of Gujarát in favour of non-co-operation somehow or other, but I want all the delegates to the Conference to give their honest opinion after weighing arguments on both sides.

Mr. Montagu's warning to Mr. Gandhi.
Loka Shahi ( ), 16th Aug.

64. Mr. Montagu has by repeatedly threatening Mr. Gandhi added fuel to the conflagration of non-co-operation. He has publicly avowed his support to the bureaucracy in India in any high-handed steps it might take for the safety of India. Who can say that a greater Dyer will not rise who, taking full advantage of the promise given by Mr. Montagu, will not turn India into another Punjáb?

Mr. Gandhi and the British Government.
Lokasangraha (112), 16th Aug.

65. The recent questions and answers in Parliament show that Mahatma Gandhi is at present attracting considerable attention in England. The British Government have almost begun to look upon him as their rival. The fact that the all-powerful British Government should consider an ordinary Indian who has neither power nor riches as their rival is full of significance. The British Government have given the Government of India full freedom to deal with Gandhi in any way they like. A Government who have the Punjáb exploits to their credit will not take long to remove Gandhi out of their way. But the task may not prove to be quite an easy one. Injury to Gandhi will be resented much more keenly than the Punjáb wrong. According to our holy books, the persecution of pious men marks the decline of a rule howsoever powerful it may be.

66. Referring to the hardships experienced by the *muhajarins* the *Jam-e-Jamshed* writes:—The first batch of the emigrants was accorded a fair welcome, but their increasing number caused anxiety to the Kabul authorities. While the youthful among them, it is said, are asked to join the Afghan forces, the position of the aged and of women has become awkward. Some of the *muhajarins* have returned to British territory, and the British authorities have made proper arrangements for their conveniences. The *firman* of His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan prohibiting the *muhajarins* from entering Afghanistan attracts all the more attention. It is natural that we should sympathise with these poor people who have become ready to suffer hardships for the sake of their religious beliefs. We confidently hope that the members of the *Hijrat* Committee will take steps for giving the necessary help to the returning *muhajarins*. The British Government may be defective, sometimes individuals or associations might be unjustly treated by it, but, in spite of the unsympathetic policy of some of the British officials, it can never be denied that taking everything into consideration, it is the safest Government to live under. Those who induced the poor Muhammadans into leaving the shelter of the British Government adopted a highly unfortunate and mistaken policy.

The woes of the *Muhajarins*.
Jam-e-Jamshed (24), 18th Aug.

67. Referring to the alleged campaign of misrepresentation and lies against the *hijrat* movement engineered by the Anglo-Indian papers, the *New Times* remarks:—"The hopeless contradictions of Anglo-Indian accounts disclosed their motive. Mr. Junejo's letter and telegram have disclosed the truth. Three out of 1,500 *muhajirins* who formed the Kafla died of heat on the way; and Mr. Junejo asks the people not to start for the next few months. And this not because the Afghans are inhospitable but because there is excessive heat in Afghanistan. The attitude of the Amir, indeed, is indicated by the fact that out of the Crownlands the Amir has made to the *Muhajirs* a free grant of land worth 75 lakhs of rupees..... The Government of India in their *communique* on the subject aknowledge that the *hijrat* movement is widespread, specially in the Peshawar District, that people are selling their property and crops to leave India, and that the movement has been characterised by an 'extraordinary absence of lawlessness'. These confessions of Government are a tribute to the religious character of Hijrat. The *communique* proceeds to refer to 'lies' set afloat by 'agitators'. But you cannot explain away the Hijrat in this way; we heard of a similar charge of lies against 'agitators' in the days of the Rowlatt Bill controversy! No 'lies' can induce a man to leave his homeland, relatives and friends."

Comments on the alleged campaign of misrepresentation and lies against the *Hijrat* movement engineered by the Anglo-Indian papers.
New Times (8), 14th Aug.

68. Referring to the suggestion of the London *Times* that the Amir Fesiul be made the King of Mesopotamia, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* writes:—We say, "satisfy yourself first. The cup of the greedy is not full yet." [Elsewhere the paper refers to the report that efforts are being made to put Mesopotamia on the road to self-Government, and declares that such an issue is impossible. It points out that the Irish who are good artisans and stout opponents, and the Egyptians who are educated and very clever have been refused self-Government, and adds that such a barbarous and uneducated community as the people of Mesopotamia will not be held fit for self-Government.]

Comments on affairs in Mesopotamia.
Mufid-e-Rozgar (151), 15th Aug.

69. "Replying to Mr. Palmer, Mr. Bottomley's lieutenant, Mr. Lloyd George said there was no reason to believe that Indians were unduly impatient at delay in the return of Indian units from Turkey, Persia, Arabia, Palestine and Mesopotamia. Either Mr. Lloyd George is misinformed as to the state of feeling in India or he is anxious to evade the issue. Several public meetings and political associations have asked for the return of Indian troops employed abroad.

Demand for the return of troops employed in Turkey, Persia, Arabia, Palestine and Mesopotamia.
New Times (8), 13th Aug.

The feeling on the subject has grown in intensity and volume after the unfortunate peace with Turkey. It is a natural feeling that Indian troops be not employed against Asiatics. Will a British Cabinet dare to ask the British self-governing Colonies to send their soldiers to fight battles in Asia? Most of the British soldiers are now absorbed in industries, and Indian soldiers, about 2,00,000 in number, are kept to keep peace in the newly acquired countries! We feel sure if an Indian Parliament were in existence it would not sanction such employment. The Premier gave an assurance that Indian troops would be withdrawn. But when? That is the question."

The signing of the Turkish Peace Treaty.
Lokasangraha (112), 16th Aug.

70. The Turkish treaty of peace has at last been signed. It is difficult even to imagine the grief which the Turkish statesmen must have felt while signing a treaty which has caused the disruption of both the Turkish Empire and the Muhammadan religion. The Turkish nation has now been practically wiped off the face of the earth. The *Times of India* argues that since the Turks have signed the treaty they must be willing party to it and asks the Indian Muhammadans, therefore, to desist from further agitation over the question of the Khilafat. This is meanness. Will not Turkish statesmen still try to secure better terms if they have the support of the Hindus and Muhammadans of India? The *Times* should bear well in mind that the days when Indians could easily be deceived have passed.

Comments on the treatment of Turkey by the Allies.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (151), 15th Aug.

71. Referring to the remarks of Lord Curzon in reply to Admiral Wemyss in the House of Lords, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* says:—The Greeks are not more numerous than the Turks (in the territories now occupied by the former). It is possible that the Turks have now fled from these tracts owing to the oppression of the Greeks. To claim that the Turks have been left in Constantinople in deference to the views of the Moslem fellow-subjects of the King-Emperor is absolutely wrong. When any disappointment rears it head, it is your policy to give out that you are going to favour some one. As regards Armenian massacres, the (pre-war) total number of Armenians is much less than what are reported to have been killed and banished. The reason for hating the Turks has always been their suzerainty of Jerusalem. Centuries of religious and political warfare could not enable you to regain it. You seized it in the last war by deception. The Turkish Empire is reduced to small dimensions; but your own is inordinately big. Nothing is better than control over finances. Does it not make masters slaves? If you have kept the Dardanelles open in the time of peace, did the Turks close it (in peace)? The Turks had as much right to close the Dardanelles in war as you had to close the Suez Canal. Well, God does not like oppressors!

Moral victory of Lenin.
Kesari (109), 17th Aug.

72. In the course of an article headed "Moral victory of Lenin", the *Kesari* writes:—Bolshevism is an economic principle, but as by force of circumstances its promoters were connected with the Russian revolution and as, even more, they were counted as the enemies of England, it had become so long a very daring and dangerous task to get information regarding the principle and discuss it. As in England itself the Bolshevists were considered dangerous, Bolshevist literature was naturally prohibited, and as we depend on the English regarding such literature, it was also denied to us. But as fortunately Russia and England are to be at peace, no one need now hesitate while pronouncing the name of Bolshevik. What is more, Englishmen themselves might embrace Bolshevism to-morrow; only their political selfishness should be served thereby. Till but lately, Lenin if found in London would have been hanged. Perhaps if he visits England for the purpose of peace, he may be given a reception now! Lenin did not rely upon his wisdom or on the strength of Russia; he depended upon a new principle, communism. In communism, there will be no room for individual selfishness and it entirely does away with over half the faults in politics. The idea is a new one and Russia was very eager to experiment with it. As his opponents had spread terrible rumours regarding Lenin and his associates, people have come to form very

perverted ideas about him and some look upon him as a Rakshasa, as if he wears the garland of skulls and blood is being poured on his head. But the facts are quite otherwise. Lenin is a plain, unarmed and innocent philosopher; only his philosophy is practical. He wants to take advantage of the revolution and bring into practice his idea. Lenin is not blood-thirsty; nay, he is a pure-minded person loving mankind. The 6th and 7th of November 1917 will be historically memorable dates, for during these two days the Russian revolution took place without shedding a drop of blood. Of course the efforts of thousands of persons for years were instrumental in bringing it about, but every big idea requires some one as its embodiment. Lenin's name will live for ever in the history of communism.

The Bolshevik menace.
Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra (31), 15th Aug.; *Bombay Samachár* (58), 18th Aug.; *Baroda Vartamán* (57), 16th Aug.

73. 'Pravasi', a regular contributor to the *Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra*, writes:—If the Bolshevists succeed in Poland they will not fail to receive a welcome in Germany and thus prove a menace to Middle Europe. The menace of the Bolshevists has made its appearance on Northern Persia and it was at the instigation of the Bolshevists that the Amir of Afghanistan invaded British territory last year. Farsighted people in England are of the opinion that England should not help the Poles to fight against the Bolshevists and allow them to arrive at a settlement with the latter. The Bolshevists have crushed Poland and are threatening Persia, and they are trying to set up the conflagration of war in Afghanistan and India. At any rate the Allies do not want the independence and existence of Poland to be endangered and so they will not allow that country to be wiped out of existence. [The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—We are convinced that the Bolshevists are prompted by evil motives and that they have no intention of establishing peace. They are on the one hand negotiating with Britain for opening commercial relations and on the other instigating the Amir to invade India with a view to bring this country under their influence. Now that the Afghans have been defeated, it is possible that they will not again be led astray by the Bolshevists. But neither the Afghans nor the Indians should pass unnoticed the schemes of Lenin that have now been disclosed. Indians fully realise their own interests and they will not allow the Bolshevists to carry away the raw produce of India under the pretext of an invasion. The Amir of Afghanistan is not likely to be blind to his own interests However, Government have begun to take steps to ward off the menace of the Bolshevists and the Afghans should also be equally on the alert. India will be securely protected against Bolshevism if the hands of Lenin are not strengthened in Afghanistan. The *Baroda Vartamán* writes:—Some are of the opinion that the Allies will have to declare war against the Bolshevists with a view to protect Poland. But they will not be able to do anything if the labouring classes in Europe resort to strikes. It is to be seen whether the infuriated Bolshivests do not succed in completely reducing Poland. But matters will assume quite a critical aspect if the Allies are compelled to declare war against Rassia. England is exerting her utmost to preserve peace; but Kamal Pasha is again said to be making preparations for war and so the Bolshevist menace has assumed a threatening aspect. At any rate the affairs of the world are in a greatly confused state. Poland is attracting our attention and the other affairs of the world pale into insignificance before it.]

Hindusthán (22), 18th Aug., Eng. cols.

74. "Bitter indeed is the pill that the Allies have got to swallow in Eastern Europe. They built up an Eastern Europe according to their wishes at the Treaty of Versailles. That Eastern Europe is now crumbling to pieces! Soviet Russia has triumphed over Poland, their protege, and so, she is dictating terms..... The Bolsheviks are imitating the Allies in the art of imposing the most humiliating terms on their enemies. But the worst of all the results of the triumph of Russia will be in Asia. The Russians will now intrigue everywhere in Asia against the Allies, and cause numberless risings, massacres, etc. From Constantinople to the borders of India there will be Russian spies and

plotters, who will do their utmost to destroy the peace of Asia. Perhaps the Allies deserve their fate in Asia. Had they behaved better towards the Arabs, the Turks and the Persians we might have fully sympathized with them. But as it is perhaps Bolshevism will try to break the chains which the Allies are busy rivetting on these Oriental peoples."

Comments on British Labour's threat of a general strike should England attack Russia.

Young India (13), 18th Aug.

75. "It is often asked by some Englishmen, what on earth the Indian Musalmans have to do with the grievances of non-Indian Musalmans that the British Government change their Turkish policy? One may now ask these Englishmen to state the connection between the Soviet Government and British Labour, and explain the submission of the British Government to the latter's dictates. They must know that the feelings of the Indian Musalmans for the Khalifa are of a long-standing and of a holier nature as distinguished from those of British Labour for the Soviet Government. The latter is only a product of yesterday and its connection with the British Labour is quite of a material nature. Just or unjust, the strike of a section of the people in Great Britain bends the Government to its will. But here even the purest pleadings of the whole nation seem to fall on deaf ears. It, therefore, remains for our conscientious people to stand up for the just cause till it is vindicated."

The Allies and the question of helping Poland.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 14th and 16th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (23), 14th and 16th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 18th and 21st Aug.

76. Britain has realised the futility of defeating Russia and overthrowing the Bolshevist Government and Mr. Lloyd George has adopted such a policy as would ultimately lead to the recognition of the Bolshevists. But the French have accepted the government established by the opponents of Bolshevism and have expressed their readiness to help them in every respect. They have practically declared war against the Bolshevists on their own responsibility. This has given rise to a very great commotion in England. It is very difficult at this juncture to say whether there will be any settlement between Poland and Russia or whether there will be a permanent rupture between England and France. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—The latest news from Poland is very encouraging. France has realised the folly of declaring war against the Bolshevists. The dangers of a ruinous war have thus been averted. The credit of averting the war rightly belongs to the labourers of Great Britain and they have by their concerted action placed the world under their obligation. The *Hindusthán* writes:—The latest news is very disquieting. France has gone against the wise policy adopted by England and has recognised the government of General Wrangel. England, however, is not likely to be drawn into a war as the Conservatives, the Labourites and the general British public are against entering into war with Russia. The differences between England and France have become greatly accentuated and there is now an open split between them. It is, however, difficult to form any conjectures in the matter of the consequences of this split. In a subsequent issue the paper remarks:—The differences between England and France are likely to be accentuated. France is not likely to give up its obstinacy. Matters have become very critical. It is difficult to form conjectures. We would not be surprised if there is again the clash of arms. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* recounts the various incidents in the matter of the Polish tangle and remarks:—If the Allies do not give up their obstinacy, it is feared, they will have to be the witnesses of a bloody war among themselves. In a further issue it writes:—France cannot do much single-handed to help Poland. If nevertheless it persists in its obstinacy, it will have to run the risk of rupturing its friendly relations with England. But France is not in a position to take such a risk. It is in the interests of Britain to conclude peace with Russia at an early date and thereby prevent that country from getting a pretext to create trouble in Persia, Afghanistan or India. The latest news from Mesopotamia is very alarming. It is, therefore, natural that the British public should refuse to enter into the risk of war with Russia. The Arabs have been displeased with the establishment of Allied mandates

over Turkish provinces and they are now prepared for a desperate fight. Affairs in Mesopotamia and Syria have assumed a serious aspect. The British public are inclined to be in favour of giving up the mandates Britain has recently acquired over Turkish provinces and it appears from the firm attitude assumed by the labouring classes in England that England will find it difficult to secure recruits for the army of occupation. The British public want to give up the responsibility for the 'Mandates' and to conclude peace with Russia. Let us hope they will be able to carry out the wise policy they mean to adopt.]

LEGISLATION.

77. "We are glad the Government have agreed to refer the Port Trust Bill to a select committee which has a fair amount of popular representation upon it. We hope the Select Committee will bring it to the notice of Government that the safest course would be to drop the Bill altogether or that a fairer course would be to suggest its being deferred until the Reformed Councils meet. But the Select Committee might, in the meanwhile, inquire whether there is any truth in the belief very widely held that the idea of establishing a hotel on the Mole, and under Port Trust management, came to be in existence when the Byculla Club site and certain other localities, chiefly inhabited by the European population of this city, were marked down for Government acquisition. The Committee might also with great profit go into details regarding the manner in which the twenty-one lakhs said to have been spent by the Port Trust for housing its own employees have been utilised. It should, for example, inquire how many lakhs have gone to the provision of bungalows for the Chairman and his immediate entourage. It should certainly make it its business to find out why the Port Trust Board appears unwilling to lend, at a fair price, sites to hotel syndicates anxious to come to the rescue of ocean-going passengers. If these matters are inquired into, we have no reason to believe that the September session of the Council will not be troubled with the discussion of the Port Trust Bill."

The Port Trust Act Amendment Bill.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Aug.

EDUCATION.

78. "We are glad the Ahmedabad Municipality has resolved at its meeting on Thursday last to protest against undue interference from the Educational Department in the matter of giving promotions to Municipal Primary School teachers. This power has been vested in the Municipality by Rule 8 of the rules prescribing the extent of the independent authority of Municipalities in respect of public education published in Government Resolution No. 2585 of 6th December 1894, and we think neither the Divisional Commissioner nor the Director of Public Instruction has the power to snatch away this privilege from the Municipalities. If the Municipalties are not considered competent to decide the fitness of their teachers we do not understand why should Primary Education be at all entrusted to them..... We hope all the Municipalities of our Division will protest against this fiat of the Director of Public Instruction which he has issued after obtaining the approval of the Commissioner, N. D."

Complaint about undue interference by the Educational Department in the matter of giving promotions to Municipal Primary School teachers in the Northern Division.
Praja Bandhu (29), 15th Aug., Eng. cols.

MUNICIPALITIES.

79. Commenting upon the motion in the Bombay Municipal Corporation that the slaughter of cattle at Bandra should be stopped and the Municipal Commissioner's report thereon to the effect that the slaughter only of cattle under certain ages should be prohibited, the *Lokasangraha* writes:—The Commissioner's recommendation is meaningless. The slaughter of cattle

The Bombay Municipality and the slaughter of cattle.
Lokasangraha (112), 16th Aug

is engaging the attention of everyone in India since it has affected the supply of milk and has also caused the interests of agriculture to suffer. The British Government are not likely to consider this question in a sympathetic spirit since Europeans are more interested in killing cattle than in preserving them. The Municipal Commissioner's recommendation is an instance in point. Our salvation lies in the complete stoppage of the slaughter of cattle that is going on at Bandra and elsewhere.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,

Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 27th August 1920.

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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "We own to a feeling of keen disappointment at the speech which Lord Chelmsford made in opening the autumn session of his Legislative Council. He is ominously silent on the question of the moment—the punishment of officers who abused their authority during the martial law days in the Punjáb as a means of making a repetition of similar happenings in the future impossible. While in the case of some of these, steps, though not quite satisfactory, have been taken to mark the Government's displeasure at their conduct, others still continue in Government service, as if nothing had happened. Surely the Viceroy could have said something to satisfy public curiosity on the point. We are afraid that, in the absence of such a declaration, his wish that 'we should concentrate on the problems of the immediate future' will remain ungratified. The people are equally anxious to forget the past; and it is in the power of Government to make it easy for them to do so. In view of the result of voting on Viscount Finlay's motion in the Lords, the Viceroy owed it as much to himself as to the Government over which he presides to dissociate himself from the Lords' expression of opinion on the Dyer case..... The part of His Excellency's speech dealing with the position of Indians overseas is, we are glad to observe, more satisfactory. In regard to South Africa, the fear is often expressed that what has begun as voluntary repatriation might develop into a compulsory ejection of Indians from that colony. Lord Chelmsford's statement on the point was agreeably frank..... The deputation to Fiji should have been charged to inquire into the circumstances leading to the declaration of martial law and the measures taken to suppress the recent riots; but the Government's reply to Mr. Sastri's question on the subject does not leave any hope that they have any such thing in contemplation. It need hardly be pointed out that the mere publication in India of the Fijian Government's correspondence with the Colonial office in London can never be a substitute for such an inquiry."

His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech at the Simla meeting of the Legislative Council.
Servant of India (9), 26th Aug.

2. "It is significant that the Viceroy devoted a part of his speech to Labour. We congratulate Labour and not Lord Chelmsford on this achievement. We say this advisedly because we are convinced that the steady march of Labour, the steady growth of its organisation are facts which have forced the authorities to take note of the changed atmosphere not in a spirit of detached hauteur but in that of statesmanship which tries to peer into the possibilities of the future..... There is one fallacy in the speech which must be exposed at once. Lord Chelmsford blames the employers for not conceding the workers' claims at the right moment and thus prolonging strikes. What of the authorities themselves? How many times did the North Western Railway workers appeal to the Viceroy for intervention and how often did they receive even as much as an acknowledgment?..... We are told that the Government are forming a sort of Labour Information Bureau and that they intend revising the Factories and Mines Acts. This is very welcome news. Labour must, however, remain vigilant and see to it that the fruits promised are not mere Dead Sea apples."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Aug.

3. "You cannot run away from the issues of the most burning topics of the day by leaving one to the judgment of history and stone-slinging the other. Yet that is what the most responsible person in the administration, the head of the Government of India, has done. May we respectfully ask His Excellency how his attitude on the Punjáb and the Khilafat questions pacifies by one jot or iota the outraged feelings of the people? Had His Excellency nothing tangible to offer or to say in regard to the demands of the people removing the wrong-doing officials from the administration? True, His Excellency was anxious not to fan the fire, but forsooth, he could have said much to quench it, had he chosen it. His Excellency has indirectly told us that so far the

Young India (13), 25th Aug.

Government of India are concerned, the questions are a sealed book. And he hoped this 'most foolish of all foolish schemes'—meaning thereby non-co-operation—'will fail of its own accord by reason of its insanity'. It is for the Indian people, specially the Muhammadans, to show that His Excellency's prediction of the movement is wrong. In pleasant contrast to this is His Excellency's attitude towards the question of Indians abroad, which is quite consonant with the self-respect and status of both the people and the Government. By the following declaration His Excellency has shown that he is prepared to follow the footsteps of his eminent predecessor on this question. ..... We are prepared to take this declaration at its worth and to wait and see what action the Government of India are going to take to secure the legitimate rights for our countrymen abroad."

4. "His Excellency harped on the necessity of 'co-operation'; but if the way the Advisory Rules Committee has been treated is a foretaste of the 'co-operation' of bureaucracy, the less we hear of it the better. Lord Chelmsford dismissed the Punjáb tragedy in a few sentences in a speech which would cover several columns of a newspaper. Himself one of the chief actors in the tragedy, His Excellency found little to be proud of in the transaction and with saint-like detachment declared he would leave the issues to the verdict of history! Reactionary rulers have said the same thing since the world began; there is nothing new in this assurance of the judgment of history. The Indian people are equally sure history will not acquit a Viceroy who resigned all his functions to the local autocrats giving them the fullest freedom to play hell with the lives of unarmed and inoffensive people. The Viceroy has some flings at the non-co-operation movement. He calls it a 'visionary's dream' and the 'most foolish of foolish schemes'. We are not surprised! The great movements of history were first damned with ridicule..... We are constrained to think, His Excellency has done nothing to pour healing balm on the deep wounds of the Punjáb and the Moslem heart. We had hoped His Lordship would refer to the demands made by the people with regard to the Declaration of Rights, the punishment of the Punjáb offenders, and the repeal of the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and other repressive legislation." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"His Excellency talks of 'co-operation'; it is not the first time he has talked of it! He asks us to start with a clean slate; have the Government of India, the Secretary of State and the British Cabinet rubbed the slate clean? Have they not rather shielded the Punjáb offenders? The merest justice has been denied to India; the nation has been dishonorably treated; the authors of the Punjáb tragedy have escaped punishment; yet His Excellency indulges in high sounding platitudes about 'co-operation'! And the Viceroy proceeds to draw a glowing picture of India under the Reforms! Similar pictures were painted at the time the Minto-Morley reforms were inaugurated; the 'reforms' proved to be a miserable failure, and the new 'Reforms' will not bring us the millenium."

New Times (8), 22nd Aug

5. Commenting on the Viceroy's opening speech in the Council, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"Looking to the magnitude of the questions of the Punjáb and the Khilafat we are sorry to see the meagre treatment they received at the hands of the Viceroy. His whole policy thereon centres upon the platitude 'whatever is done, is for the best'. On other topics also he has not done quite well. Turning first to the Punjáb affair we see here that the 'ego' does not leave the Viceroy..... He is now 'content to leave the issue to the verdict of history'. Verdict of history indeed! What is it if not an official record? The last of the Punjáb affair is not yet over; there is still the judgment of God above, and Indians are now resorting to non-co-operation. Well may the Viceroy ask us 'to concentrate on the problems of the immediate future'. But how to do that unless we pass through the present which is but a manifestation of the past? We are, therefore, trying to clean the slate of all its large and small scratches and defacements. In the matter of Khilafat the Viceroy pretends that he has done his best. He says perhaps the Allied Powers found themselves unable to accept the contentions advanced by Indian

* *Mahrátta* (7), 29th Aug.; *Kesari* (109), 24th Aug.; *Lokasangraha* (112), 27th Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 23rd Aug.

Moslems. Why blame the Allied Powers? Did not His Majesty's Government always find themselves unable to accept the contentions advanced by all of us? The whole system of Government is diseased and 'diseases desperate grown, by desperate appliances are relieved.' The remedy of non-co-operation is now the only one in our hands, and we must use it. The Viceroy may call it most foolish, but it may spell destruction of the bureaucratic disease..... 'There are three great virtues which have won the world's acknowledgments, faith, hope and charity of which three, the greatest is charity' is the concluding portion of the Viceroy's speech. When did we not put faith 'in the boundless possibilities of this great land'? It is Lord Chelmsford and his likes that have almost made us despair of the realisation of our aspirations at our will. Still like an unrepentant man he says the one thing needful to-day is charity. Let him learn to put faith in India and Indians, let him reform himself and do something to create hope, and after all he will find that it is his race who under the sun are characterised for the rarity of their charity, and not the Indian with whom it is but a religious cult. Let him try to be charitable himself, let him learn that charity as well as reform must begin at home." [The *Kesari* writes in a similar strain and says that the speech was very discursive and that the main points were evaded or were commented upon only slightly. The mere curses of the Viceroy, continues the paper, will not kill the Khilafat and non-co-operation movements. Many important points regarding the Mesopotamian situation were not at all dealt with by the Viceroy. The *Lokasangraha* writes:—The main feature of the Viceroy's administration is the absence of sympathy for Indians. He has never cared for the joys or sorrows of Indians, and his vision has never been extended beyond his countrymen and the bureaucracy. He has taken glory and delight in ignoring, treating with contempt and trampling under foot Indian public opinion. His silence on the Punjáb question shows that his conscience is biting him. We really believe that he feels he is guilty and, therefore, he is in haste to forget the past and look to the future. Lord Chelmsford forgets that the slate on which he wants us to write anew is stained with the blood of our countrymen. The friendly hand the Viceroy extends towards us with a smile was raised in favour of the bureaucracy shooting down our unarmed countrymen, whipping our countrymen, and reducing their bare backs to raw flesh and removing the veils of Indian women and dishonouring them. What has Lord Chelmsford done that we may forget these things? The Government of India thinks that it has done its duty by only strongly representing the Indian Muhammadan case regarding the Khilafat question, but it should have insisted upon the acceptance of the Muhammadan view. So long as Mesopotamia is not free from the clutches of Britain, the Viceroy's blustering will be of no use. However, there is no doubt that the policy of the Government of India towards Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation is very wise and statesmanlike. We thank the Viceroy and his advisers for it. We also ask to be allowed to agitate. Do not poke in your nose and excite the people. The Viceroy thinks it is madness. But it is by such madness that high-handed bureaucrats have been humbled and it has been made possible for nations rotting in slavery to ascend the pinnacle of liberty. The *Indu Prakásh* says:—The majority believe that non-co-operation is not the way to save the Khilafat or to uplift India politically; but the Viceroy should not misunderstand that the Indian public will forget the injustice of the Allies as regards the Turkish Treaty or the insult given to the Indian public opinion in the matter of the Punjáb question.]

6. The reference made by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Hunter Report in his opening speech at the recent sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council goes to show that his conscience has begun to bite him; but the advice given by him to the people to let bygones be bygones is merely adding insult to injury. It is Lord Chelmsford who is primarily responsible for the affairs in the Punjab, for had the Rowlatt Act not been passed, the disturbances would never have occured. The Indian public cannot sit quiet so long as that Act remains on the statute book. The opinions expressed by His Excellency on Khilafat and non-co-operation

Sánj Vartamán (32), 21st Aug.; *Hindusthán* (22), 23rd Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 23rd and 24th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Parsi* (30), 23rd and 24th Aug.

are not likely to pacify the hearts of Indiam Muhammadans. Revolts in Mesopotamia, Syria and Anatolia are the immediate results of the Turkish peace. It is, however, for the future historians to decide whether the non-co-operation movement is a foolish one or not. [The *Hindusthdn* writes:—There is nothing new in His Excellency's pronouncement on the non-co-operation movement. The 29th clause of the constitution of the League of Nations requires that mandates should be established with the consent of the nations concerned; but in practice this provision has been flouted and England deserves no small blame for it. Respecting the religious feelings of the Muhammadans would be beneficial to England to some extent. The intention of Government to extend the boundries of India and to extend the frontier railway with a view to keep a garrison there would in no way be beneficial to India. Shouldering new responsibilities is both risky and expensive. No step in the matter should be taken without careful consideration. The *Jdm-e-Jamshed* writes:—Those people who hoped that His Excellency the Viceroy would make a pronouncement on the Punjáb affairs that would pacify the hearts of the people have been sadly disappointed. His military training is a great handicap to him in understanding and appreciating the feelings of the people. The Government of India have not been able to take any steps to undo the injustice done to the Punjáb. Every reasonable man will agree with His Excellency in condemning the non-co-operation movement as foolish and join him in wishing that it will die a natural death. The Government of India should not tolerate the injust treatment given to Indians in Africa. India badly stands in need of labour to develop her resources and it should on no account be exported to any other country. In the subsequent issue the paper remarks:—The ambitious policy outlined in His Excellency's speech in the matter of extending the frontier is likely to prove burdensome to India. The border tribes should be placed under the authority of the Amir of Afghanistan and the administration of the frontier should be made over to him in the interests of India. It is hoped that the Government of India will reconsider the question. The *Praja Mitra and Pdrsi* remarks:—We are at one with the Viceroy in considering the non-co-operation movement as foolish and harmful. We do not think it is a wise policy to extend the frontiers towards Afghanistan and are afraid that the proposed arrangements will involve the maintenance of a costly garrison. The Vaziris and other tribes should be placed under the Amir. In the subsequent issue the paper advocates the policy of retaliation towards the African colonies.]

7. Those who read Lord Chelmsford's opening speech at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held this month with a view to finding therein some words calculated to allay the uneasiness caused in the public mind by the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs will not fail to be sorely disappointed. As regards the Khilafat, the Government of India did all that they possibly could do and they are certainly not to be blamed if they met with no success. Both the Government of India and the Secretary of State sympathised with the Muhammadan claims and they spared no pains in pleading the Muhammadan case before the Imperial authorities. The Government of India cannot, therefore, be held responsible for the adverse decision in regard to the Khilafat. It will thus be seen that the non-co-operation movement started against the Government of India is not well-advised. Resort to non-co-operation may or may not be wrong, but it is certain that the support that this movement gets from the people is mainly due to the uneasiness caused by the happenings in the Punjáb. Although the Government of India could plead helplessness in regard to the Khilafat, it was in their power to allay the discontent engendered by the Punjáb wrong. The Secretary of State gave a definite assurance in his despatch that the offending officials in the Punjáb would be suitably punished and also stated that this task was entrusted to the Government of India. The Viceroy was naturally expected to announce at the meeting of the Council the measures taken against these officials, but he has not done this. The Viceroy admits in his speech that he is well aware that the Hunter Committee's report, the resolution of the Government of India thereon

Dnyán Prakdsh (41), 24th Aug.; *Swarájya* ( ), 26th Aug.; *Prakásh* (121), 25th Aug.

and the Secretary of State's despatch have all given deep dissatisfaction to the people. If, therefore, he had told the people in what way he proposed to deal with the offending officials in the Punjab, he would have had a right to ask for the co-operation of the people in making the reforms a success. To maintain silence on this point and at the same time to ask the people to forget the past is to add to the injury already inflicted. Again, not even an optimist can say that the framing of the Reforms rules in such a way as to exclude from election men like Lala Harkishenlal, Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari, etc., will be helpful in establishing an understanding between the officials and the people. If Lord Chelmsford is really of opinion that the non-co-operation movement is harmful, then it is clearly his duty to see that it gets as little support from the people as possible. Instead of this he has indirectly aided the movement by providing for the exclusion of the Punjáb leaders from the Councils. [The *Swarajya* says that it is surprising that Lord Chelmsford should find fault with the non-co-operation movement which originated from the errors of officials like himself. It is also surprised at Lord Chelmsford's calling the movement useless inasmuch as, in its opinion, the movement has been instrumental in causing the Viceroy to tone down his speech and in putting him in mind of the principles of faith, hope and charity. The *Prakásh* says that it is futile for the officials to talk of co-operation so long as they look upon themselves as the masters and not the servants of the people.]

*8. In the course of its comments on the Viceroy's opening speech in the Council, the *Gujaráti* writes:—"Over and over again we have pointed out how unanswerable is the Indian claim to equal treatment in British East Africa in the development of which they have played such a conspicuous part. It is gratifying to notice that Lord Chelmsford's Government has taken an emphatic and unequivocal attitude on this question and will seriously consider what action they must take 'in order to secure the legitimate rights of Indians in the Crown Colonies'? As regards the position of India in Tanganyika, the Viceroy informed the Indian public that the draft mandate for this territory fully safeguards the rights of Indians. More light, however, is needed on the question, and we hope the specific provisions of the mandate in this behalf will be made known in this country at an early opportunity. It will be remembered that two deputations had arrived in India from British Guiana and Fiji respectively with a view to induce the Indian Government to permit Indian workmen to take up employment in those territories..... Both the Colonies have now agreed to give the desired guarantees. In our opinion that is not enough. The Government of India ought to insist on having the terms of the guarantees in black and white before the deputations are sent to British Guiana and Fiji for purposes of local investigation. We know nothing about the ways of the Government of British Guiana. But we have absolutely no faith in the good faith, justice and humanity of the Fiji Government."

Gujaráti (18), 29th Aug., Eng. cols.

*9. Commenting upon the Viceroy's opening speech in the Council the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"He asked the people to forget the past and turn their minds to the various problems of constructive work that lie before them. Finally, he exhorts them to exercise the three cardinal virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity. We fully recognise the need for the exercise of these three virtues, specially the last, which is said to be pre-eminently a Christian virtue, unfortunately not always to be found among Christians. Charity is indeed a great virtue, and its exercise would certainly do much to remove the unrest and discontent now prevailing; but in this case it cannot be one-sided, both parties must show it equally. It is not very easy to forget the past. The memory of the Jhallianwalla Bagh and other episodes is as yet too fresh in the public mind to be completely obliterated; in fact they will never be forgotten..... Still, for the good of the country as a whole, it is very advisable that the curtain may now be rung down over this deplorable affair, and this can never be done unless both parties, that is to say Indians on the one side and officials and Anglo-Indians on the other, show

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 29th Aug., Eng. cols.

mutual forbearance by stopping the controversy once and for all. Unfortunately there is a tendency among a certain class of officials and Anglo-Indians in this country to keep the wound bleeding by wilfully and repeatedly probing it. In spite of the final decision of both the Indian and the Home Governments they are still trying to uphold the atrocious conduct of Dyer, and to glorify him by raising funds in his aid and to present him with a 'sword of honour'. Can anything be more calculated to exacerbate Indian feeling? As long as this sort of conduct continues unchecked how can the Viceroy expect the people to show charity, when such charity is not reciprocated?"

Comments on the Government of India's reply to Mr. Sastri's question about the Fiji disturbances.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Aug.

10. "The Government of India's attitude towards the sufferings of Indians in Fiji is amazing. Replying to the Honourable Mr. Sastri's question regarding the recent happenings in these islands, Sir George Barnes has stated that in view of 'the very detailed account' of the riots given in the despatch of the Governor of Fiji, the Government of India 'do not think that they would be justified in moving the Secretary of State for India for getting the Colonial Office to appoint a Commission to enquire into the origin of the riots and the measures taken to quell them.' Does this mean that the Government of India are in full agreement with the Fiji authorities in holding the Indians entirely responsible for the disturbances and the consequent suffering heaped on them, and that they are prepared to leave these Indians entirely to the mercy of the Fiji officials, whom they regard as their oppressors? If that is so, the Government of India will be guilty of a shameful betrayal of Indians abroad..... They have accepted as gospel truth the official version of the Fiji Government. They appear prepared to draw a veil over the past, over all the unspeakable atrocities committed against Indians, having, to all intents and purposes, made no independent enquires of their own either into the nature of the grievances of Indians or the extent of their sufferings. We put it to the Government of India whether a self-respecting Government, say, for example, the Japanese Government, would have rested content with a version of affairs supplied by the very authorities who have been charged by the nationals of this Government with oppression, culminating in the shooting down of several innocent lives? The misrepresentations and serious gaps in the story furnished by the Governor have been fully exposed by us in these columns. But these do not exist for the sympathetic gods of Simla. Their only concern for the moment appears to be to send a deputation to Fiji to investigate local conditions and to report on the suitability of further colonisation! Indians do not want any further emigration to these cursed islands if the authorities and the planters do not make sufficient reparation for their past wrong-doing. The Government of India are mistaken in thinking that their deputation will serve any purpose. Our outraged countrymen want immediate cancelment of all sentences of imprisonment and oppressive reparation for the past and guarantees regarding future treatment. The Government of India should secure these first and then only can any suggestion from them arise to send a deputation to arrange for further emigration of Indians to Fiji."

Comments on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's speech at the New English School, Poona.
Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 28th Aug.

11. Reviewing His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's speech at New English School at Poona, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—His Excellency's speech shows how very enthusiastic he is about technical education and how very solicitous he is about its progress. His Excellency's idea that Indians should be trained directly under contractors and other similar professionals is indeed a welcome one. The scheme proposed by His Excellency is likely to prove effective in the advancement of practical training in arts and industries. It behoves His Excellency's Government to put his suggestions into practice by all possible means, because such a course of action will be a great help to the cause of technical education in the presidency, and it will be possible to turn out

with ease Indian engineers and skilled workmen in sufficient numbers. Our industrialists, such as mill-owners, should also introduce the system of apprenticeship in order to give practical training to young men. We hope that the captains of industry in the city and the presidency will soon be ready to act upon the excellent suggestion of His Excellency.

12. "Egypt is free. After decades of toil and travail a determined nation has regained its independence. At last a breath of fresh air is blown into the murky atmosphere of militarist and imperialist statecraft in which humanity has been living since the armistice with Germany..... Two fundamental principles have been recognised by the British Government: First, that Egypt is an international problem, not a domestic question of Imperial politics; second, that whatever arrangement is reached, it will be reached by agreement between the British Empire on the one hand and Egypt on the other. And it is for the recognition of these two principles which rule out a 'protectorate' that the Nationalists of Egypt have struggled and suffered for years when, before the war, they demanded British evacuation and, after it, complete independence. They have now practically obtained what they desired. And they have obtained it principally through their own will to be free and through their determined efforts, in spite of difficulties, to secure their independence..... And the triumph of Egyptian Nationalists will not remain an isolated event..... Though the 'peace-makers' have sought to dam the forces unchained by the war, Nemesis is gradually but surely overtaking them. The successful answer of Egyptian Nationalism to their challenge will rouse new enthusiasms wherever national aspirations are thwarted. It will be the most effective blow yet delivered to the notion of the 'victors' that they can confine their heady doctrine of nationality to the subjects of the defeated Empires. They have now to face the fact that Irishmen, Indians, Moroccans and Arabs are also nations. To all of them the example which Egypt has set of national solidarity and organised efforts will be a stimulus and an inspiration to fresh and more vigorous efforts. It is a proud moment in the life of Zagloul Pasha whose name will be treasured in grateful memory wherever national independence and honour are cherished. Prouder will his grateful countrymen be in the consummation of that Revolution which began first in their souls. Long Live Egypt!"

Comments on the recognition of the independence of Egypt by England.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Aug.

*13. "This is an age of surprises that we live in; but no surprise greater or more wide spread than Egyptian independence which has been recognised, willy-nilly, by Britain. ..... Whatever the motives actuating the British statesmen, we must congratulate them for having taken so bold, so generous and so unequally polite a step in granting autonomy to Egypt which had been tantalized so long..... The independence, so far as it goes, is thorough beyond the bounds of cavil, and we hope that Egyptians will leave no stone unturned in restoring their down-trodden nation to its ancient grandeur, glory and greatness..... That Egypt, held since 1882, under brutal subjection by Britain disguised beneath the silken name of Protectorate, should have attained to her goal is no reason why we, in India similarly circumstanced, should not devoutly expect a similar crowning of our efforts. The consummation of the Egyptian ideal, if anything, carries with it two lessons which India well might follow. To our mind, the causes of Egypt's success are two *viz.*, dogged, determined and aggressive agitation within the country and wide publicity abroad. If India takes these lessons seriously and at their full value, we have no doubt that the results produced in Egypt will be seen at no distant date even here..... To turn to the second lesson, Egyptains knew well how strongly American public opinion reacts on the British public opinion, and in that freedom-loving continent the faithlessness of British statesmen and the inhuman acts perpetrated by Martial Law Administrators in Egypt were exposed in a convincing manner the results of which are now common property..... Now, we feel that India ought to rely to a great extent, greater certainly than formerly, on foreign propaganda. Britain must be shamed in the eyes of the

Mahratta (7), 29th Aug.

whole civilised world. A nation's liberties can never be parcelled and meted out in gratitude; if they are to be had they must be wrested."

14. The pledges of the English could not deceive the Egyptians. The blood of independence coursing through their veins would not allow them to keep quiet and they moved heaven and earth to regain their lost independence. Sir Michael O'Dwyer sapped the man-power of the Punjáb during the war and his example was also imitated in Egypt and the people there were subjected to terrible hardships. Although the population of the country is only a crore and a half, over ten lakhs of men were carried away for being employed at the front. Egypt was unable to put up with the oppression any longer, and she carried on her agitation with redoubled vigour as soon as the last shot in the war was fired. Lord Milner tried to placate the people by giving them a sop of reforms as has been done in the case of India, but the Nationalist party and its leaders defeated the plan and earned independence for their country. Egypt has at last wiped off the stain of a protectorate so galling to a liberty-loving people. She has secured the right of selfdetermination by her own efforts, and her example is worthy of imitation by India if she wants to secure the same right for herself. [The *Swardjya* sarcastically writes:—Egypt is becoming free, but she has hardly any idea of the disabilities she will in future suffer from. The poor country must indeed be pitied for losing the many benefits that fall to the share only of subject nations! She will no longer hear of 'Dominion Home Rule' or 'Self-Government within the Empire.' We doubt whether even the sun will shine on her now owing to her secession from the British Empire. She will also be no longer eligible for the benefit of a mandate. She has not the least hope now of contributing her men and money if a great Empire were in future to wage war in defence of a small nation! The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—Conditions in India, and Egypt are wholly dissimilar and, therefore, both cannot not tread the same path. Secession from the British Empire will not conduce to the welfare of India nor does she wish for it. But England which has given independence to Egypt must also fulfil her pledges given to India. Indians can now rightly infer that England will abide by her pledges. The *Indu Prakásh* says that the grant of independence to Egypt is a trivmph of British statesmanship. The *Nirikshak* says it is an irony of fate that Lord Milner who deprived the Transvaal of its independence for its gold mines should be instrumental in giving back Egypt its independence.]

Lokasangraha (112), 28th Aug.; *Swarajya* ( ), 26th Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 27th Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 26th Aug.; *Nirikshak* ( ), 27th Aug.

15. We must congratulate the Egyptians and the British Government on the granting of independence to Egypt. It is the Extremists of Egypt who have regained the independence of that country. When Great Britain tried to gain control over Egypt under the pretext of giving it *Swarájya*, the whole nation revolted against it. The revolt was put down with a heavy hand, but the Egyptians were not cowed down. They began non-co-operation against Britain and have ultimately succeeded with its help. This is a very great triumph for the Egyptians. The Christians and Muhammadans of Egypt who had always been at loggerheads with each other forgot their differences in their struggle for independence. The Egyptians were subjected to atrocities worse than those to which Indians were subjected in the Punjáb. Egypt has secured independence only after undergoing sufferings. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—It is the Nationalists who deserve credit for securing independence for Egypt. It must, however, be said that the Nationalists had the backing of the whole nation. Egypt has been able to secure independence from England with the help of unity and non-co-operation. We congratulate Egypt on its achievment and hope that it will set an example to other nations. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—We must congratute Great Britain on taking a timely step in conferring independence on Egypt. India is also fit for similar independence; and we would urge upon Government the need of conferring it upon India at an early date. Let us hope that the Duke of Connaught will bring a message from the King-Emperor giving independence to India on the lines on which it has been given to Egypt.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 26th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (23), 26th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 25th Aug.

16. "After Egypt, Ireland. Sinn Fein under De Valera has achieved a success which has no parallel in the Nationalist movement headed by Zagloul Pasha..... The boycott of Britain has become complete. During the last few months Irish Courts have failed to transact business, and Irish municipalities have failed to recognise the Union Jack. Even the Moderates are reported to-day to be in favour of complete self-government seeing that business is at a standstill and the dividends as illusory as the Sinn Fein marauders. Practically the whole of Ireland, barring a few counties in Ulster, has openly declared its adherence to Irish Republic..... Ireland, in fact, has become another Egypt. There is no end in sight to the impasse created by Sinn Fein except through a frank and honest recognition of the right of Ireland to govern herself."

Reflections on the condition of Ireland.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Aug.

17. There is a consensus of opinion that Lord Chelmsford is unfit to continue in his office and that he should be recalled. We do not know why he persists in sticking to his post when all people are asking him to clear out. It is certainly not in the interests of the rulers that matters should come to such a pass. The Imperial authorities will do well to realize that it is better to accede to the popular demand and quench the fire of discontent than to allow it to spread.

Lord Chelmsford should be recalled.
Lokasangraha (112), 28th Aug.

18. The *Indu Prakásh* says that few cows were sacrificed in the last Bakr-Id festival in Bombay, and that 60 cows in Madanpura were released by Muhammadans at the instance of Hindus. It also refers to a procession held of released cows and in honour of Muhammadans from Madanpura to the Panjra Pole, and expresses the hope that this sowing of the seed of unity between Hindus and Muhammadans on the Id day would assume the form of a magnificent tree at an early date.

The Bakr-Id in Bombay.
Indu Prakásh (44), 27th Aug.

19. An alien Government which claims to be benign cannot accomplish what a Native ruler can. We cangratulate His Exalted Highness the Nizam on the issue of a *firman* prohibiting the sacrifice of cows on the Id holiday. His attitude towards the Khilafat movement has greatly disappointed Indians. But although he had to sin against his own religion owing to his helplessness, the inherent goodness of his heart is not apparently exhausted. It is a matter for satisfaction that the Musalmans have begun to respect the religious feelings of their Hindu brethren. The late Amir of Afghanistan prohibited the slaughter of cows in his kingdom and thus proved himself to be a far-sighted ruler. It is to be hoped that the excellent example set by the Nizam will be followed throughout the country. We wish the present fellow-feeling will ever be on the increase and that the two communities will be permanently united.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam's *firman* prohibiting slaughter of cows on the Id holiday.
Lokasangraha (112), 23rd Aug.

20. Reviewing the proceedings of the public meeting held in Bombay to protest against the proposed erection of a slaughter-house at Ratona, Central Provinces, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—No convincing explanation has been given to justify the erection of new slaughter-houses. The only reason given by the Government of the Central Provinces is that the latest methods will be adopted in the new slaughter-house and that cattle will be so slaughtered as to inflict on them the least amount of pain. Why not introduce the latest methods in the existing slaughter-houses? No answer is forthcoming to this question. Again, the religion of the meat-eating people of India enjoins that cattle should be slaughtered in a particular manner if their flesh is to be utilised as food. Hence it is likely that the meat of the cattle slaughtered at the new slaughter-house may not be availed of by the meat-eating public of India at all. Thus it will be seen that there is no satisfactory reason justifying the erection of a new slaughter-house

The proposed erection of a slaughter-house at Ratona, Central Provinces.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 26th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 27th Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 26th Aug.

on a large scale. Again, as was pointed out at the meeting by many of the speakers, the number of cattle in this country is very small, that Indian cattle are weaker than those in other countries, and there is no limit as to the number of cattle that can be slaughtered. The resolution passed by the meeting requesting the Government of India to veto the erection of the proposed slaughter-house deserves full sympathy. We trust that the Honourable Mr. Sarma and his Indian colleagues will try their best to get the request sanctioned. [The *Bombay Samdchdr* dwells at length upon the shortage of cattle in this country and the consequent sufferings of the people and agriculturists, and adds that the people deeply regret that a joint-stock company trading in hides, which has been granted valuable concessions by the Government of the Central Provinces, is going to erect a new slaughter-house and that it will destroy two hundred thousand cattle annually. The paper concludes with the hope that the Government of the Central Provinces will not allow the proposed slaughter-house to be built under the present circumstances. The *Sánj Vartamán* strongly protests against Sir F. Sly's defence of the 'model' slaughter-house, and remarks that it is the first duty of Government to protect cattle.]

*21. "In the Central Provinces Legislative Council Sir Frank Sly has attempted at explaining his position with regard to the slaughter-house to be started at Ratona in his province against which numerous protests are being made and on which we commented in these columns two weeks ago. But, unfortunately, his is the case of an explanation which entirely fails to explain and even were the explanation cogent, explanation is no justification..... The very idea of a Government setting on foot a slaughter-house is sufficient to make our hair stand on end, however perfect that slaughter-house be, and we frankly say to Sir Frank, Indians will have none of his model slaughter-houses. The Nizam of Hyderabad has stopped cow sacrifice; the Muhammadans of British India are earnestly appealing to their brethren to put an end to cow-slaughter; Indians are crying for cattle-preservation and the prohibition of export of cattle. That the 'humane' Government of Sir Frank Sly should bestir themselves, in the face of these conditions, to establish a slaughter-house for the benefit of the Davenport Company and that the Government of India should light-heartedly chuck the whole question under the chin prove unmistakably how utterly incompatible are the sentiments of the governors and the governed..... We hope that, in view of the deeply hurt religious sentiments of the people and also in view of the economic menace involved, Sir Frank Sly will reconsider the matter and instead of creating model slaughter-houses will start a model compaign in favour of vegitarianism."

Mahrátta (7), 29th Aug.

22. The question of cow-slaughter is one of life and death to us and to our children. If we do not take it up in all seriousness, we shall have to pay very heavily for our negligence. Government has done nothing in the past and is not likely to do anything in the present in the matter of cow-protection. It has only resently extended its help to a big factory in the Central Provinces. It is said that two lacs of cows and bullocks will be slaughtered annually at this factory with a view to encourage the hide trade. What a pity! We Indians ask for cow-slaughter to stop, and is this the response which Government is making to our appeals? We hope that there will be agitation throughout the country against this injustice. We think that Government should give no help and have nothing to do with such a Company. Is Government going to utilise the taxes paid by the people in a manner prejudicial to their interests?

Government's alleged apathy in the matter of preventing cow-slaughter.
Hindu (144), 5th Aug.

23. "Bombay has added to the voice of protest that is going up from all parts of the country against the present *laissez faire* policy of the authorities in connection with the indiscriminate slaughter of milch and agricultural cattle that is going on all over the country to the great detriment of its agricultural prosperity and the physical welfare of its people..... That the authorities are utterly oblivious to the dangerous consequences of their policy

Comments on the Bombay meeting against the slaughter of milch cattle.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Aug.

is to be seen in the readiness of the Government of the Central Provinces to give facilities on an unprecedented scale for the slaughter of cattle in their province..... It is to be hoped that the protests that are going up from all sides of the country will induce the Government of India to veto the scheme..... The Honourable Mr. Purshotamdas has urged that a Royal Commission should be appointed to investigate the problem of cattle conservation. If not a Royal Commission, at least a thoroughly representative commission appointed by the Government of India ought to take up the enquiry and formulate proposals for the future guidance of the authorities and local bodies in this country. The present *laissez faire* policy is proving disastrous and must be given up."

Gujardti (18), 29th Aug., Eng. cols.

***24.** "Public meetings are being held in different parts of the country to protest against the proposed erection of a slaughter-house at Ratona near Saugar, Central Provinces, for the Central Provinces Tanning Company, Limited, which has acquired valuable concessions from the Central Provinces Government..... There is nothing astonishing in this manifestation of Indian feeling and no sensible and responsible Government, knowing the sentiment of the Hindu community, would have ever thought of associating itself in any way with, or granting special concessions to, a Company whose operations will involve the slaughter of thousands of useful cattle. The Commissioner of the Central Provinces, with all his experience of the country, has not yet learnt that European and Chicago conceptions or ideals of humanity will not do for India and that the health and agricultural requirements of her population require on the part of the Government a radical departure from the disastrous policy of *laissez faire* that has so long been followed in dealing with the question of the agricultural development of the country, including its cattle wealth..... The efficiency of Indian agriculture depends to a large extent upon the vigor and numerical strength of agricultural cattle. Their present number is altogether insufficient for the conduct of agricultural operations, and before it is too late Government will do well to appoint a Committee to inquire into the existing situation and find out what measures ought to be adopted to improve the breed of Indian cattle, to grant increased facilities of pasturage to the villagers, and to prohibit the indiscriminate slaughter of milch and agricultural cattle and the export of the best breed. There is no reason why Government should allow the Agricultural Department or their Farms to sell cattle reared under official supervision to foreigners. On the contrary, they ought to be sold even at a loss to the Indian agriculturists and not allowed to be exported. The requirements of the British soldier can well be met, as suggested by the Honourable Mr. Purshotamdas, by importing beef from Australia..... The promoters and managers of European companies have an easy access to Government and obtain all kinds of facilities and concessions they want without considerable difficulty. But the Government of India must intervene in time if further agitation in the country is to be avoided and stop the erection of the proposed slaughter-house at Ratona and the indiscriminate slaughter of cattle for trade purposes by thousands every year."

Mufid-e-Rozgár (151), 29th Aug.

25. Commenting on the proceedings of the meeting held in Bombay to protest against the slaughter of cows at Ratona, the *Mufid-e-Rozgar* declares that though the specious object of the meeting was to stop indiscriminate slaughter of cattle, the secret aim is to try to defeat the Musalmans by underhand means. It admits that cattle are indispensible for agriculture, but at the same time it warns the Hindus against interfering with the tenets of the Muhammadan faith, and hopes ten thousand Moslems would not be put to death as at Arrah in order to save a few cows.

The Gujarát Political Conference.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 27th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 28th Aug.

26. It appears from the speech made by Mr. V. J. Patel as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Gujarát Political Conference that he is a staunch advocate of non-co-operation. He has not, however, expressed any definite opinion in the matter of boycotting the Councils; but the warning he gives to the people not to be deluded by the new Reforms goes

to show that he is also in favour of boycotting the Conncils. Mr. Patel has advanced irrefutable arguments in favour of non-co-operation, and we ourselves see no other legitimate course open to the public except non-co-operation. Those who can claim to understand the Bible and the Gita in a better manner than Mr. Gandhi would do well to place the nation under their obligation by suggesting some alternative in the place of non-co-operation. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—Both the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President of the Gujarát Political Conference have voiced the real feelings of the Muhammadans and the Indian public in the matter of the Khilafat and have advocated non-co-operation. We have expressed our views on the non-co-operation movement in the past and shall express our views once again when the extraordinary sessions of the Congress meets next week. The President of the Conference has raised a very important question with respect to the employment of Indian troops in the recent disturbances in Mesopotamia. We hope the Conference will pass a resolution protesting against the employment of Indian troops in Mesopotamia and demanding their recall.]

27. "Lala Lajpat Rai has issued a manifesto, which we publish elsewhere, to all Moderates inviting them to the Special Session of the Congress. The occasion is so important that it was well worth appealing for unity..... We consider that it would be to the advantage of the Moderates to accept Lala Lajpat Rai's invitation..... Whether the party as a whole accepts this frank and far-sighted invitation or not it is certain that a number of Moderate leaders will be present at the Special Session..... Let not the Moderates take fright. There is no danger of the silt and mud of 'Extremism' being mixed in the pure water of their views. Let them be of good cheer and bend their straying feet to the Congress fold."

Comments on Lala Lajpat Rai's appeal to Moderates to join the Special Congress Session.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Aug.

***28.** "We have conveyed our view to Mr. Lajpat Rai. It is that those of us who have declared definitely against non-co-operation are obviously out of place in a meeting specially called to consider the question. The effect of any considerable number of them attending may merely be to enable the considerable number of 'leaders' who are sitting on the fence, to preserve their safe position, throwing the brunt of the fight on those who have openly expressed their views. We are strongly in favour of all parties combining to solve national question—we have no superfluity of public-spirited leaders—but we are afraid this is impossible till non-co-operation is out of the way. Non-co-operation represents not only a political method, but a philosophy of life and conduct over which there can be no compromise between those who accept it and those who reject it."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 29th Aug.

29. Referring to Lala Lajpatrai's appeal to the Moderates to join the forthcoming Special Session of the Congress, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—"The Lala is a staunch supporter of both these movements (non-co-operation and the boycott of the new Councils), but he differs from Mr. Gandhi in his method. He sees the wisdom of consulting public opinion before starting the campaign of non-co-operation and boycott, and he has, therefore, thought fit to invite both parties to the Congress. We do not see any reason why the Moderates should not accept this frank invitation, but at the same time it does not lessen the necessity of holding a special Congress of their own as suggested above. More than once the Moderates have held out the olive branch of peace to the Nationalists, but it has been refused; and looking to the great difference of opinion which now exists between these two parties it is vain to hope for a complete reunion." [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* strongly supports the Lala's appeal and declares that it would be cowardice on the part of the Moderates to keep away from the Special Sessions of the Congress owing to the fear of their being outvoted by the Extremists.]

**Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 29th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 25th Aug.

*30. "The representatives of the nation have a very difficult, important and responsible task set before them. There is not the question of accepting or not accepting the principle of non-co-operation. The question before the nation is to deliberate and decide upon the best course which will lead the nation with sure, certain and unfaltering step to the goal of *Swarajya* and get rid of the present anomalous and humiliating position. If the nation through its representatives approves of the programme of non-co-operation as detailed by Mahatma Gandhi we assure on the part of Mahárashtra Nationalists that we shall abide by their decision. In fact Mr. N. C. Kelkar only two days before declared that he voiced the opinion of the Mahárashtra Nationalists when he averred that in case Congress decides to boycott the Councils he himself and his nationalist friends would most willingly withdraw their candidatures. So let the scoffers and light-hearted Moderate critics, who are indulging in cheap gibes against the Nationalists, rest their soul in peace. When the nation is struggling to forge a weapon to shatter the bonds of slavery let them not make fun and enjoy in mischievous raillery..... The acid test of the whole movement is its efficacy and with us, as we have declared often, obstruction is an active and aggressive form of non-co-operation, which alone can bring home to the British Government and the British people, the volume of our national resentment by demonstrating that we can, if we mean, bring the administration of Government by the present bureaucracy to a standstill. As Mr. Patel puts it, the British Government will yield either to force or pressure. And as force is out of question, the only moral pressure that we can bring is to make the British people realise that the Government of India exists only by sufferance and good will. Hence it was that we advocated the entry into Councils because that is the only forum provided for us. If all our non-co-operation leaves the Government untouched except on moral grounds, we are sure that the movement will not achieve its object because the bureaucracy here is abandoned, as is proved time without number, to all moral sense. Let us not, therefore, be sentimental, fight shy of obstruction or of boycott of British goods, or capturing all the seats in the Councils. Let us forge a practical and effective weapon of constitutional opposition, obstruction and boycott. We must at the same time remember that non-co-operation must not entail loss of the ground already won from unwilling bureaucratic hands. With all these considerations in view we strongly urge the great assembly to accept the principle of non-co-operation and decide upon a progressive programme of constitutional and bitter fight in the councils by obstruction and outside the councils by the practical boycott of honorary posts, titles, recruiting for the army, entry into Government service and boycott of British goods in the negative along with establishment of arbitration courts, national schools, consulates in foreign countries on the positive side."

The duty of the forthcoming special session of the Congress in the matter of the non-co-operation movement.

Mahrátta (7), 29th Aug.

31. The nation is looking forward to the verdict of the Special Congress on non-co-operation. From the line which public opinion has taken, it appears that though the Congress might assent to the principle of non-co-operation, it would not agree to the boycott of the new Councils. It is possible that a strict boycott of British goods might be decided upon. The British authorities never acknowledge the high spirit of a nation unless real manliness is shown to them. We have to win complete self-government by fighting with the Westerners, which is not an easy matter. Western methods of agitation will have to be combined with the Eastern *satyagraha* to gain our end. Some people are satisfied with small favours. But can the lacerated heart of India and the poverty and starvation to which the people of the country have been reduced be remedied by appointing Indians to to a few high posts? It is a misfortune of ours that before this we had no Gandhi to speak out plain truths to Government. But now he is standing before us ready to lay down his life for the sake of truth. Let the people, therefore, at least give a trial to the sovereign remedy of non-co-operation advocated by him. Attempts are being made by certain Anglo-Indian papers to destroy Mr. Gandhi's propaganda by dubbing it as Bolshevist and revolutionary and asking Government to crush it by adopting sternly repressive measures. A great responsibility, therefore, lies on the shoulders

Rájakáran (122), 22nd Aug.

of the nation to give its support to the propaganda. The Special Congress, therefore, must give a united support to Mr. Gandhi and thus earn the credit of adopting a manly policy befitting the Indian nation.

Duty of Moderates at the present juncture.

**Indian Social Reformer* (6), 29th Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 25th Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 26th Aug.

32. In the course of an article contributed by 'Young India' on 'causes of the present discontents' the *Indian Social Reformer* writes :—"One wonders what has become of Mr. Gokhale's pet scheme that India should be given German East Africa. The colonies which helped Britain in the war have all been given mandates over German Territories. The only reward of India is the curtailment of her existing rights and thepassing of the Rowlatt Act..... German East Africa has been quietly gobbled up and grabbed by the Europeans..... While such is the case, Indian blood is still bled and Indian money poured in Mesopotamia and Persia. The Colonies are not spending a pie but are busy exploiting the German Territories..... How does constitutional agitation seek or propose to remedy all these? Our mind reels with despair and seems inclined to clutch at anything, non-co-operation, boycott, etc. The onus lies on those who advocate constitutional agitation to show the way..... It is no use repeating the performance of last year when the Moderates simply issued an appeal against Satyagraha and then kept quiet. They must be up and doing with their own methods. Otherwise, the country will blindly or openly fall into non-co-operation, etc." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses hope that all the Moderates who are against the non-co-operation movement will muster strong at the forthcoming sessions of the Special Congress and lend their weight in defeating the resolution on the subject. The paper reiterates its opinion about the harmfulness of the non-co-operation movement. The *Indu Prakásh* says that the Special Congress sitting will be a momentous one inasmuch as the advisability of adopting a double-edged weapon like non-co-operation is to be considered, and asks the Moderates to attend the session and give it the benefit of their views.]

Mr. Gandhi on non-co-operation.

Young India (13), 25th Aug.

33. Commenting upon Sir N. G. Chandavarkar's rejoinder to his reply to the Moderate Manifesto against the non-co-operation movement, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"I would co-operate a thousand times with this Government to wean it from its career of crime, but I will not for a single moment co-operate with it to continue that career. And I would be guilty of wrong doing if I retained a title from it or 'a service under it or supported its law-courts or schools.' Better for me a beggar's bowl than the richest possession from hands stained with the blood of the innocents of Jallianwala. Better by far a warrant of imprisonment than honeyed words from those who have wantonly wounded the religious sentiments of my seventy million brothers..... To-day the system of government is so devised as to affect every department of our life. It threatens our very existence. If, therefore, we want to conserve the welfare of the nation, we must religiously interest ourselves in the doings of the governors and exert a moral influence on them by insisting on their obeying the laws of morality. General Dyer did produce a 'moral effect' by an act of butchery. Those who are engaged in forwarding the movement of non-co-peration, hope to produce a moral effect by a process of self-denial, self-sacrifice and self-purification. It surprises me that Sir Narayan should speak of General Dyer's massacre in the same breath as acts of non-co-operation. I have done my best to understand his meaning, but I am sorry to confess that I have failed."

Why boycott of British goods should not form part of the non-co-operation programme.

Young India (13), 25th Aug.

34. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"In the first place, boycott of British goods has been conceived as a punishment and can have no place in non-co-operation which is conceived in a spirit of self-sacrifice and is a matter of sacred duty. Secondly, any measure of punishment must be swift, certain and adequate for the effect intended to be produced. Resorted to by individuals, therefore, boycott is ineffectual, for, it can give no satisfaction unless it is productive of effect, whereas every act of non-co-operation is its own satisfaction. Thirdly,

boycott of British goods is thoroughly unpractical, for it involves sacrifice of their millions by millionaires. It is in my opinion infinitely more difficult for a merchant to sacrifice his millions than for a lawyer to suspend his practice or for a title-holder to give up his title or for a parent to sacrifice, if need be, the literary instruction of his children..... Boycott of British goods to be effective must be taken up by the whole country at once or not at all. It is like a siege..... One man scratching a wall with his finger nails may hurt his fingers but will produce no effect upon the walls. One title-holder giving up his title has the supreme satisfaction of having washed his hands clean of the guilt of the donor and is unaffected by the refusal of his fellows to give up theirs. The motive of boycott being punitive lacks the inherent practicability of non-co-operation. The spirit of punishment is a sign of weakness. A strengthening of that spirit will retard the process of regeneration..... Above all, if India has a mission of her own, she will not fulfil it by copying the doubtful example of the West and making even her sacrifice materialistically utilitarian instead of offering a sacrifice spotless and pleasing even in the sight of God."

35. Mr. Gandhi advises people to refuse to co-operate with Government with a view to compelling unjust officials to resign and to respect public opinion. Let us take it for granted that a few bureaucratic officials tender their resignations and leave this country; but what guarantee is there that their place will not be taken by officers worse than their predecessors? The personnel of the officials will be different, but the form of administration will remain the same and the position of the people will not undergo any improvement. Mr. Gandhi is merely thinking of securing justice and has not yet advised us to resort to non-co-operation with a view to securing the power of choosing our own officials. Mr. Gandhi asks people to resign from Government service with a view to creating a deadlock in the administration. The opinions of the Congress and those of Mr. Gandhi are as the poles asunder. Scores of candidates are coming forward for Council elections in spite of Mr. Gandhi's advice to boycott the Councils. There is, moreover, no likelihood of the pleaders coming forward to help Mr. Gandhi in making his movement effective. We fail to understand how Mr. Gandhi means to influence Government by boycotting Government and aided schools. We must not lose sight of the fact that it is Government schools and colleges that have produced such men as Gokhale, Tilak, Dadabhai Nowroji, Sir J. Bose, and others. Mr. Gandhi's movement is good in theory, but there are difficulties in the way of its being put into practice. We should not give up what we have already secured and agitate persistently for more. [The *Hindusthán* (weekly) warns the Gujarát Political Conference against the dangers involved in passing a resolution supporting the non-co-operation movement. The *Gujaráti Punch* also dwells upon the difficulties and dangers involved in putting the non-co-operation movement into practice, and asks the Gujarát Political Conference to be careful in giving its opinion].

The non-co-operation movement.

Gujaráti (18), 22nd Aug.; *Hindusthán* (22), 22nd Aug.; *Gujaráti Punch* (20), 22nd Aug.

36. Referring to the unqualified apology tendered by Pir Mahabub Shah after his conviction and sentence, the *Loka Shahi* denounces his conduct as utterly shameless, and declares that if he meant to back out at the critical moment, he ought to have thought twice before joining non-co-operation. It is afraid that the Pir's conduct will encourage Mr. Gandhi's enemies and the Viceroy to further emphasise their condemnation of his propaganda and, therefore, it appeals to him not to have anything to do with such half-hearted followers.

Comments on the apology tendered by Pir Mahabub Shah.

Loka Shahi (new), 23rd Aug.

37. "The Amir's *firman* asking for postponement of the *hijrat* has been the occasion of unusual activity on the part of the *sircar* and Anglo-Indian papers and press correspondents. The official *communique* purporting to give the experiences of a returned *muhajirin*—a barber—has run round the press, and is being made

The *Hijrat* movement and the authorities.

New Times (8), 24th Aug.

much of by critics of the non-co-operation movement; they have yet to know what the public in this Province think of the 'stories' of the Sindhi 'barber' supplied to a *ma bap sircar !*..... The truth of the matter is the Khilafatist agitation has affected much the prestige of the bureaucracy! Over 27,000 *mahajrins* have left India, and the news has been cabled to the British press! Our 'masters' can no longer affect to treat the situation with supreme scorn; and the *Pioneer* informs its readers that Sir Hamilton Grant has seen 'one hundred Khans and leading men in the Peshawar area'! The *hijrat* must be stopped; else what becomes of the bureaucracy's professions as the *ma bap sircar*? The 'agitators', we were told, belonged to a small class of disaffected, ungrateful 'educated' Indians! The masses, we were told, looked up to the bureaucracy as their *mabap*! And it was the masses who shook the dust of their feet and departed for Afghanistan! It is easy to understand the anxiety of the bureaucracy to put a stop to the *hijrat*. The bureaucratic prestige must be saved! Hence the present propaganda which aims at discrediting the Khilafatist by publishing long accounts of the 'sufferings' of the *muhajirins*. The Indian public understand how to interpret the experiences of 'barbers' and some other 'returned *muhajirins*' which are being supplied free to the Indian press! The propaganda will defeat itself..... The *hijrat* is a significant witness to the depth of Muslim feeling which the bureaucracy affected to ignore as a passing sentiment awakened by the 'agitator'; and the very sufferings of the *muhajirins* record the heroic stand the Indian Muslims are ready to make for right and justice."

38. Mr. Gandhi is of opinion that *hijrat* should not be practised. It seems to us, however, that non-co-operation is not possible without *hijrat*, and further that non-co-operation is bound to fail in its purpose. If Moslems practise non-co-operation Government will not experience any difficuly in its administration ef the country. Whatever positions will be given up by Moslems will be filled by members of other communities and Moslems will be reduced to poverty and to a life of wretchedness. Does Mr. Gandhi really wish that Musalmans should give up their appointments, landed estates, etc., and hang at the doors of their neighbours rather than leave the country? We cannot regard this as a well-meant advice. If Mr. Gandhi wants Moslems to adopt non-co-operation, he must advise them also to resort to *hijrat*. Unless he does so, he will be doing harm not only to Moslems but also to his own community, for Moslems, when hungry, will create chaos in the country. We do not know why a sagacious man like Gandhi does not take into consideration this contingency? Does he fear that a general Moslem exodus to Afghanistan will lead to the invasion of India by the Afghans? Does he, therefore, advise Moslems to remain in the country? If that is so, even then, he cannot be regarded as a friend of Moslems, nor as a friend of the country. Musalmans, themselves, should open their eyes.

Moslems should not give up the *hijrat* movement.
Musafir (147), 31st July.

39. Referring to the hardships experienced by the Muhajarnis, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes :—The details of the hardships suffered by the Muhajarins have thrown cold water over the enthusiasm for *Hijrat*. The *Hijrat* movement has proved unsuccessful, yet the British authorities are generously making arrangements for the comfort and convenience of the returning *Muhajarins*. Therefore, Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement also has collapsed. Therefore, now the Muhammadans should give up such fads and try to help the Sultan to spread tranquility and order in his territory, so that the Allies might be induced to make changes in the terms of the treaty. [The *Praja Pokar* condemns the *Hijrat* movement and declares that India is the only country where the Muhammadans can follow their religion with ease. The paper concludes by hoping that the Khilafat Committees of the Punjab and Sind who are responsible for the *Hijrat* movement will think it fit to give it up.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 22nd Aug.; *Praja Pokar* (71), 25th Aug.

40. If the Indian Moslems were to pay on an average a rupee per head every half-year, an annual contribution of about 15 crores of rupees, *i. e.*, about a crore of pounds could be made to Turkey. At this rate Turkey's debt can be paid off in 30 years. In the meanwhile she will, by means of the saving from the ordinary revenue, be able to improve her army and make her position so strong that no body will easily crush her. The Turk has not yet lost his bravery; he only wants funds for his country. With funds at the disposal of his country he can yet show to the world that he is not a negligible quantity. We hope that the Khilafat Committee will now address itself to the task of collecting money for Turkey, and thus give a proof of its sympathy with this old Islamic State, rather than continue on with its present agitation, which is bound to fail and to affect Moslems adversely.

Indian Moslems should now help Turkey with money.

Musáfir (147), 31st July.

41. " The text of the long-promised statement of the Governor of East Africa upon the claims of Indians in that Colony is now available, and there is only one conclusion to be drawn from it. It is this that our countrymen have been most shamefully betrayed by His Majesty's Government, which in this case is represented by the Colonial Office headed by Lord Milner. The solemn pledge which His Majesty's representative in this country gave in January last that our countrymen's status in that Crown Colony shall in no way be inferior to that of other subjects of the Crown has been deliberately treated as a mere 'scrap of paper'..... They have chosen to repudiate the Viceroy's pledge, to break faith with Indians, and to brand them with the mark of helotry. If His Majesty's own Government, deliberately and of a set purpose, choose to betray in this wise a portion of their own subjects who represent 315 millions of citizens of the British Empire, what moral claim, we ask, will the King's flag have upon the loyalty and reverence of these subjects?..... If the 'Empire-builders' of to-day reck not the consequences of their immoral and disastrous policy, India owes a duty to herself which she cannot disregard. India must, and is determined to, fight for the safety and honour of her own children, regardless of how that struggle might affect the fancied 'vested interests' of other members of the Commonwealth. British statesmen of to-day are demonstrating by their deeds that no faith can be put in their pledged words..... How has India's claim to equality of status in Kenia Colony been recognised? Not in one single direction in which it could have been met have the Colonial Office and the Government of Kenia Colony yielded to Indians their just rights..... The principle of segregation is to be adhered to, not only in regard to residential areas, but also, as Sir E. Northey assures the Indians, in regard to commercial areas, 'whenever practical.' Indians are, in this manner, to be smoked out like rats from the Kenia Colony, so that the whites who came in later might be left in undisturbed possession of all the fruits of the land!..... ... The bar against Indian medical practitioners is to be retained, so also the segregation on the railways..... The whites of the Colony have thrown a challenge to the whole Indian nation which it must, in justice to itself, take up..... Will the Government of India stand up, as did Lord Hardinge on a famous occasion, for India's honour and self-respect?"

Comments on the Governor of East Africa's statement about Indians in the Colony.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Aug.

42. " The East African Government merely desires to turn the Indian settlers into the Panchamas of East Africa. Few would have suspected that this Government was so passionately attached to the caste system prevailing in India. Contrast this policy with the one adopted by the Filipinos in the non-Christian territory..... The Christian Filipinos invite their non-Christian fellow-countrymen to be their neighbours, although the latter are very low in civilization and of unsettled habits. They pursue a policy of deliberate unification of the two races, whereas the European settlers in East Africa cannot tolerate the presence in their neighbourhood of Indians who are acknowledged to be peaceable citizens

Servant of India (9), 26th Aug.

leading well-ordered lives, Indians who were the first to settle in the country and who have practically made East Africa what it now is."

*43. "While upholding the Indian claim that there should be no invidious distinctions between the Indian and European East African subjects of His Majesty, we would like to have before us the detailed proposals of the Kenia Government definitely formulated, in order to see how far and in what respects they fall short of the European franchise. If there is no substantial difference, the mere fact that the two schemes differ in some unimportant details should not come in the way of a settlement for the time being of this question. The number of members assigned to the Indian community, namely, two, is ridiculously inadequate and should be increased. If this is done, the issue of an identical franchise may, we think, be waived for the present..... Lord Milner's decisions on freedom of immigration, the practice of the legal and medical professions and education seem to be fairly satisfactory. Trial by jury is to be tried experimentally. This is now well established in India, and we do not see why it should be an experiment in East Africa. The Secretary of State's silence as to the admission of Indians to the Public Services and to the issue to them of prospecting licenses is regrettable. But it is his unbending attitude in regard to land rights and the segregation principle which arouses the most serious apprehension in East Africa and in India..... Lord Milner in upholding this iniquitous invidiousness argues that he is merely following the policy of his predecessors and he does not feel justified in reversing it. This may be so, but it does not justify the continuance of an arrangement in itself unjust. By way of further justification, it is urged that 'if the limited area on which alone European settlers can live were thrown open to the competition of Asiatics who are physically fitted to settle in other areas from which Europeans are by nature excluded, there would be, taking the Colony as a whole, a virtual discrimination in favour of Asiatic as against European settlement.' In other words, this measure is invented as a handicap on the Asiatic settler for his capacity, by nature, to thrive in all lands..... The next question, the segregation of residential areas, is closely connected with this. Lord Milner declares that 'he is convinced that as long as the Indians are fairly dealt with in the selection of sites, the principle that in the laying out of townships in tropical Africa separate areas should be allotted to different races is not only from the sanitary point of view but also on the grounds of social convenience, the right principle, best for all races, European, Indian or native.' The best comment on this argument is that even the Germans did not act upon such a principle..... Many of us had thought, and some still persist in thinking, of the British Empire as a first big step towards the brotherhood of man. If Lord Milner represents its policy, this is a mistake. It simply is an agency to institute and maintain on a vastly larger scale the Indian caste system, with the Europeans as a caste of money-making Brahmins and the coloured races as fighters and coolies to defend their lives and property and to toil in order to make them rich and powerful. Lord Milner's policy crosses the path of Justice, and it will be so much the worse for it."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 29th Aug.

*44. "Among the many important points which have been decided against our countrymen in East Africa the decision on the question of race segregation must have come to them as a peculiarly mortifying blow, causing a deep wound to their sense of pride and self-respect and conveying to them an impression that, in spite of all talk of equal partnership in the British Commonwealth, the true status of Indians in the Empire is that of a subject race who are openly treated as untouchables and outcasts and held to be incapable of inhabiting the same area in which white people are situated. The segregation of races is sought to be defended from the sanitary point of view and the Government has brought in its aid the report of a Sanitary Commissioner who was treated to a continual feast of hospitality by the East African European settlers and prevailed upon to give a report which is more of a political condemnation of the black and subject race than the balanced and unprejudiced opinion of a man of science. That the reasons which guided the decisions of the Govern-

Mahratta (7), 29th Aug.

ment are more economic than sanitary might easily be gathered from a significant sentence in the Governor's statement which says that segregation is to be enforced not only in residential but commercial areas as well. If this policy is persisted in it cannot but spell rank disaster to the Indian community in East Africa. The policy of segregation gives ample opportunity to the European settlers, with their majority in the Municipal Councils, to divert all the municipal rates and cesses to the well being and sanitation of the white people..... The persistence in this policy will result in establishing such conditions on the Indian settlers as can only result in their eventual banishment from the country."

Grievances of Indians in British East Africa.

Sanj Vartamán (32), 24th Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 27th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (23), 25th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 26th Aug.

45. Protesting against the pronouncement regarding the policy to be adopted by the Government of British East Africa with regard to Indian settlers, the *Sanj Vartamán* writes:—The policy adopted in connection with the Indians in East Africa is calculated to adversely affect their interests. The granting to the Indians of the right of electing two representatives to the Legislative Council is not a new concession, because such a right had already been conferred upon them. The Indians had demanded that the number of their representatives in the Legislative Council should be equal to that of the Europeans. Lord Milner has rejected this demand; while there will be fifteen representatives of the Europeans in the Legislative Council, there will be only two to represent the Indians. But the sanction given by Lord Milner to the policy of segregating the Indians is most objectionable. The adoption of such a policy shows that the principle of looking upon the Indians as inferior to the Europeans has been openly accepted. This annihilates all our confidence in the British Government. The decision of Lord Milner deprives the Indians of their rights as citizens of the British Empire and is calculated to insult them and wound their feelings. India will never accept this decision and will continue to protest against it as long as it is not modified and the equal rights of Indians as British subjects are acknowledged. Indians will never tolerate such injustice as long as they live under the British flag, for the defence of which India has sacrificed lakhs of men and money, her stores of fodder and food-stuffs, while she herself has undergone starvation in the service of the Empire. We cannot understand how the Indians can remain loyal to that British flag when in a Colony under it the liberty of living wherever they please and of purchasing land and carrying on their trade has been snatched away from them. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Hindusthán* exhorts the people of India not to tolerate such an insult and to put up a legitimate fight for vindicating their honour as British subjects. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that Lord Milner's policy is highly insulting to the Indians and tending to lower their prestige. The paper concludes:—What the Asiatics wonder at is that in spite of the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of men and valuable material in the last war, the Europeans have not learnt any lesson from it; but Europe, nay any power however influential it may be, must in the end yield to the mysterious workings of nature. The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks:—Under these circumstances, what the people of India expect of His Excellency the Viceroy is this, that on account of the insult given to the Indians and the disregard shown to the policy he had advocated, he should enter his protest by either resigning his office, or that, in order to bring this and such other Colonies as are determined upon boycotting the Indians to their proper senses, he should have the courage to adopt towards the colonials, without delay, a policy similar to the one that they are pursuing towards Indians.]

Comments on Lord Sinha's appointment as Governor of Behar and Orissa.

Gujaráti Punch (20), 22nd Aug., Eng. cols.; *Gujarát Mitra* (19), 22nd Aug., Eng. cols.

46. "The appointment breaks new ground in British Indian history and creates a precedent that will have far-reaching consequences, and we welcome it for that reason. On the other hand although the appointment will be welcome as a belated recognition of the inherent claim of the 'children of the soil' to the highest posts in the country it will not captivate the people of this country. We, for our part, do not wonder at it. A belated measure of reform loses half its grace and what would have struck the imagination

of the people only four years back will now be welcome only as a much-needed but overdue move in the right direction. As for Lord Sinha himself we will not say much. His Lordship's official career is not very inspiring, and his almost bureaucratic readiness to read a sermon—and an undeserved sermon to boot—to the people of this country in season and out of season has much detracted from the high esteem in which His Lordship was held." [The *Gujarát Mitra* writes :—"It is no doubt an important and a great appointment that is made and there will be scarcely any among Indians who will fail to realise its significance. The selection is unexceptionable, for without doubt there is no living Indian better equipped for this high office than Lord Sinha. His achievement in every high office to which he was hitherto called under the Crown had on it the stamp of thoroughness and excellence and the seal of ungrudging approbation of all, Indian as well as European, in both countries."]

Kesari (109), 24th Aug.

47. Lord Sinha is so much dazzled by the high positions attained by him that he is not able to see at all the glimmering lights in the shape of service to the country and service to his brethren. Indian patriots sorely regret his attitude. The language he used in the House of Lords towards Mahatma Gandhi and his movement and the half-hearted and dubious policy adopted by him during the Dyer debate and his poisonous statements regarding the Nationalist and Extremist parties, before going to England, have wounded the hearts of Indians and they will not be forgotten. Even then, we congratulate him because he has got the honour to become the first Indian Governor, and we congratulate Government because they have appointed one Indian at least to such a high post.

Loka Shahi ( ), 23rd Aug.; *Raj Hansa* (84), 22nd Aug.

48. The appointments conferred on Lord Sinha and Dr. Sapru, in the opinion of the *Loka Shahi*, though a compliment to the Moderate party, are the result of the activities carried on by the nationalists. It, however, does not at all feel sorry for the appointments as, in its opinion, to be a King-maker always constitutes a greater honour than to be a king. [The *Raj Hansa* writes :—Lord Sinha cannot be impartial as he has declared that he is a Moderate and that he will uphold the Moderates. He said that the Reforms were satisfactory. There is a possibility that such men in power will be harmful to India. His speeches after the appointment contain some greatly objectionable sentiments. He says that the discontent in India is economic. He has tried to conceal the fact wholly that Indians are discontented because of their political subjection. The whole world knows that Indian discontent is chiefly due to the repressive and unjust laws of the bureaucracy. It will not be in the least reasonable to argue that India has received any special benefit by his appointment. Only his appointment is in some ways better than that of a European. That is all.]

The Civil Service might get all the Governorships in the future.
Kesari (109), 24th Aug.

49. Under the changes effected by the Reform Act Lieutenant-Governors and Commissioners have become Governors. It is not only a verbal change, but a great principle is involved in it and the decision has gone against Indians. Big Civilians and confirmed bureaucrats used to become Lieutenant-Governors and Commissioners. But English statesmen with fresh energy were created Governors. Sometimes a bad choice was made even then, and mischievous persons like Lords Harris and Sydenham were appointed. But the whole field was not open to Civil Servants. Under the new Act choice selections from the bureaucracy have been made for Governorships, and the great danger is that Bombay, Madras and Bengal also may go to impervious Civil Servants thoroughly nurtured in bureaucracy. Lord Sinha broke the ring of Civil Servants and became Governor, but the doors of Bombay, Madras and Bengal were opened to them where they were formerly denied access! It shows how expert the bureaucracy is in giving little and taking much.

50. "The announcement that General Lord Rawlinson will succeed General Monro as Commander-in-Chief in India will be received with satisfaction in this country..... Being entirely detached from the controversies centering round the organisation of the Indian Army, he is likely to bring impartial judgment to bear on the problems facing the Army in India. As a member of the Army Council, he must have had a hand in dealing with the recommendations of the Esher Committee, and India looks to him to breathe a new spirit, entirely free from racial bias, into the whole organisation of the Indian Army..... If the reputation of the Indian Army is not to be lost entirely, radical changes are imperatively necessary, and if General Rawlinson can evolve order and efficiency out of the present chaos and ineptitude he will earn the gratitude of the whole country and the Empire."

Comments on the appointment of General Lord Rawlinson as Commander-in-Chief in India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Aug.

51. "If it is true, as reported by a Madras journal, that Sir Alexander Cardew, an ex-member of the Madras Executive Council, has been selected for the post of Director of the Tata Institute of Science at Bangalore, no more scandalous abuse of the solemn trust could have been perpetrated. This Civilian out of job has as good a qualification for the post as the man-in-the-moon..... It is stated that the appointment has been made on the strength of the majority of votes of the European members, for two Indian members of the Board of Trustees are understood to have proposed that the new incumbent should be a distinguished scientist able to supervise the work of the English Professors of Chemistry, besides possessing administrative capacity..... But, as we have, said the European majority have preferred the Civilian, Sir Alexander Cardew. ..... It is stated that the appointment has yet to go to the Viceroy for final sanction. It remains to be seen whether Lord Chelmsford displays a greater sense of responsibility than his countrymen at Bangalore."

Protest against the appointment of Sir Alexander Cardew as Director of the Bangalore Institute of Science.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Aug.

52. The *Gujarát Mitra* regrets the postponement of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's visit on account of ill-health and remarks:—"His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught knows India and her people intimately. There is no member of the Royal House more respected and honoured than the Duke of Connaught. ..... India will receive cordially the son of the late Queen Victoria of august memory and extend to him a right Royal welcome. His majesty could not have made a better or a wiser selection, and the people of India will loyally assist the Government in the part which the Duke undertook and will come out to fulfil at the end of the year." [The *Gujarati Punch* also regrets the postponement of the Prince of Wales's visit and adds:—"The people of this country have often expressed their desire to have him (the Duke of Connaught) as their Viceroy, but only a little detail of English constitution to keep the Royal House aloof from every-day politics has precluded his honouring that position. That objection has been brushed aside in the case of Canada and we shall not wonder if His Royal Highness' name is added to the list of possible successors to Lord Chelmsford. We, for our part, shall be glad if it is made a rule to appoint only a member of the Royal Family as the Viceroy of India."]

Comments on the postponement of the Prince of Wales' visit to India.
Gujarát Mitra (19), 22nd Aug., Eng. cols.; *Gujarati Punch* (20), 22nd Aug., Eng. cols.

53. His Majesty's message announcing the postponement of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is couched in language that is full of sympathy. He realizes the disappointment that would be felt by the Indians at the news and has, therefore, decided to send his uncle His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught in the Prince's place. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught officiated as the commander of the Bombay forces for a long time and was very popular while he was here. Bombay will be particularly eager to accord a hearty welcome to

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 22nd Aug.; *Gujaráti* (18), 22nd Aug.

him. [The *Gujarâti* enumerates the various activities of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught while he was in India and remarks that the message that he is to bring with him will be cheering only if the primary rights and the independence of the Indian people are acknowledged in it.]

54. The *Râjakâran* says that the princes and people of India are so very loyal that any member of the Royal family that may be sent to the country as a representative of His Majesty the King will be given a hearty reception. It declares that if His Majesty chooses to do so, he can during the next year do many things for the welfare of India, and if that happens, His Royal Highness the Prince will no doubt be accorded a right royal welcome when he comes.

Râjakâran (122), 22nd Aug.

55. So often has the news of the strain felt by the Prince of Wales been announced that nobody will feel surprised at the postponement of his visit to India. Though there is nothing beyond mere coincidence in the postponement of the visit and the boycott proclaimed by Mahatma Gandhi, still the ill-health of the Prince must have been felt as a God-send by the bureaucracy. The visit of the Prince was not for mere entertainment; there was also a special political purpose in it. He is the representative of the British nation and he has commenced his tour in the various parts of the Empire in order to awaken the love of the people of the Empire for the Empire. Similarly he was to come to India to increase its loyalty. If he were to come only as an Imperial guest, he would have been received with due honour, in accordance with our traditional hospitality. But when the bureaucracy of the bludegon-rule wants to prevert the meaning of such hospitality and use it as a support of their repressive deeds, we have to make our feelings underlying the reception clear. As the visit has been postponed, the question for the present has been solved of itself. Our appeal to His Majesty the King-Emperor is that before the Prince visits India our grievances which are crushing the heart of India should be removed. Then only he will be received with great joy. Otherwise, if this country is to be in mourning next year as now, whether he comes in 1920 or 1921, will not matter much. As the Duke of Connaught is to come only for the personal opening of the Councils, the question of his reception and celebration of the visit does not arise.

Kesari (109), 24th Aug.

56. "Unfortunately, the Bombay rule does not contain a precise definition of the residential test as the Punjáb and C. P. rules do, and now it rests with the Governor of the Bombay Presidency to settle the doubt in regard to the interpretation under rule 46 of the Election Rules, on a reference being made to him. We trust Sir George Lloyd will make an authoritative announcement regarding the construction that will be put upon the rule without loss of time. It is to be hoped the rule will not be interpreted in too restrictive a sense, and the hardship entailed by the test will be minimised as far as possible."

Complaint against the Bombay Election Rules.
Servant of India (9), 26th Aug.

57. "Repeatedly the question was asked as to whether any local Government had issued any circular regarding the elections, and the reply given in the Imperial Legislative Council was in the negative. But the local Director of Information, mistaking his functions, has busied himself of late in issuing circulars and extracts from a partisan press..... There is no doubt that the Director of Information, or rather the Director of Progaganda, has sought to interfere with the elections, and it is the duty of Government to make their attitude quite clear. They were given such an opportunity in the local Council, but evidently they did not avail themselves of it..... It is doubtful whether the Imperial Government are fully aware of what is being done in Bombay, and unless the Government of Bombay rectify the mistake, the question will have to be raised again in the Imrerial Council. Major Dawson tells us that Nationalists are not referred to in his circular by name. But all along he has left the reader in no doubt about it.

A complaint against the Bombay Director of Information.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Aug.

The circular in question is propaganda pure and simple directed against the Nationalists in favour of the Moderates..... The Director of Information has only made matters worse by his justification of the circular. The only thing left for him is to withdraw the circular and refrain from such activities. ..... If they want to give information only let them do so openly ; but let there be no camouflage. Let not the Information Bureaus, maintained and paid for by the tax-payer, be converted into so many propaganda centres. They cannot, and will not be, tolerated, and the sooner Government correctly gauge the public feeling on the question and modify their policy accordingly the better."

58. 'Lal,' writing in the humorous columns of the *Gujarâti Punch*, remarks:—I am very often led to ask myself as to why the Director of Information appointed by the Government of Bombay should not be styled the Defender of Government. Whenever he writes anything about His Excellency the Governor or the measures adopted by him he writes in a strain that savours of writing in his defence. The following extract from one of the bulletins issued by him will illustrate our remarks:— "To many townsmen the recent address of His Excellency the Governor to the Deccan Sardars at the Sardars' Darbar in Poona was a revelation. They had not realised the great magnitude of the Gouernment's constructive labours in the interests of Agriculture." Who has informed the Director of Information that citizens do not realise the great magnitude of Government's constructive labours in the interests of agriculture? Every one realises that no other province possesses a Governor as zealous, liberal and alive to the people's interests as our own. The Director of Information is, therefore, wrong in thinking that people do not appreciate the magnitude of the labours of Government. The duty of the Director of Information, according to popular opinion, consists in supplying information, and there is no need for him to indulge in one-sided criticism which brings down upon him the title of Defender of Government. It is not likely that His Excellecncy Sir George Lloyd appointed the Director of Information for such a purpose!

Gujarati Punch (20), 22nd Aug.

59. "The act of deprivation of the right to full citizenship of the Punjáb leaders released under the Royal clemency, following as it does a series of flagrant violations of the more important and sacred terms of the Royal Proclamation, should not either surprise or pain us. It is true we held high hopes in the Proclamation, taking it on its own worth, and volunteered to cooperate with the Government in making the Reform Scheme a success. And we do not regret having taken up that attitude. On the contrary it has strengthened our present position by depicting the extent and gravity of the wrongs and insults heaped upon us day-after-day after the Proclamation. The disqualification of the Punjáb leaders for voting and standing as candidates is a virtue in disguise as it brings home to us one more illustration of the manner in which the Governments concerned desire to make amends for the grievous and unatonable wrong and to 'obliterate all traces of past bitterness'."

Comments on the disqualification of the Punjáb leaders released under the Royal amnesty in connection with the Council elections.

Young India (13), 25th Aug.

60. The wise men of the bureaucracy once did not hesitate to threaten that if the Reform Act were enforced they would at once resign ; but the present experience is quite the reverse! Still, there has not been a single instance of any Civil Servant resigning. The officials who are so insolent as to say that they would not apologise to a native, even when they were in fault, have not yet resigned and made room for Indians, though they have to serve under a 'native' like Lord Sinha. It appears they care more for pay than for their honour. It is clear that these tough leeches, who are extracting blood in the form of money, will not stop sucking our blood till they are forcibly removed.

None of the Civil servants have yet resigned in protest against the Reform Act.

Kesari (109), 24th Aug.

61. The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the Honourable Mr. G. S. Curtis' lecture in Bombay on the Bombay development scheme and remarks:—"Somehow we all feel that in Sir George Lloyd we have the right man for the place, and that if Bombay is to receive its baptism in health and beauty it is far better that it should receive its new shape and form through the hands of a Governor like him. After having conceded so much without any equivocation or mental reservation, we are bound to acknowledge that the public will lodge the greatest possible protest against the suggestion to make the whole scheme a purely Government concern. This is the greatest blemish of the whole scheme, and in these days, when the people are asked to associate more and more in the administration of their own affairs, the Government of Sir Lloyd should propose a distinctly anti-popular method of working, is a matter which is beyond our comprehension. The proposed plan strikes ruthlessly at the very root of Municipal Government..... By creating without any public notice or consulation with the Municipality a highly expensive post and entrusting the Secretariat with the management of the whole show, the Government have treated both the public and the Municipality with scant courtesy. But what shall we say to the gratuitous slur caste upon the Municipality by its own President..... We confess this is a most humiliating and abject confession on the part of the President of the Corporation. We are certain it is not the view of his colleagues, and we have no doubt the Corporation will take the earliest possible opportunity to repudiate the view of the President which is only personal and does not express the considered opinion of the Corporation as a public body. If the Bombay Municipality with its boastful title of being the first Municipality in India is not capable of tackling the question of housing, we ask, what is it capable of? Is it only capable of mismanaging the water-supply of the city..... Mr. Dabholkar is a precious President if he denies for the body over which he presides the ability to discharge one of the most elementary duties for the execution of which a Municipality is created..... But coming to the Government's arbitrary proposal to exclude completely the voice of the Municipality from the making of Greater Bombay, the citizens of Bombay ought to raise the strongest possible protest. The proposal stabs mortally at the present spirit of the times..... The proposal means that the Corporation is an incapable body to undertake so huge a task, while the Government is the only capable body to manage an undertaking of so great a magnitude. For this complascent attitude on the part of the Government there is not the slightest warrant. What was the Improvement Trust but a Government concern?..... With the record of incapability of the Trust before their very eyes, we are more than surprised that in a scheme of such vast potentiality and magnitude, the Government should pin their faith in vesting all the responsibility in the hands of the Secretariat officials."

The Bombay Development Scheme.
Sánj Vartámán (32), 25th Aug., Eng. cols.

62. Commenting upon the Bombay Housing Scheme the *Hindusthán* writes:—While the Honourable Mr. Curtis' lecture gives us some some idea about the scheme, several other important details are also required to be made known to the public. The aim of Government in undertaking the development of Bombay is to a certain extent commendable, but it is not easy to foretell to what extent the needs of the people will be answered by their scheme. If the development of Bombay is meant for the benefit of the people, it is necessary not only to give publicity to the details of the scheme but also to invite their opinion and co-operation for putting it into operation. If people entertain any suspicion about the scheme, it is quite natural that they should do so after their experience of the City Improvement Trust. The development of Bombay is properly a function of the Municipal Corporation, and the undertaking of the scheme by Government is a great encroachment upon the rights of Local Self-Government. The Corporation ought to put up a fight against such an encroachment upon their rights. Enormous amounts of money are going to be expended after the scheme, and it is doubtful what benefit will be derived by the people. Hence the scheme does not deserve to be supported.

Hindusthán (23), 21st Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 23rd Aug.

We hope that the public of Bombay will not be dilatory about entering their protest against it. [*The Bombay Samdchdr* emphasises the necessity of taking the people into confidence by giving publicity to all the details of the scheme, pointing out that the experience of the people with regard to the Grant Road Scheme and their experience of the City Improvement Trust would naturally cause suspicion in their minds about the present scheme.]

63. "The judgment in Pir Mahbub Shah's case is a bundle of bad reasoning and pathetic reliance on the uncorroborated and contradictory evidence given by C. I. D. spies..... The evidence recorded throws sidelights on strange police tactics. The speech attributed to Pir Mahbubshah was incomplete; it could not be read as a whole, being wrenched from the context; only the most damaging statements were noted down by the C. I. D.; and it is not clear, on account of the contradictions in evidence, whether the statements of the C. I. D. could be really attributed to the Pir. We are not surprised, therefore, to see the Judge making desperate efforts to explain away even the most inexplicable and the most contradictory statements. It is apparent he himself was assailed with grave doubts as to the guilt of the accused. The public feel the Pir deserved an honorable acquittal. The most deplorable thing, however, is that the Pir himself should have so far forgotten himself as to have tendered apology after he had submitted a statement which showed that he had no desire to disturb social order."

Comments on the judgment in the case of Pir Mahbub Shah of Hyderabad, Sind.
New Times (8), 21st Aug.

64. "It is authoritatively stated that already over a hundred million sterling have been expended in the Mesopotamian campaign and yet Britain is no nearer her goal. How long will Britain allow herself to be bled by her 'statesmen' in this disastrous manner in pursuit of a chimerical dream?..... By the way, why is the veil of secrecy drawn so thickly round the present happenings in that country? We are told that the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat dominates the administration in Mesopotamia. It is no wonder that he should have been able to set aflame the embers of discontent in that country within so short a period from his advent there. The present policy and, in fact, the whole scheme of 'mandate', cannot but lead to disaster. The British nation as well as the people of this country should unite their voice to demand that the mad career of the 'statesmen', who are plunging both the countries into disaster should be promptly arrested. The Indian people must declare emphatically through the special session of the Congress that Indian blood and Indian treasure shall no more be wasted on the fields of Mesopotamia."

The position in Mesopotamia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Aug.

65. Commenting on the recent trouble in Mesopotamia, the *Hindusthán* writes:—The Arabs may not be civilised, but they love independence and cannot accept the form of government offered to them in the name of independence. The Arabs want the realisation of the promises given to them during the war. The Allies have adopted the policy of grab and are not likely to give what the Arabs want. The Arabs have now got king Stork instead of king Log. But they are not as helpless as the frogs in the fable, and so the Allies have begun the reconquest of Turkey in right earnest. No good is likely to accrue to England by the enforcement of mandates in the way it is being done. She has had to enter upon a new war to subjugate the Arabs and thus postpone the prospect of peace. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* considers the situation in Mesopotamia as grave and seems to approve the suggestion made in England for giving up the mandate over Mesopotamia with a view to avoid the needless loss of life and waste of money.]

Hindusthán (22), 27th Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (55), 27th Aug.

66. News received from Mesopotamia shows that the situation there has become very grave. It can now be safely predicted that the Mesopotamia bone will stick in the throat of England before she is able to swallow it. Whatever European nations may say, these people do not at all like that their countries should be

Lokasangraha (112), 26th Aug.

appropriated by Europeans under the guise of mandates. England waged war on Germany in defence of Belgium but is now trying to crush the Arabs who are fighting for their independence. Whereas the Belgians were praised as a liberty-loving people, the Arabs who are only imitating them are called rebels. Even the *London Times* is driven to protest against the shameless policy of its Government. For the English to say that the Arabs have rebelled against them is like a thief crying out that he has been robbed.

67. Europe has ruined thousands of persons by her blandishments. An Ambassador of the English sought protection from the Musalman Kings of Delhi. Alas! nobody knew that the Moslem dynasty would be reduced to beggary and finally disappear owing to the action of these very men (*i.e.*, the English). Just as the Mussalmans were seduced to kill their own kings of Delhi and ruin their Empire, similarly emissaries are being despatched to Berlin to interview Enver Pasha, and Mustafa Kamal Pasha is tempted by the offer of kingship today; but they expressly declare that they will not sell their souls. In contrast with this, the rebellious hypocrite of a Sherif of Mecca accepts presents offered by European celebrities! Is such a greedy and undutiful person fit for becoming a Caliph? The Musalmans of the whole world do not value the nominal Treaty which the Turks have been forcibly obliged to sign more than a scrap of paper. We are convinced that if the Turks be deceived by the Allies and accept this nominal Treaty, their patriotism and religious zeal will suffer in the same way as that of the Indian Moslems is suffering to-day. Notwithstanding the strength of the Turks, the Greeks try to occupy the mosque of St. Sophia, and are foiled by God's grace and the vigilance of a Turkish General; what will happen to this and other holy places, should a good understanding subsist between them? In fact, general unrest in the Middle East, the return of the Afghan delegates without concluding a Treaty, warfare among Christian nations themselves—all these things are the outcome of European Justice.

Comments on the treatment of Turkey by the Allies.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (151) 29th Aug.

68. "Although hardly perceptible at present Bolshevism has found a base on the North-West Frontier of India through the medium of Afghanistan and the surrounding tribal territories, and propaganda work is in progress in that region. We know of a case where a Bolshevist leaflet was found in a prominent place near one of the posts behind our lines in Waziristan, obviously placed there with the intent of corrupting the minds of our Indian troops. The Indian soldier, like the British, is loyal to the backbone and the Bolshevist community need expect little sympathy from that quarter, but there is always the danger of this propaganda work spreading into the interior of this vast Indian Empire, where if it falls into the hands of the semi-educated political quack trouble is likely to brew, but not for long, because, although we have no doubt that Bolshevism in a very mild form will eventually find its way into India, we are equally sure that it will die a sudden death. One shudders to think of what India would be like if subjected to anything of a violently reforming nature such as Bolshevism as practised in Russia and Persia today ..... The planting of a communist state in India would mean complete disorganisation of any form of Government. Mob rule would be the order of the day, the financial credit of the country and the individual would be at stake, and no person or personal property would be safe..... Bolshevists recognise no religious principle whatever, and Bolshevism in India, besides what has already been stated above, would mean that no man or woman would be free to cherish and follow his or her own particular form of religion. Looking back over the past three years and studying what this form of tyranny has done and is still doing for Russia, we have sufficient evidence to indicate what exactly would happen if it once took root in this country. Nothing but chaos and the absolute ruination of India and its peoples would be the inevitable result."

The Bolshevik menace to India.
Sind Observer (11), 17th Aug.

LEGISLATION.

69. The time allowed for an appeal to the Privy Council is now six months. It is to be reduced now to three months by a new Bill. We do not think it will shorten the time taken for a Privy Council decision. A new Passport Bill is introduced. Formerly the Defence of India Act served the purpose. But as the Turkish Treaty has been signed, after six months the Defence Act will lapse. It is one of the dodges of the bureaucracy to arm itself with stronger but secret weapons before the lapse of the Defence Act. If the Passport Bill is enacted, it will be first enforced against the Muhajarins returning from Afghanistan. Sir William Vincent was asked to make it illegal to invoke official displeasure during elections. But he declined, saying that such a declaration would get more votes for the opponent. We doubt it.

Bills before the Imperial Legislative Council.
Kesari (109), 24th Aug.

70. "The Commander-in-Chief introduced yesterday in the Imperial Legislative Council two Bills, one to constitute an auxiliary force called the Indian Auxiliary Force and the other to constitute an Indian Territorial Force, the former providing for the enrolment of Europeans only and the latter for the enrolment of non-Europeans. By conditions of training and emoluments, the service under the Auxiliary Force is as different to that under the Territorial Force as the complexion of the skin and the distinctiveness of the races of those who will be required to serve under the two schemes..... The perpetration of such an invidious distinction is nothing short of a wanton insult to the nation and deliberate distrust of proved capacity, and, having regard to the most distinct change in the aspect of the people, the proposed measures are merely calculated to accentuate the existing distrust between the 'rulers' and the 'ruled'..... In fact the temerity of the authorities over this business is suprising. At this hour the drawing of all invidious distinctions is nothing less than a disgraceful scandal. We go further and say that it is a dangerous scandal. ..... We fail to understand, by any stretch of imagination, why the voluntary military service in India should be bifurcated if it is not for the uninterrupted continuance of the invidious distinction giving a privileged postion to Europeans..... To imagine that Indians are only fit for the inferior cadre of the military service betrays utter want of clarity of vision..... The future defence of the country is more the concern of the people of India and, therefore, it is but natural that they should be made to shoulder the maximum responsibility in all measures directed towards securing this purpose. If racial prejudice is to be the dominating factor in the determination and inauguration of military measures for the defence of the country, the projected Territorial Force is highly speculative, inasmuch as no self-respecting Indian will tolerate such distinction any longer..... We call upon the representatives of the people in the Council to do justice to themselves and to their constituents by safeguarding the country's self-respect and honour. India has had enough of racial distinctions embodied in the law of the land. She will no longer tolerate this humiliating position."

Comments on the Indian Auxiliary Force and the Indian Territorial Force Bills.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Aug.

71. Referring to the Government of India press communique regarding the proposed formation of an Indian Territorial Force, the *Sind Vásí* writes:—This must please Indians, because Indian leaders have for a long time past demanded this privilege. Much, however, will depend upon the Bill itself. If the Bill is not a straightforward measure it will be as good as useless. It should be prepared in a generous spirit, in order that nobody may have reason to think it a half-measure. At the same time, the Army Rules which are to be applied to the Territorial Force should be modified. The punishment of flogging for instance must be abolished. Again, the Territorial Force should be officered by Indians, at any rate shortly after its

Comments on the proposal to form an Indian Territorial Force.
Sind Vasi (149), 4th Aug.

institution, if not at the beginning, though we are of the opinion that the existing University Corps can even now provide the requisite number of officers. What most important is that there should be no distinction between European and Indian in the matter of training, etc. If there is distinction, Indians will not be attracted to the Indian Territorial Force.

MUNICIPALITIES.

The sweepers' strike in Bombay City.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 26th Aug.; *Akhabár-i-Islám* (55), 28th Aug.

72. So much filth has accumulated in Bombay during the last four days that the sweepers have been on strike that it is feared that an epidemic will break out if the strike continues for a few days longer. The City is full of stenches and life has become unbearable. Instead of giving a reasonable increase in wages to the sweepers the Health Department proposes to take the cruel step of getting them punished by dragging them to Court. Such a high-handed procedure would reflect discredit on the citizens of Bombay. The Municipal Corporation should intervene and bring the strike to an end. [The *Akhabár-i-Islám* declares that it was wrong on the part of the sweepers to go on strike without giving any warning. It is, however, of the opinion that the wages given to them are very low and that they require some improvement. It expresses the surprise that no provisional arrangements are made by the Municipality to remove the heaps of filth that have accumulated in the city.]

The Karáchi Municipality and free and compulsory primary education.
New Times (8), 21st Aug.

73. "The Karáchi Municipality have, by a large majority, rejected a motion to make budget provision for the introduction of free and compulsory education within their limits. After the Bill was passed by the Bombay Legislative Council, the Karáchi Municipality carried a motion for the introduction of such education in this city. When passing the resolution, the Corporators, it would seem, bestowed little thought on the question of ways and means!..... A Municipality, we thought, would not pass a resolution for the introduction of free and compulsory education if it was not prepared to shoulder its financial responsibility as early as possible; and we fail to understand why the resolution was passed at all if its operation was to be deferred to the Greek Calends..... We confess we are surprised at the decision of the Municipality. The matter of free and compulsory education affects the well-being of a vast majority in the city; it is time for the Corporation to pass beyond the stage of lip-sympathy and recording pious hopes on paper. An immediate solution of the question is necessary. Reviewed as a whole the Municipal debate was, we regret to say, a sorry exhibition of public spirit and practical patriotism."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 3rd September 1920.

*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 4th September 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "The speech of Lord Chelmsford at the opening of the Simla session of the Imperial Legislative Council is disappointing in more ways than one. Apart from the view-point which His Lordship brings to bear upon the present political situation in the country, its causes and the methods and means of remedying it, the fact that Lord Chelmsford has thought it fit to deal so scantily with the very subjects which are to-day uppermost in the minds of the Indian people and to dispose of them as 'subjects of acute controversy' which deserve only to be shelved and forgotten, is enough to detract from it that importance which Viceregal pronouncements in such circumstances would otherwise have and to unfit it for the serious consideration of the Indian public. The speech of Lord Chelmsford has, thus, no value except in so far as it gives sufficient glimpse into bureaucratic mentality to make the people of this country realize all the more the futility of expecting justice from Lord Chelmsford and his gang of sundried bureaucrats even in such matters as the Punjáb. As we have said more than once, the most charitable view which the Indian public can take of Lord Chelmsford is that he is a weak administrator, and it is in complete keeping with this estimate of His Lordship that he should take a negative view of the duty which devolves on him and his Government as a result of official bungling in the matter of the Punjáb tragedy..... As for 'faith, hope and charity,' India needs no sermon on it. What she really wants is such action on the part of officials as to make the exercise of those qualities possible. Whatever Lord Chelmsford may think, India is sufficiently awakened to see through the hollowness of such platitudinous sermons, and it would be much better if officials in India refrain from them. When public feeling is at a tension, well-wishers of the British Empire will be false to themselves if instead of seriously betaking themselves to remove the real causes of estrangement between the rulers and the ruled they indulged in the luxury of well-worn platitudes; but it requires a broad mind and a clear vision to escape from them. A bureaucratic system of Government and a broad mind, however ill, go together, and the latter cannot co-exist with the former. The latest pronouncement of Lord Chelmsford affords one more proof to that phenomenon. What then is the remedy? There are only two alternatives. Either the system of Government that has created the present serious situation in the country and which bids fair, by its fool-hardiness and inability to learn anything and forget anything, to convert this country into a vast Sinn Fein Camp, desiring complete separation from England, must be maintained by sheer force of the machine-gun which will have to be brought into play more and more if its continuance is decided upon, or it must be replaced by a system of Government that will be more in conformity with the ideals and aspirations of the people of the country. And which of the above two alternatives will we have? The former or the latter? Let British statesmen answer."

Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's opening speech in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Gujaráti Punch (20), 29th Aug., Eng. cols.

2. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Had His Excellency the Viceroy not made it impossible by his defiant attitude on the Punjáb and the Khilafat, I would have tendered him hearty congratulations for substituting ridicule for repression in order to kill a movement distasteful to him. For, torn from its context and read by itself, His Excellency's discourse on non-co-operation is unexceptionable. It is a symptom of translation from savagery to civilization. Pouring ridicule on one's opponent is an approved method in civilised politics. And if the method is consistently continued, it will mark an important improvement upon the official barbarity of the Punjáb. His interpretation of Mr. Montagu's statement about the movement is also not open to any objection whatsoever. Without doubt a government has the right to use sufficient force to put down an actual outbreak of violence. But I regret to have to confess that this attempt to pour ridicule on the movement, read in conjunc-

Young India (13), 1st Sept.

tion with the sentiments on the Punjáb and the Khilafat preceding the ridicule, seems to show that His Excellency has made it a virtue of necessity. He has not finally abandoned the method of terrorism and frightfulness, but he finds the movement being conducted in such an open and truthful manner that any attempt to kill it by violent repression would not expose him not only to ridicule but contempt of all right-thinking men..... His Excellency has become so impatient of it that he has used all his vocabulary for showing the magnitude of the ridiculous nature of non-co-operation. Unfortunately for His Excellency the movement is likely to grow with ridicule as it is certain to flourish on repression. No vital movement can be killed except by the impatience, ignorance or laziness of its authors. A movement cannot be 'inane' that is conducted by men of action as I claim the members of the Non-co-operation Committee are. It is hardly 'unpractical' seeing that if the people respond, every one admits that it will achieve the end. At the same time it is perfectly true that if there is no response from the people the movement will be popularly described as 'visionary'. It is for the nation to return an effective answer by organized non-co-operation and change ridicule into respect." [Elsewhere in the same issue Mr. Gandhi writes :—"It may be that having lost faith in His Excellency's probity and capacity to hold the high office of Viceroy of India, I now read his speeches with a biased mind, but the speech His Excellency delivered at the time of opening of the council shows to me a mental attitude which makes association with him or his Government impossible for self-respecting men. The remarks on the Punjáb mean a flat refusal to grant redress. He would have us to 'concentrate on the problems of the immediate future'! The immediate future is to compel repentence on the part of the Government on the Punjáb matter. Of this there is no sign. On the contrary, His Excellency resists the temptation to reply to his critics, meaning thereby that he has not changed his opinion on the many vital matters affecting the honour of India. He is 'content to leave the issues to the verdict of history'. Now this kind of language, in my opinion, is calculated further to inflame the Indian mind. Of what use can a favourable verdict of history be to men who have been wronged and who are still under the heels of officers who have shown themselves utterly unfit to hold offices of trust and responsibility? The plea for co-operation is, to say the least, hypocritical in the face of the determination to refuse justice to the Punjáb..... His Excellency is, if possible, even less happy on the Khilafat..... His Excellency knows that the peace terms are not the work of the Allied Powers. He knows that Mr. Lloyd George is the prime author of terms and that the latter has never repudiated his responsibility for them..... It is not truthful to saddle responsibility for the terms on the Allied Powers when Great Britain alone has promoted them. The offence of the Viceroy becomes greater when we remember that he admits the justness of the Muslim claim. He could not have 'pressed' it as he did not admit its justice. I venture to think that His Excellency by the pronouncement on the Punjáb has strengthened the nation in its efforts to seek a remedy to compel redress of the two wrongs before it can make anything of the so-called Reforms."]

*3. "The advice is given to leave the past behind and write upon a clean slate. It is very well for those, who were enjoying cool breezes on the heights of Simla, when those events were occurring, to indulge in this sort of grand-motherly advice. But can those hundreds and thousands of men, women, and children who were made the helpless victims of the 'gravity', and those millions of their countrymen who dread their repetition even in a still more intensified form every moment of their life, take it to heart and sit with folded hands? It would have been better if His Excellency had evinced some anxiety for quenching the fire, rather than for not 'adding fuel' to it. This he has so far altogether failed to do, and the people are clamouring for his recall from a thousand platforms all over the country. Among the 'subjects of acute controversy' the next place is accorded to the Khilafat agitation and the non-co-operation movement. We are told that Government have pressed, so far as any Government could press, upon the Peace Conference the views of Indian Moslems, and yet they are threatened with what they call

Praja Bandhu (29), 29th Aug., Eng. cols.

the 'most foolish of all foolish' campaigns. We ask: Is there any Government on the surface of the earth that would consider its functions to end with the mere 'pressing' of the views of its subjects?..... In justice, however, to His Excellency we should not omit one welcome piece of news announced by him..... We rejoice that Government have at last perceived the supreme necessity of revising the factory legislation in this country which has by this time grown too antiquated to meet the new development of our industrial position."

4. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford wants us to forget the past and to write on a clean slate. But has His Excellency done anything to enable the people to forget the past? Why is General Dyer allowed to draw pension from the Indian treasury? Have Government given any compensation to those who have suffered through the Martial Law in the Punjáb. Has any guarantee been given that Indians will not in future be subjected to martial law in a similar manner? The people have not secured justice in the Punjáb affairs. Does Lord Chelmsford consider justice in any way of less importance than faith, hope and charity? The people of India had firm faith in British justice, but the government of Lord Chelmsford are responsible for shaking it. However, it is not yet too late to deal justly with the people of India in the matter of the Punjáb affairs. First administer justice and then expect charity from the Indian people. It is impossible for people to be charitable in their views without getting justice. [The *Deshi Mitra* writes:— The Viceroy's speech will only increase people's irritation. No justice has been done to the people of India in regard to the Punjáb and Khilafat affairs and still His Excellency wants us to forget the past. The past can only be forgotten when peace reigns in the hearts of the people. The Khilafat movement will not stop unless the wishes of the people are respected. The non-co-operation movement is a legitimate one and there is nothing objectionable in it. Now that the Viceroy has warned the people against the movement, they should carry on the movement with such care and honesty of purpose that there may not be any breach of the peace. The Viceroy has become quite unpopular, and so we would ask him to resign and leave India.]

Gujarátí (20), 29th Aug.; *Deshi Mitra* (62), 2nd Sept.

5. We are grieved to say that the reply given to the interpellation asked in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding General Dyer's pension tends to ridicule the Indian people. To give the full amount of pension to General Dyer after placing him on the retired list while the Indians are clamouring for justice is like giving them a stone while they are asking for bread. This is not the way to make the people forget the past. The Special Congress should pass a resolution asking Government to stop General Dyer's pension and a similar resolution should be moved in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Comments on the reply to the interpellation in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding General Dyer's pension.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 30th Aug.

6. "What can the authorities be about? Sir William Vincent drily mentions that the Secretary of State recently sanctioned this arrangement. Mr. Montagu has certainly forgotten himself and forgotten the sentiments of our countrymen if he believes that he can outrage our deepest feelings in this wanton manner. He must know that submission to this arrangement can mean nothing but the branding of us all with the marks of our utter helplessness. Every pie paid to Dyer is a pie of blood money—it means that we are being forced to acquiesce in the murder and mutilation of our countrymen, in the indignities heaped upon them and the cruelties practised against them..... Will the authorities put an end to this unthinking injustice? We tell them

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Aug.; **Mahrátta* (7), 5th Sept.

that our countrymen are in no mood now to brook such fresh insult which, every time, cut the wound open with an astounding lack of humanity?" [The *Mahrátta* writes :—" So the only trouble to which the gallant officer has been put is the loss of a few pounds per month for a total period of 17 months in return for the quiet life of an easy retirement. If this is to be the punishment of an officer who has to his credit the murder of 400 and the wounding of 1,600 Indians, we have no hesitation in saying that the temptation of repeating a similar feat in order to earn the quiet and ease of a retirement will be so strong upon Anglo-Indian officers in future that the lives of Indian subjects will no longer be safe in their hands."]

*7. "The reply to the Honourable Mr. Sinha's question regarding General Dyer's pension will be read not only with a feeling of painful surprise but with a sense of disgust and indignation..... One can now see what removal from his appointment means. The final result is farcical and an insult to the whole country and the tax-paying community. So long as he gets his full pension what does it matter that he has forfeited the tenure of his Brigade, the more so especially when the House of Lords has supported his action, a fund is being raised in England and India in recognition of his brilliant performances in the Punjáb, and his countrymen have overwhelmed him with expressions of gratitude and admiration for his heroic deeds in the Punjáb? Until the above information was vouchsafed to the public by the Commander-in-Chief they had no idea that the punishment inflicted on General Dyer was the greatest farce enacted for the vindication of justice and humanity. This comedy makes the Punjáb tragedy still more tragic than it was believed to be and will be an additional outrage upon the feeling of the Indian people."

Gujarátí (18), 5th Sept., Eng. cols.

8. The punishment awarded to Dyer for massacring hundreds of innocent persons in the Jhallianwalla Bagh is that for the present he will get £58½ per mensem for 17 months and after that he will get his full pension of £75. Thus for killing 400 and wounding 1,000 he has to pay a fine of £280, *i. e.*, Rs. 2,800. This means a fine of Rs. 3 for every murder and Re. 1 for every serious wound inflicted. Is this punishment a small one! If Indians are not still satisfied even after this terrible punishment, they must be considered extremely vindictive!

Kesari (109), 31st Aug.

9. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes to the *Navjivan*:—Wherever I go I find that Government schools, law courts and legislative cauncils possess a great charm for the people. We should acquire the power to give the knowledge that the Government schools impart. We should get into the habit of securing justice by arbitration. I cannot win over to my views those people who have faith in getting justice from Governmnnt just as it is impossible to make a drunkard leave his evil habits. But it passes my comprehension how those very people who have less faith in Government than myself are charmed by the councils. All bright looking reforms will appear like poisoned milk to me as long as the heart of Government is not pure, their motives are not sincere and as long as they have not atoned for the sin committed during the Punjáb disturbances and have not uudone the wrong done to the Muhammadans. The motives underlying the appointment of Dr. Sapru and Lord Sinha consist in strengthening their power and making people forget the wrong done to them in the Khilafat question. The wound is suppurating within though it appears to heal on the surface. How should we characterise the physician who follows such a treatment? The Viceroy has ridiculed the non-co-operation movement. People will no doubt deserve ridicule if they give up the non-co-operation movement.

Mr. Gandhi's views on non-co-operation.

Navjivan (68), 29th Aug.

10. The Madras leaders advised Mahatma Gandhi to inaugurate a boycott movement in lieu of non-co-operation. But Mahatma Gandhi is not a man to yield when he once makes up his mind! He holds that it is sinful to co-operate with a Government who are unjust and who connived at the massacre in the Punjab, and that such a Government is only fit to perish. The best means must of course be used to bring about this end. Now we think that in this connection it would be more sensible to boycott British goods than to ask people to give up their means of living. Trade is the very life of the English and if Indians begin to drag it down, the English manufacturers and workers will compel their Government to concede the demands of Indians. Mr. Gandhi condemns boycott as impracticable; but is it not equally impracticable for pleaders to give up their practice and for poor men to give up their service which enables them to eke out a living?

Boycott of British goods would be more effective than non-co-operation.

Lokasangraha (112), 30th Aug.

***11.** Commenting on the manifesto against non-co-operation issued by certain members of the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Mahrátta* writes :—"The manifesto is obviously bound to carry little weight as the signatories—notwithstanding the full team that they have formed—cannot claim to echo the real representative voice of the nation. In fact, most of them have proved to be no better than mere figure-heads within the Council chambers. And yet our preachers, level-headed as they were, hastened to issue their manifesto. They deeply regret the resolution of the House of Lords on the Punjáb affair, and the decision of the Allies over the Khilafat question; and curiously enough they then lead their souls to suppose that there their duty ends!! They disapprove of the principle of non-co-operation, but the bare necessity of suggesting an alternative does not even once occur to these sober statesmen!..... Their erstwhile friends often credit them with a 'robust optimism', we do not know if 'robust' is to be taken to mean 'groundless'. After all, it is hoping against hope to cure this set of thinkers."

Comments on the manifesto against non-co-operation issued by certain members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Mahrátta (*l*), 5th Sept.

12. The Mahatma and his associates must admit that for non-co-operation to succeed it is absolutely necessary that it should be practised by all or most men. We think that this is not possible. Let us see what work has been accomplished in connection with the first stage of non-co-operation which was fixed for the 1st August. We know how many have adopted this, the simplest of all the stages of non-co-operation. Apart from a few resignations here and there of titles and appointments there is nothing to show. Even in our own province which is said to be great in Khilafat agitation not much has been done in the way of non-co-operation. Only a few honorary magistrates and mullas have resigned their positions. Surely if there had been a general desire for non-co-operation the record of work would have been much more imposing. There is no doubt a good deal of noise about non-co-operation but all is an empty show. And the men responsible for this noise are just those who have nothing to lose, who have no appointment to resign and no title to give up. Their object is no other than that others should practise what they preach. The town of Hyderabad is a great Khilafat centre. How many Khilafatists, we ask, have adopted the first stage of non-co-operation and how many of the pleaders among them have ceased to practise as such? It is said that a Muhammadan pleader has stopped his work. The fact however is that his office continues to exist and his Hindu partner carries on and so far as we know gives him a share of the earnings. At the same time although we find so many Hindus giving their support to the non-co-operation movement, there is not one among them who has entered on the first stage of the movement. What is true of Hyderabad or Sind seems to be true of the rest of the country. If the first stage of non-co-operation has met with this reception at the hands of the people what will be the fate of the other stages. Unless the movement becomes strong enough

Sind has done very little in the matter of non-co-operation.

Sind Vasi (149), 19th Aug.

completely to embarrass the Government it will be a failure. We think that in the present state of things in the country nothing will come out of the agitation for non-co-operation. On the other hand it is possible that there may be disturbances in the country in the name of non-co-operation or as the result of misunderstandings among the illiterate.

Comments on the apology given by Pir Mahbubshah of Hyderabad (Sind).

Young India (13), 1st Sept.

13. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Pir Mahbubshah has fallen. He was a brave man. I am not concerned with his guilt or innocence. If he used the language attributed to him, it certainly constituted an incitement to violence. In that case the punishment of two years' simple imprisonment awarded to him was certainly light..... What, however, commanded my admiration was the fortitude with which the Pir Saheb decided to refrain from offering any defence and patiently to bear the penalty imposed upon him by a lawfully appointed tribunal. I thought that he had understood the spirit of the struggle..... But the later news to the effect that the Pir Saheb secured his release by an apology shows our weakness. Having been brought up in the debilitating atmosphere of servility, the tallest of us often bend before a very simple storm. The temptations of western civilisation, without its hard discipline which the nations of the west undergo, has made us almost incapable of suffering the physical discomfort entailed by even simple imprisonment. But Pir Mahbubshah's surrender need not dishearten us. When a number of horses are carrying a burden and one becomes fatigued or otherwise incapacitated, the rest if they are spirited animals take up their companion's burden, put forth greater effort and pull up the load. How much more should we intelligent human beings bear our comrade's burden when he gives in? Let us, therefore, see what that burden exactly means..... We must know the strength of the Government with which we are engaged in a fierce struggle. The Government represents a corporation that is crafty in the main, godless, untruthful, but courageous, able, self-sacrificing and possessing great powers of organisation. We must, therefore, meet its craftiness by simplicity and openness, godlessness by godliness, unthruthfulness by truthfulness. We must match its courage with greater ability, sacrifice with greater self-sacrifice, and its organising powers with greater organising powers. It has almost matchless weapons of violence. We must meet them with non-violence. Unless we are able to satisfy the test, we must be content to occupy a status of servility. Non-co-operation affords the nation an opportunity of showing all the qualities required for sustaining its honour."

Navjivan (68), 29th Aug.

14. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—Pir Mahbubsha has fallen. The Pir possessed a powerful personality but he was cowed down by the prospect of undergoing imprisonment and has been released on tendering an apology. We have not been cowards for all times. Indians possessed no small power of endurance in the past and they have it still. How is it that we are frightened by ordinary suffering? I ascribe such cowardice on our part to our state of servitude. We have been used to this degraded state for such a long time that we do not know what real liberty is. We are, therefore, satisfied with our bodily freedom outside the prison irrespective of the fact whether we are honoured or not or whether our religion is preserved or not. We, therefore, appear like cowards when we are face to face with a situation which secures freedom for the soul while the body undergoes sufferings. We have not only been used to servitude for a number of years but it has engendered a love of luxury in us. There is no doubt that some people get an opportunity of enjoying luxuries under the British rule. Just as a small bait is enough to tempt the fish so we lose our real independence by being tempted by the luxuries enjoyed by some of us. The victory we have to win is of no small magnitude and the Government against which we have to fight are not an ordinary one. They have their good points as well as bad. Government are brave, they possess knowledge and are capable of making sacrifices. But they are atheistic, hypocritical, full of wiles and attractions. We must have the good

qualities Government possess in a larger measure in order to gain success over them, but their atheism must be conquered by religious faith, their hypocrisy by sincerity, their wiles and tricks by truth. We should fight shy of the temptations they offer in the form of titles and should not be won over by political reforms and high posts.

The woes of the Muhajarins.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 5th Sept., Eng. cols.

*15. Writing about the hardships of the Muhajarins, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—" They were deprived of the little money they had ; the strong and able-bodied among them were forced to enlist in the Amir's army ; those who were artisans or craftsmen were given some employment, and the rest were told to go back. The Amir wanted recruits for his army, and this is how he has got them. He wanted good workmen, and this is how he has got them. Now that he wants no more, he has quietly shut his doors against the Muhajarins and told them to turn right about. Were it not for the kind help of the British Government these people would be completely stranded. When they will return to their native place they will find their homes and lands occupied by aliens, and their employment gone. The miserable and signal failure of the *Hijrat* movement ought to open the eyes of those who are so mad after non-co-operation."

The Gujarat Political Conference.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st Aug.

16. " The Gujarat Political Conference, which has just concluded its session, was an unqualified success, in so far as the reflection of the public opinion of this part of the Presidency is concerned. There are few parts in the country where public life is so widely organised and public agitation so intensively carried out as in Gujarat. And the awakening in Gujarat is a measure at once of the growing consciousness among Indians of the true source of the strength as well as of the agony of the wounds on the country. When Gujarat, hitherto obsessed with the pursuit of material wealth, speaks out—and speaks out in no unmistakable language—who can adequately describe the agony of the country's wounds and who but the blind can ignore the urgency of adopting the remedies that are required to heal them ?..... In his reply to the vote of thanks, Mr. Abbas Tyabji said : 'I shall follow the lead given by the conference in non-co-operation. The cup of misery is full and that is the only weapon. Its effective use will show the Punjáb horrors are not repeated and ministers can never further break promises. I am a moderate of moderates, but my faith in British sense of justice and fairplay is rudely shaken.' We ask the Government to ponder over these words. Mr. Abbas Tyabji is not a hot-headed 'Extremist'. As he himself confesses, he is 'a moderate of moderates'. But the wrongs done to the country affect the honour of every one of her sons. And where honour is outraged, no difference can divide men."

Kesari (109), 31st Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 1st Sept.; *Lokasangraha* (112), 2nd Sept.

17. The *Kesari* expresses its surprise that Mr. Abbas Tyabjee, President of the Gujarat Political Conference, has not said a word about boycott, though he has recommended the spread of *swadeshi* as a help to the non-co-operation movement. It remarks that the whole speech was imbued with the idea that Muhammadans were ready to a man to follow the principle of non-co-operation but that the only thing required was the support of Hindus. It points out that the protest issued by some members of the Imperial Legislative Council against non-co-operation bears five or six Muhammadan signatures. It says that Mr. Abbas Tyabjee's speech was not as effective as it ought to have been on account of these and other defects. [The *Indu Prakásh* does not expect much support for non-co-operation in the Congress as the Tilaketes, Besantines and Moderates are against it, but still it says the majority of the people at large have come to favour it. Though there is no surety of its being adopted in practice, the paper requests Government to note that there is political excitement in the country due to the administration. It remarks that people are angry with Government, not because they are affected with a mad idea but because of the

general unsympathetic attitude of Government. There may be misunderstanding, but it thinks it to be the duty of Government to remove it. The political excitement, continues the paper, is not to be removed by the suppression of the movement. It wants Government to adopt conciliatory measures and find out the cause of the excitement. The *Lokasangraha* remarks that there is no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi has captured Gujarat, and complains that though boycott is a more innocent and effective instrument, non-co-operation is preferred to it, because Mr. Gandhi is against it. It requests Government to note the feelings of the people and give up their obstinacy. It adds :—What prestige is there left for Government if a big man like R. B. Ramanbhai, who acts according to the policy of Government, says that he has lost completely all faith in the British administration ? Our rulers should recognise in time that there will be an apprehension about the security of the British Government if the rayats come more and more to believe that the British rulers are dishonest and untrustworthy, and they should mend their policy and do justice in the matter of the Punjáb and the Khilafat. We shall not be sorry if the Congress accepts non-co-operation. We think it is premature, but if our representatives hold otherwise, we will welcome it.]

18. We welcome the passing of the non-co-operation resolution by the Gujarát Political Conference and hope that the Special Congress will accept a similar resolution. The people of Gujarát are not sentimental but are of a quiet and practical disposition. They cannot, therefore, be said to have taken a leap in the dark by passing the resolution. The path of non-co-operation is full of difficulties and will require those who adopt it to make heavy sacrifices ; but it cannot on that account be said to be impracticable. Non-co-operation is, no doubt, full of risks but *Swarájya* cannot be acquired without taking risks. [The *Kaira Vartamán* writes :—The passing of the resolution in favour of non-co-operation by the Gujarát Political Conference affords a conclusive proof of the fact that opinion in favour of non-co-operation has been created throughout the length and breadth of India. A further proof in the matter will be afforded by the Special Congress which meets at Calcutta. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, writes :—We have carefully examined all the arguments advanced in favour of non-co-operation at the Gujarát Political Conference and are constrained to say that we cannot consider the resolution passed by the Conference as beneficial to the country in any way. The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks :—Non-co-operation may be possible and practicable for men like Mr. Gandhi, but the general public lack the qualifications required for it, and so it is likely to do more harm than good to the country. We hope the Special Congress will take all these facts into consideration and give the right lead to the nation in the matter. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses regret that the resolution about non-co-operation was passed at the Conference.]

Hindusthán (23), 31st Aug. ; *Kaira Vartamán* (66), 1st Sept. ; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 31st Aug. ; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 2nd Sept. ; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (55), 31st Aug.

19. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"The Gujarat Political Conference has made its choice. The terse, able and firm addresses, both of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the hoary President of the Conference, left little room for doubting its verdict. But perhaps no one was prepared for the acceptance in detail of the programme of non-co-operation..... The Conference has burned the boats. It has deliberately refrained from waiting for the Congress Mandate. The Gujaratis consider that they hold sufficiently decided views to warrant their taking definite action. I tender my congratulations to them. They had full warning given to them..... The Gujarat Conference has fully weighed the consequences and given vote for non-co-operation. Mr. Abbas Tyabji in his closing words said in moving tones that he was reluctantly driven to adopt non-co-operation because he saw no other choice left open but to take up non-co-operation if he was to keep his self-respect and leave any healthy tradition to his children. He who once implicitly believed in British justice no longer believed in it. And with his belief in it so rudely shattered, he could not support the British Government until it had purged itself of the injustice."

Young India (13), 1st Sept.

20. "The task, which faces the sessions of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, is a task which is international and not domestic. It cannot hence be accomplished by the time-honoured methods of constitutional agitation which have been tried and found wanting. The supreme need of the moment thus is the discovery and use of a new weapon of constitutional agitation that will be an answer to the challenge of the forces of reaction which are seeking to undo the work of the war. ..... The answer can only be made in the words of Gokhale: 'Good-bye to all hope of co-operating in any way with the Government which has inflicted the two-fold wrong.' That is now practically the verdict of the whole country. The next question, of course, is: What is the practical shape which this non-co-operation is to assume? Whatever the form of non-co-operation the country is asked to adopt, as a result of the joint deliberations of the Congress and the Muslim League, it must satisfy two paramount conditions. It must carry with it the certainty of success, and it must not be such as to involve, directly or indirectly, the eruption of violence. It will be successful only if it is conducted by the joint effort of the Hindu and the Muslim. It will avoid violence only if it does not infringe any law of the land, as interpreted by the best constitutional authorities. Considered from this point of view some of the forms indicated in Mr. Gandhi's programme must be rejected. Nor can any course be tactical which may entail, in its actual working, the loss of the ground already gained and the disuse of a weapon which, if properly handled, is likely to prove most effective. The absolute boycott of the Councils will be such a course..... Steps such as the withdrawal of children from schools and the suspension of practice by lawyers seem to us to be a counsel of perfection in the absence of an alternative and adequate organisation of national education and administration of justice..... The difficulties ahead of us are indeed enormously formidable. But they are not insuperable. And what if we fail? We shall not lose but gain by the failure, if only our effort has been earnest and adequate—and each one of us has remained captain of his soul. But we will not fail—if the effort is not wanting. We will succeed and be master of the situation and our destiny." [The *New Times* remarks:—"The Nation's chosen Parliament meets at a critical hour. It is time for all who love India to ignore side-issues, to concentrate on the one big thing—the one thing needful,—the service of the Mother. And those of us who would walk the way of Service must cast out personal feeling and fear of differences and failure. On the question of non-co-operation there is, we admit, a vital issue between 'moderates' and 'extremists'; but just on this account it is their duty to take counsel together and, if possible, give a lead to the country."]

The task before the Special Session of the Indian National Congress.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Sept.; *New Times* (8), 26th Aug.

21. The *Rájakáran* opines that the principle of non-co-operation will be accepted at the special session of the Indian National Congress. The bureaucracy has held out a threat, it remarks, of suppressing the movement, and it asks the people to consider well before they definitely launch it. It points to the case of Egypt, and says that the Egyptians gained their object by resorting to non-co-operation. It tells the people that mere sympathy for this movement will not avail and that they must act up to their convictions.

Rájakáran (122), 29th Aug.

22. "The circumstances in which the Special Congress meets are, indeed, epoch-making in the fullest sense of the term and the decision, that will be reached at it, being such as to make a lasting mark in the history of India Moderates would be false to themselves and the country they love equally with their 'extremist' colleagues if they choose to withhold from the country the benefit of their advice..... The extremely serious situation that has arisen in the country calls for unanimity—at least for joint deliberation,—and if the moderates are to maintain their position as a progressive force in Indian political

Comments on Lala Lajpatrai's appeal to the Moderates to attend the forthcoming Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta.
Gujarati Puuch (20), 29th Aug., Eng. cols.

life, they must come out of their self-sought seclusion and make themselves heard."

Comments on Mr. Bannerji's reply to Lala Lajpatrai's invitation to Moderates to attend the Special Congress.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 1st Sept.; *Hindusthán* (22), 2nd Sept.

23. The reply given by Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee to the invitation given by Lala Lajpatrai to the Moderates to join the Calcutta Special Congress, expressing his inability to join the Congress on the ground that the Congress is likely to be attended mostly by people who are in favour of non-co-operation is extremely cowardly. We never expected such a reply from one who has advocated the granting of *Swarájya* to India. There is a majority of Extremists in the Congress because Mr. Bannerjee and his followers have not taken effective steps to educate public opinion against the propaganda organised by the Extremists. Mr. Bannerjee and his party should muster strong at the Special Congress and should try to influence it in their favour by their arguments. [The *Hindhusthán* deplores the reply and declares that it will serve as a tool in the hands of the enemies of the Congress for strengthening their argument that the Congress does not represent the people of India.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 3rd Sept., Eng. cols.

24. "If non-co-operation is to succeed the people must be able to withdraw co-operation from the Government so as to make administration impossible. Mr. Gandhi has a graduated scheme. That is well; but graduated scheme means a long-drawn out agony. Lala Lajpatrai, the President-elect of the Congress, did a very wise and proper thing in inviting persons of all shades of opinion to attend the sessions and express their views on this most important question. It is a pity that his invitation has not met with the response it deserves. The reply of Mr. Surendranath Bannerji, the spokesman of the Moderates and the old Congress party, is disappointing. He is convinced that non-co-operation is unwise and impracticable..... If Mr. Bannerjee feels so strongly that the movement is unwise, impracticable and unpatriotic, it is his duty to go and oppose it at all costs. Nothing has discredited the Moderate party more than the timid and ineffectual role it has chosen to play in the present-day politics of the nation. They are committed to a cautious and timid policy, and that goes counter to the temper of the people to-day. But they must make their voice heard and their presence felt in the great assembly of the people. They must have the courage of their views, if they are to retain any influence in the councils of the nation. The subject needs to be threshed out in all its aspects in a most thorough and careful manner; and this can be done only by persons of all parties and shades of opinion meeting on one common platform. Non-co-operation as a weapon of protest in certain contingencies is not beyond the pale of practical politics. Nor does it fall outside the scope of constitutional agitation. But it will not do to content ourselves with considering its legitimacy as an abstract doctrine. It seems to us that Mr. Gandhi and his associates are emphasising more its theoretical legitimacy than its practical expediency..... However, we trust those who do take part in the Congress will bear in mind that a terrible responsibility rests on them and that the adoption of non-co-operation as a weapon of protest and agitation is not to be lightly undertaken."

Comments on the murder of the Deputy Commissioner of Kheri, United Provinces.

Bombay Samáchár (58), 1st Sept.

25. Adverting to the murder of Mr. Willoughby, Deputy Commissioner of Kheri, United Provinces, the *Bombay Samdchár* writes:—The news about Mr. Willoughby's murder by a Muhammadan is indeed serious and calculated to cause anxiety, specially in the present condition of India. It is fortunate that the culprit has not escaped as often happens in the case of murders committed on political grounds. Sir H. Butler is a liberal and sympathetic ruler and we trust that he will not be so led away by feeling as to magnify the murder as a grave political event. It was an inference of this kind that was responsible for the Punjab tragedy. The murder is indeed foul and cowardly and the culprits must be punished

according to the law. Yet we wish that the experience of the Punjáb may be carefully borne in mind by the authorities. The reasons for the crime as given out by the murderer are calculated to give a political importance to the event and hence a grave responsibility lies on the Muhammadan leaders. It behoves them to publicly condemn this occurrence and declare that such fanaticism will result in the stoppage of all agitation. The movement in connection with the Turkish Treaty is, it is claimed, based upon the moral guarantee that no violence is to be committed, and the leaders of the movement are in duty bound to see to it that incidents like this one may not shake this foundation. The warnings against the non-co-operation movement hitherto received from Government as well as from experience are sufficiently grave and it behoves them to profit by them.

26. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—" The assassination of Willoughby is a most unfortunate event which has naturally evoked public symphathy and indignation. The murder was a cruel, thoughtless and fanatical act. It has not advanced but retarded the cause of Khilafat. Mr. Willoughby had no hand in the Turkish terms..... It can only be counted as madness to kill an innocent man for a crime committed by a member of his race. And yet the fact must not be disguised that the murder will be regarded by many Muhammadans as a pious act worthy of a martyr. I have heard Muhammadans calmly arguing that such murders are not only justifiable but meritorious. I have known many Hindus who have argued that it was the throwing of bombs which brought about the removal of the Partition of Bengal..... The Sinn Feiners openly practise murder and other forms of violence for the purpose of freeing their country from the English connection. Every assassin or incendiary is considered by them a hero. It is because I feared such a result in our midst, that I advised non-violent non-co-operation regarding the Khilafat. In my opinion, it is the active and open preaching of non-co-operation which has prevented murders and assassinations in the land. The murder of Mr. Willoughby proves that the propaganda of non-violence and non-co-operation has not proved sufficient to control individual fanatics and that it is not an easy thing to do so. It proves further that the Khilafat wrong is a deep-seated grievance which with the passage of time will sink deeper still instead of being forgotten. I observe that *The Times of India* credits the Khilafat propaganda with the murder and calls it the 'first fruits'..... But I venture to suggest that no aspect of the agitation is responsible for the unfortunate murder. It is the grievous wrong, done by British ministers, which has evoked the cruel deed. The *Times of India* is on safer ground when it says that the tragedy 'is a special call to Islam, for, all thoughtful Muhammadans must realise that the honour of their religion is at stake' I wish to emphaise that warning. It must be the social duty of every Khilafat worker to be more careful than hitherto in insisting upon complete freedom from violence as the condition precedent to successful non-co-operation. I am sure that it is possible to cite texts from the Koran in condemnation of murder of innocent men..... It is not enough for Khilafat workers to be satisfied with public condemnations (necessary as they are) or for the sake of decorum to join them. It is necessary for us to preach privately, publicly and incessantly, the necessity of refraining from violence especially when an active campaign of non-co-operation full of promise is going on..... The Central Khilafat Committee has openly and deliberately accepted non-violence for its creed so long as non-co-operation is being carried on. We must, therefore, seek to guard English life as our own. We must constitute ourselves as self-appointed volunteers guarding English life from violent hands. And our success depends upon our ability to control all the violent and fanatical forces in our midst."

Young India (13), 1st Sept.

27. " Mr. Willoughby's murder is deplored by all sane persons and well-wishers of the country, but at the same time one cannot but condemn too strongly the outbursts of the Anglo-Indian press which seeks to hold the Non-co-operation and Khilafat movements responsible for it. Though the Anglo-Indian attitude is typical, it is

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Sept.

not surprising. The Moderates, however, need not copy their questionable methods. The desire for peace and order is not the sole monopoly of Mr. Surrendranath Banerjee. It is the aim and subject of every party in India. It is not the desire of any party to endanger it. In fact, the very first principle enjoined by the leaders of the Non-co-operation movement is non-violence. It may suit the Anglo-Indian critics darkly to accuse the organisers of the movement deemed obnoxious by them, and seek to smother it, but Mr. Surrendranath, who himself has not been free from such accusation by his present friends and erstwhile enemies, should be careful even when he is bursting with his newly acquired enthusiasm for co-operation."

Gujarâti (18), 5th Sept., Eng. cols.

*28. "It appears that Mr. Willoughby was a popular and sympathetic officer, and it is, indeed, a pity that an innocent and promising civilian like him should have fallen a victim to the fanaticism of a desperate convict and his three comrades who have as yet not been arrested or identified. The murderer's motive was, it is said, to avenge the alleged oppression of his co-religionists and the imprisonment of some Pir. But Mr. Willoughby had nothing to do with either of these things. It was dastardly to pounce upon an innocent officer unawares and cut him down in a spirit of savagery. No right-minded person can entertain any but the utmost feeling of detestation at such an outrage. We need hardly say that we associate ourselves with the sentiments of sorrow and sympathy to which His Excellency the Viceroy and the Honourable Mr. Surrendranath Bannerjee gave feeling expression at Tuesday's meeting of the Supreme Legislative Council. Though scarcely any political significance attaches to this lamentable incident, the community at large cannot but view with horror and detestation such a foul crime."

Servant of India (9), 2nd Sept.

29. "The confession of one of the assassins of Mr. Willoughby that he 'committed the foul deed in a fit of Khilafat frenzy' ought to awaken the more responsible leaders of the movement to the dangers of appealing to the religious feelings of the ignorant and the uneducated..... At the condolence meeting in the deceased's honour, Sir Harcourt Butler warned his hearers of the harmful effects of violent speeches at some Khilafat meetings. It is to be earnestly hoped that this warning, coming as it does from such a sympathetic friend of the Muslim community as the present Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces is reputed to be, will have the desired effect. Our feelings in regard to the dastardly outrage are those of deep detestation and horror; and our sympathy goes out to Mrs. Willoughby in her bereavement. We trust that the Government of the United Provinces will, as in the past, keep its head cool during the difficult times ahead."

Kesari (109), 31st Aug.; *Indu Prakâsh* (44), 31st Aug.; *Swarâjya* ( ), 2nd Sept.

30. The murderer's real object is not yet given out, but there is not much cause to discuss it as he has already been in prison thrice for dacoity and other crimes. Still Sir Harcourt Butler has begun to attack Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation movement from a cover, taking advantage of this outrage. Was it not necessary for him, before he began his sermon, to prove that Willoughby's murder was directly connected in some way with the non-co-operation movement? The first principle of non-co-operation is to abstain from all violence to life and property. Would such advice bring to their senses fanatics or make fanatics of those who are right-minded? If anyone has become a fanatic there must be some other cause for it, and Sir Harcourt should find it out for himself. If the non-co-operation movement has done anything, it has turned away thousands of fanatical Muhammadans from taking to outrages. If Sir Harcourt has any idea of stopping this pure advice and pure method, he should first consider whether he would not be adding insult to injury by preventing the preaching of non-co-operation. [The *Indu Prakâsh* says that though the leaders and public speakers never wish for any disturbance, some things occur against their will, as all the speeches are not delivered by responsible and fit leaders. It is very dangerous, in its eyes, for leaders to neglect this point. The paper expresses its great sorrow at the murder. The *Swardjya* expresses its

regret at the murder of Mr. Willoughby, Deputy Commissioner of Kheri in the U. P. It asks the Anglo-Indian journals not to connect this murder with the Khilafat movement, which had its origin in the broken pledges of British statesmen and which strictly enjoins non-violence.

31. "The cruel assassination of a sympathetic and popular Deputy Commissioner in North India should be a warning to the Special Congress which is to meet shortly to consider non-co-operation. That four men 'in a fit of Khilafat frenzy' could join in the foul murder of a friend of the people, as one has confessed he did, should surely lead Mr. Gandhi and his followers to ask themselves whether they may not be making another 'Himalayan miscalculation'."

Dnyanodaya (40), 2nd Sept., Eng. cols.

32. The *Muslim Herald* states that Islam does not make it obligatory to slaughter cows on Id days, and that Musalmans properly refrained from slaughtering them on the last occasion for political reasons. It inquires if those Musalmans were recompensed whose cows were taken away by the Moslem Volunteers, and whether the people will be willing to part with their cows in future. It remarks that the faith of many Musalmans has been shaken by the activity of the Khilafat Committee, and draws attention to the rumour that the Hindus have petitioned Government to prohibit cow-slaughter by law on Id anniversaries. It also refers to the Marwaris having subscribed fifty thousand rupees at Mr. Gandhi's suggestion for popularising Hindi and abolishing the use of Urdu in Madras, and wants to know what the third command of Mr. Gandhi may be. Finally it declares that though union is desirable, it is imperative that a proper give-and-take policy be adopted and that the limits of moderation be not overstepped for fear of dire consequences. [Elsewhere the paper states that the Khilafat Committee did not spare any efforts to ingratiate themselves with the Hindus on the occasion of the last Bakri Id. It points out that not only did they save 53 cows, but some Moslems permitted unclean persons to enter the mosques and harangue from the pulpit, some other Musalmans went into temples to offer prayers, while the very officers of the Khilafat Committee bore the dead body of a Hindu on their shoulders. It maintains that all these acts are blasphemous according to the tenets of Islam, and holds that the Musalmans have no right to discard cow-sacrifice which can only be laid down by God.]

Comments on the efforts made to prevent cow-sacrifice on the Id day in Bombay.

Muslim Herald (152), 3rd Sept.

33. Referring to a meeting held at Poona to protest against the Government's policy of acquiring lands in the Poona District under the Land Acquisition Act, the *Kesari* says that as Government make a profit out of sites so acquired, the original owners should be allowed to share the profits after deducting the necessary expenses incurred by Government. It questions the utility of "robbing Peter to pay Paul".

Government should allow the owners of the lands in the Poona District taken up under the Land Acquisition Act to share the profits.

Kesari (109), 31st Aug.

34. A hundred years have elapsed since we began to work for the British. We worked for the British faithfully and we sacrificed our lives and got our country for the British. We are working for the British to-day in South Africa, East Africa and Fiji and receiving kicks from them. Germany rose against the British Empire. We girded up our loins and brought her down for the sake of the English Bahadurs. Dyer, Smith, Johnson and others had the devil's dance in the Punjáb. We Indians were loyal to the orders of the above heroes and whipped our countrymen. Such is our unequalled loyalty. In Ceylon also we are proving the same thing. In short, the masters of the world are the British and we are their devoted servants. In these circumstances, the movement of the Indian leaders is governed by the idea of

Indians are the coolies of the British.

Lokasangraha (112), 2nd Sept.

getting some concessions while labouring for England. It is our birthright to labour throughout our life. There is no difference of opinion on the point. The dispute is only about the hours of labour, the amount of wages and the kind of huts which we are to occupy. Inscrutable are the dispensations of Providence!

35. "It was curious to hear some of the speakers opposed to non-co-operation at the (Sind) Special Conference asking the audience to put 'faith' in the Government. Never was a nation so insulted aud humiliated as India has been in the matters of the Punjáb tragedy and the Khilafat. Yet our friends on the other side pleaded for 'faith' in the *sirkar*. They echoed the Viceroy's view who in his Simla speech in the Council asked the people to have 'faith, hope and charity'! We are asked to put faith in the Government; we ask:—has the Government faith in us, in India's genius, in the spirit of the National Movement? That is a question our friends who opposed non-co-operation conveniently forgot to ask themselves."

How can Indians have faith in the *Sirkar*?
New Times (8), 3rd Sept.

36. The *Lokasangraha* strongly protests against the proposed establishment of a slaughter-house at Ratona in the Central Provinces. It questions the wisdom of Government in encouraging the slaughter of cattle when even the Muhammadans have given up cow-killing in deference to the feelings of the Hindus. It argues that the slaughter of kine on an extensive scale amounts to an interference with the religion of the Hindus and is a violation of the pledge given in 1858. It warns Government that religious persecution always heralds the downfall of an Empire. It characterises the bureaucracy as hypocritical in its professions while butcherlike in its actions, and concludes with a warning to Government not to rouse the fanaticism of the Hindus.

Protest against the proposed slaughter house at Ratona (C. P.)
Lokasangraha (112), 29th Aug.

37. What Indian will not hang down his head in shame to know that Indian troops were used to crush the Egyptian Nationalists? To-day Indians are being employed to kill those who are fighting for their independence in Persia, Mesopotamia and Turkey. This has naturally lowered us in the estimation of these peoples who have begun to look upon Indian soldiers as mere mercenaries. Others cannot be blamed if they do not believe that we long for independence when we do not hesitate to deprive them of theirs. Again, at least a part of the expenses of these troops must be falling on the Indian Treasury. We have already contributed liberally towards the expenses of the great war and we are not willing to spend a pie more. We must plainly tell Government that we are not prepared to be taxed further to make an English millionaire a multi-millionaire.

India must refuse to be taxed for the benefit of European capitalists.
Lokasangraha (112), 4th Sept.

38. "The *Bande Mataram* is responsible for the publication of the report that Frank Johnson has been granted a contract by the Kashmere Durbar for oil-prospecting..... Some of these princes and rulers are indeed a surprising lot! Here is a man whose name stinks in the nostrils of all decent people—a man who brought with him from savage Africa his savagery which he inflicted upon the innocent inhabitants of Láhore—and with all the atrocities upon his hands, with all the bad odour that attaches to his name, he is quietly taken into service, if the report is true, by one of the premier Indian States in India! We do not wish to believe that even the Maharaja is capable of making such a *faux pas*. But if the report is true, then either the Kashmere authorities have lost all sense of proportion and decency, or else the influences which pull the strings behind the Government of the State have proved stronger than the fear of meriting the indigation of the Maharaja's countrymen."

Comments on the reported grant of an oil prospecting license to Mr. Frank Johnson by the Kashmere Durbar.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Sept.

*39. Referring to the condition of Indian labourers in Ceylon, the *Mahrátta* writes :—" The hardships to which Indian labourers are subjected are unworthy only of the so-called modern civilisation of Europeans and are quite in keeping with the honourable, decent and human treatment given to Indian emigrants in Fiji or East Africa..... What is the Government of India doing with regard to the problem of Indians outside except showing lip-sympathy? No Government, unless it is alien, would sit with folded hands when thousands of its loyal subjects are being crushed in the most brutal way. It is encouraging, however, that the International Commission on Emigration is appointed under the presidency of Viscount Cave. But on it the Government of India, and not the people of India, are represented."

Comments on the condition of Indian labourers in Ceylon.
Mahrátta (7), 5th Sept.

40. After referring to the correspondence between Mr. Montagu and Mrs. Naidu in connection with certain statements made by her in England respecting the alleged outrages against Indian women during the Martial Law administration in the Punjáb, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks :—" Mr. Montagu having subsided ignominiously, rises again to-day with Lord Chelmsford's support to make another attempt to defend the criminals whose outrages against our women have perhaps no parallel in modern civilisation..... This is what Reuter relates in a cable from London : 'In connection with Sir William Joynson Hicks' question in the House of Commons with regard to Mrs. Naidu's allegation of stripping and flogging of Indian women Mr. Montagu has sent a letter to Sir Joynson Hicks stating that the Viceroy reports that the women mentioned are prostitutes of the wandering criminal tribes, Safardahs and Pernas, who have settled at Amritsar for the purpose of prostitution. The charges made are absolutely false and have been made as a revenge against the officers who gave evidence before the tribunals and participated in the recovery of the property stolen from the National Bank by the Mirasis and the Pernas.' This statement is nothing less than a perversion of truth and abuse of the decencies of controversy. Lord Chelmsford had no business to furnish such infomation to Mr. Montagu. Mr. Montagu had no business to adorn it with his sanction. It is insinuated that the charges made by Mrs. Naidu refer to the prostitutes of Amritsar. Let Mr. Montagu look to her reply quoting the joint statement 581 of 23 women, wives and widows of respectable inhabitants of Manianwala, district Gujranwala..... A Viceroy and a Secretary of State for India should know better geography than confuse Gujranwala with Amritsar, and statesmen should know better manners than to insinuate that there were no respectable women but only prostitutes who complained against the horrible outrages. Have prostitutes no human feelings?..... What the men, women and children of the Punjáb have suffered cannot be wiped out. But it can be driven deeper into our souls by fictitious epistolary justifications. When, during the war, Lord Bryce published his report on German atrocities in Belgium, our statesmen in India and in Great Britain held their hands up to heaven in pious horror. Besides the Congress Report, Lord Bryce's book is, in some respects, like a Sunday-school tract—but where is their sense of horror now? It is buried deep in the thunder of their words and the ridiculous blatancy of their deeds. It is time, therefore, for us to realise that not only the honour of our womenfolk but the honour of our outraged country is now at stake."

Mr. Montagu and certain of the alleged Punjáb outrages.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st Aug.

*41. " We trust for the good name of Lord Chelmsford that Reuter's summary of His Excellency's reply to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's allegations about offensive treatment of women at Amritsar is a gross and grotesque travesty. We are not concerned for the moment with Mrs. Naidu's allegations. We are concerned now with the admission implied in the statement that the Viceroy reports that the women mentioned are prostitutes of wandering criminal tribes, Safardahs and Pernas who have settled at Amritsar for the purpose of prostitution. These women, it is evident, were subjected to some

Indian Social Reformer (6), 5th Sept.

kind of treatment which, if they were not what they were, would be condemnable. We demand to know what that treatment was. And we demand to know if it is the deliberate opinion of His Exc ellency that the misfortune of these women, in being born in criminal tribes and being obliged to take to prostitution for a livelihood, is a justification for his officers oppressing them. That a Christian Viceroy of India should adopt this line of justification shows, if true, what a corroding effect Punjáb affairs are exerting on those in authority."

Comments on Lord Sinha's appointment as Governor of Bihár and Orissa.
Sindvdsi (149), 20th Aug.

42. We hope that the appointment of Lord Sinha as a Governor will give satisfaction to all except a few Extremists. This gentleman, thanks to his good fortune, has from the start enjoyed high posts such as no other Indian has ever enjoyed. His elevation to high office which is the outcome of his ability and patriotism is a matter of pride to his country, and we are sure that every Indian will bless him so that he may discharge his great responsibilities successfully and thus qualify himself for still higher offices. Lord Sinha was a leader of the Moderate Party. The Moderate Party have, therefore, reason to pride themselves upon his recent advancement.

Vande Mataram (150), 23rd Aug.

43. The Government of this country is an irresponsible Government and does not care for public opinion. So long as this continues, things will not change for the better no matter whether the bureaucracy consists of Europeans or of Indians. The appointment of Indians to high posts will not improve our lot. Until, therefore, the officials, no matter whether they are Indians or Europeans, have been made responsible to the people of the country we cannot be said to have obtained any real right. The appointment of Lord Sinha as a Governor may be a gain to him, but does not at all benefit the country. We should not be carried away by small concessions.

Who will be the successor of Lord Chelmsford?
Swardjya ( ), 2nd Sept.

44. Lord Chelmsford was not a very unpopular Viceroy in the beginning of his regime. But since the Punjáb affair his unpopularity increased by leaps and bounds and culminated in the demand for his recall. Although popular opinion was powerless to compel him to return home, people will soon have the satisfaction of getting rid of him as his term of office is drawing to a close. The question of his successor is now engaging the attention of British statesmen, and Mr. Montagu's name is mentioned in this connection. Although his conduct of the Dyer case in Parliament gave satisfaction to Indians, it has had the effect of making him odious to the English. As Mr. Montagu is familiar with Indian politics, it is natural that the people of this country would like to see a man like him come out as Viceroy. The name of Lord Birkenhead is also mentioned as a probable successor to Lord Chelmsford. His chief qualification for the post seems to be that he knows practically nothing about this country! British statesmen are apparently acting on the principle that the less a man knows about India the better able he is to fill the post of Viceroy!

Protest against the method of repatriating Indians from South Africa.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Sept.

45. "The conditions under which the Government of the Union of South Africa offer to repatriate Indians wishing to return to India for good and the motive inspiring it are now made known..... They will certainly not barter away their inalienable rights for a mess of pottage, for that is what the offer of the South African Government amounts to..... No doubt many of them are anxious to pay visits to India from time to time, but they are not at all prepared to sever all connection wiih the land of their adoption, for they have too great a stake and too many ties, domestic and social, in that country for them to think of this extreme step. It is, therefore, highly problematical that the relief to be offered—and under such humiliating conditions too!—will be availed of by any considerable section of the population..... Is the offer a fair and honest one? On the face of it, it is a dishonouring and dishonourable offer..... The purpose of the South

African Government's offer is obvious. It is an attempt to take undue advantage of the distress and difficulties of some of our countrymen in South Africa and so trick them out of their inalienable rights..... As if smitten by the magnanimity of their own offer, the Government further lay down the condition that those availing of the offer should not take with them in gold more than £25 per individual, or £50 per family, of even their 'legitimate earnings'! Anything more monstrous could not be imagined. What right have the Government to lay their hands on any portion of the legitimate savings of the emigrants? If the authorities wanted to wreck whatever little chance there was of the offer being accepted in any quarter, they could not have chosen a more effective step. The spectacle of a modern Government stooping to such questionable devices, even under the cover of law, has probably no parallel in any other quarter of the globe. What is there, then, to be thankful for in the South African Government's offer? If the Government expect that the scheme will meet with any success and that it will help to relieve the South African Indian problem, they will be sadly mistaken. The offer is insulting, it is immoral and no Indian worth his salt would avail of it. If there are Indians in indigent circumstances anxious to return to their mother country, facilities must be freely provided for them, either by the Union Government or the Government of India. There should be no question of forfeiture of rights by any of our countrymen any more than there can be forfeiture of their rights by South African whites wishing to pay a visit to their mother country."

46. "While we fully appreciate the zeal inspiring the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court in his recent attempts to clear off the heavy arrears of work obtaining on both sides of the Court, we cannot regard with the same feelings of satisfaction the short-cuts to justice which his lordship seems to be fond of devising. Indeed, Sir Norman Macleod's one great concern, ever since he ascended the *gadi* of the High Court, has appeared to be 'expeditious justice'. In one year his lordship has practically exhausted all the Appellate Side civil work. He has sometimes daily disposed of twenty to twenty-five appeals! Very often, it has been stated by some, he does not appear to keep his judgment suspended till the arguments are finished, having come to his own conclusions by reading the papers. We cannot say how far this is true. But it is natural that the abruptness with which even heavy matters are thus disposed of by his lordship has occasioned considerable dissatisfaction, both among the litigants and the legal profession..... But apart from these hardships, it is doubtful whether the trial of Original Side suits by a Division Bench is not *ultra vires*. The High Courts Act, s. 13 (24 and 25, Victoria, Ch. 104), only empowers the establishment of a Division Court by High Court rules. There is no rule made by the High Court providing for trials of Original cases by a Division Bench. The only rule that can at all be cited in support of such a contingency is Rule 63 of the High Court Rules, but there the provision is made for the trial of a special case only. The Chief Justice may have some valid authority, not generally known, for the extraordinary procedure he has adopted but it is highly desirable that the doubt should be cleared."

Protest against the High Court Chief Justice's method of clearing off arrears.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Aug.

47. "Sir George Lloyd was recently at the Poona Engineering College gathering where he said:—'I think there is no doubt whatsoever that Mr. Cree-Brown is fully justified in claiming for his college the position of the second Engineering College in India. This is a matter we have to redress and make it the first Engineering College in India.' There would be cordial approval of this worthy ambition and happily Sir George occupies the position and has the power to put his ideas into practice. We are not unaware of the financial difficulties..... But all things said and done, Sir George Lloyd will excuse us if we refuse to believe that he cannot do a thing, if he means to do it. For whom indeed are the

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's speech at the Poona Engineering College.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Sept.

financial difficulties? For those who do not want to take any action..... There is no question of the sincerity or insincerity of Government. Government may be quite sincere but in these matters, mere intentions are not worth much. As there has been considerable difference between promise and performance in the past, the public have ceased to believe in mere words. But happily it rests entirely with Government to disprove the general impression and nothing would be more welcome if promises were followed by speedy performances."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's speech at the New English School, Poona.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Aug.

48. "Those who entertained the idea that Sir George Lloyd, who has hitherto never missed any occasion without giving the public the benefit of his views on technical education, would do something for it, would be sadly disillusioned by his speech at the New English School, Poona..... Surely Sir George must know that education is a thing for which money must be found. Specially in matters technical, he cannot afford to ask India to wait for private charity. Government seem to think of economy only in the case of education. Sir George Lloyd was definitely asked a few days ago to cease talking about technical education and to do something practical for it. His answer is 'no money'. He would merely ask Government contractors to employ a stated number of Indians. He himself admits that methods such as this would not supply the normal avenue of technical education in schools and colleges..... He led the public to expect that Government would seriously take up the question of technical education. All the more grievous, therefore, is the disappointment caused by his recent definite avowal in Poona that nothing could be done beyond providing a few apprenticeships in Government and Government contractors' works."

Bombay Samáchár (58), 30th Aug.

49. Reviewing His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's speech at the New English School at Poona, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, the sympathetic Governor of Bombay, has accepted the principle that education in all its branches is essential for the prosperity of any nation and he makes strenuous efforts to give it a practical shape during the period of his administration. Technical education has not yet received sufficient attention, and His Excellency is quite alive as to its importance. His Excellency declares that Government are handicapped for want of funds. Every provincial Government and the Government of India have now and again complained about the shortage of funds; but it is now time that Government should change their angle of vision. Now, as regards technical education, it is certain that no scheme of Government can be successful without being supported by the people. The managers of the New English School deserve to be congratulated on the excellent attempts they have made in this direction. His Excellency's plan of giving practical training to educated young men directly under Government contractors is quite feasible and deserves to be carried out.

What should be done to destroy wild pigs in Kánara.

Kánara Leader (37), 24th and 31st Aug.

50. Mr. Ganesh Ramchandra Patwardhan suggests that the number of firearm licences should be increased in order that wild pigs may be destroyed. He is of opinion that every member of the communities that use pigs as food should be given a licence. He adds:—The number of licences held by Marathas, Hale Paik, Kare Vakkaliga and Waddars are very few as they are not khatedars. Most of the khatedars are Brahmins, Lingayats, Jains and Moslems who do not eat pigs. Poisoning of pigs and wire-fencing are not possible, the former because of the danger and the latter on account of the expense involved. Formerly Gollars used to hunt pigs and they used to guard two or three villages and they were on the whole of great help to agriculture. But they left Kánara on account of the harrassment of the Police and the Forest Department. The Police used to trouble them because they used lances while hunting and the Forest Department was after them because they hunted in the forests. They are now in the Dhárwár District. If

Government supply them with good dogs, nets and lances, wild pigs will be destroyed on a large scale by them. Waddars and Koragars also, though they are not honest like Gollars, may be similarly helped.

Suggestion for amendment of the Forest Act.
Loka Bandhu ( ), 29th Aug.

51. Referring to the withdrawal of forest cases in Kalghatgi (Dhárwár), a correspondent offers thanks to His Excellency and other officers and says :—We are freed from prosecutions. What of the future? Everything lies in the future. The lower Forest officials who have been defeated in the case will now harass us with double and treble force. So long section 78 of the Forest Act was kept hanging over our heads and we were taken into the forest like slaves and were forced to work on timber plantations. Will they leave us alone now? It is sufficient if there is the excuse of a forest fire. Whether the rayats are at fault or no, the grazing fees are doubled and trebled and cattle have to be sold in payment of the fees. It is necessary to make the following changes in section 78 of the Forest Act :—(1) The words "vicinity of Forest" should be clearly defined. Even residents of places rhree or four miles off are prosecuted. (2) Information and knowledge. Those who give the information should take signatures of the people, otherwise poor rayats who do not know anything have to pay fines on the strength of evidence given by the Forest Guard and the Patel, the slave of the Forest Department. (3) It should be left to the option of the people to take advantage of the Forest privileges. (4) The section should not apply to women, children, old and crippled men.

Protest against the enhancement of V. P. P. charges.
Kesari (109), 31st Aug.

52. Commenting upon the enhancement of the V. P. charges, the *Kesari* writes :—The burden will not be felt much in the case of big transactions, but to impose it on transactions below Rs. 10 is to ask the people to stop making use of the V. P. system. The new burden will be felt much by the subscribers of newspapers and magazines. It is possible to defray the additional cost incurred by the revision of the Postal Department from out of profits the department makes; if not, let the insurance rates be increased. Why should the poor be made to suffer? The injustice will not be stopped till any increase in the rates, whether postal or railway or land assessment, is allowed only with the consent of the Legislative Councils.

Complaint that too many castes have been included under 'Maratha' in connection with the Council elections.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st Aug.

53. "The small concession given by the Joint Committee that Marathas, who are to have reserved seats in certain districts of the Bombay Presidency, may include allied castes, has been availed of to the full and perverted by the Government..... Already 28 castes have been declared to be Marathas, and the Government possesses the power of declaring any caste to be Maratha by a simple notification in the *Gazette*..... The wide extension of the privilege granted to the Marathas, to almost all the non-Brahmin castes, by the Bombay Government is unwarranted. It is unjust to the Marathas that Bhavins and Deolis should be classed as Marathas. Even Kasais (butchers) have been classed as Marathas. We do not know on what principle Government have arrogated to themselves the power of declaring any caste to be a Maratha caste..... They have not made a wise use of the caste glossary in the Census Report. Every caste that has anything to do even in the most remote way with Marathas, every caste that follows Maratha ways, every caste that follows a caste that follows Maratha ways,—all have been declared to be Maratha! Even castes that claim to be Brahminical have been so declared! The Government of Madras burnt their fingers badly by classing Surashtra Brahmins as non-Brahmins, and the Government of Bombay had better be careful in taking the task upon themselves of deciding whether a caste like Kasars and Sutars, who claim to be Brahmins, are Marathas or Brahmins. After such a mess, we shall not be surprised if Marathas themselves decline the privilege. ..... We trust the matter will be reconsidered, and that

Marathas will be taken to mean Marathas and not every caste which Government may like to describe as Maratha."

54. The *Swarâjya* complains against the residential qualification required from candidates who stand for election to the Legislative Council. It is all the more deplorable, it says, that candidates should be required to satisfy this condition when a liberal-minded ruler like Sir George Lloyd is at the head of this Presidency. It remarks that, in view of the restriction imposed, the elections ought to have been postponed till after January next, so that the candidates could have complied with it. It sarcastically inquires why the English are in such a hurry to give *swarâjya* to India when no such thought ever crossed their minds during the last hundred and fifty years. It then supplies the explanation by saying that the hurry must be due to the proposed, and since abandoned, visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It sneeringly remarks that the poor authorities in India did not know that the Prince's Australian visit had put too great a strain on him and that he was no longer fit to enjoy the doubtful welcome of the Indians. It declares that though it is a fact that Indians do want *swarâjya*, there is not much point in insisting that they should have it at the hands of the Prince of Wales alone, and it tells the authorities that they need not have made such a fuss over the reforms since the Indians have always regarded them as inadequate and disappointing.

Complaint against the residential qualification under the Bombay election rules.
Swarâjya ( ), 2nd Sept.

55. The dreaded Peace Treaty has been signed and become an accomplished fact. It sounds the death-knell of the culture, honour and status of Islam, a growth of 13 hundred years. Our petitions and prayers have been in vain. The long cherished desire of Christendom has been accomplished and that full-grown tree of Islam, nurtured with the blood of the Arabs and the Turks, has been uprooted. The Ottoman Khilafat is at an end and with the overthrow of that ancient Empire the Moslems have no place of refuge left them in the world. The sight is simply sickening to the Muhammadan. The question now arises what should Moslems do in order to revive the Khilafat of Islam? We have two alternatives before us. Either we must be prepared to live like the Jews or we must become true Mussalmans. In the latter case we shall have to prefer suffering to happiness and death to life. It is out of the question for us to live like the Jews. Our condition is infinitely worse than that of the Jews. Even in the matter of political power it seems that they are about to enter on a new phase in their existence. The greedy and not far-seeing nations of Europe have carved out a state for them in the holy land of Syria. But we have before us the pages of history. Nations have fallen and risen and we know how they have risen on their ruins. There is only one way in which we can pierce through the so many difficulties surrounding us. It is that we must firmly and resolutely practise non-co-operation with Government.

Comments on the signing of the Turkish Peace Treaty.
Al-Wahid (142), 25th Aug.

56. "So Egypt is at last free. After a great deal of bungling, British administrators have been practically forced to recognize Egyptian Independence and to sign a treaty of Alliance. The news will indeed be heartening to all subject nationalities struggling for a practical recognition of their birthright, but it is a little sickening to note, that it comes after England had exhausted all her arts of diplomacy and threats of the machine-gun. Yet the recognition of Egyptian Independence will form a landmark in the history of the world—secured as it is without a regular and deadly war. Welcome as it would have been at all times, it is all the more welcome at this particular juncture when world-thoughts and world-politics are dominated by an almost incurable greed for 'economic spheres of influence' and territorial 'mandates', and when practically the whole of the Asiatic and African world has been turned into a 'white-man's burden'."

Comments on the grant of independence of Egypt.
Gujarâtî Punch (20), 29th Aug., Eng. cols.

57. Commenting upon the grant of independence to Egypt, the *New Times* remarks:—"But the agreement is a compromise, not a recognition of complete independence. For Britian will continue to maintain a 'garrison in the Canal zone'. Britain, in other words, will continue to control the Suez Canal. It is the Suez Canal question which has, for several years, been the battle cry of Egyptian nationalists against England; and they will not be satisfied with that clause in the new Agreement which allows England the control of the Canal..... The exclusion of Egyptians from the management of the Canal is a feature of the new Argeement which cannot appeal to the Nationalists in that country. The cry of the Nationalists has been:—'Egypt for the Egyptians'; and they will regard the new Agreement as at best a stepping stone to better things in the coming years. The Agreement indicates at least one thing, Great Britain is finding it hard to maintain a bloated Empire by the doctrine of the sword. She is finding that she could stay in the East only by the consent of the people. Terrible experience is teaching men like Lords Curzon and Milner that their old doctrine of a White Empire cannot stand the compact of awakened nations of the so-called 'subject' countries. We are glad of the success that has attended the efforts of the Egyptian nationalists. And, in this connection, we are constrained to say that India would have secured a much better scheme of reforms, if the Nation had been more emphatic in demanding its rights, and if the Nationalist agitation had not been weakened by a split within the camp."

New Times (8), 29th Aug.

58. The Milner Mission was completely boycotted and it had no other alternative but to go back to England without being able to do anything. A far-seeing man like Lord Milner saw at once that the whole of Egypt was completely dominated by the idea that the 'protectorate' established during the war should be abolished and that Egypt should be altogether independent. He saw that discontent would increase if he stayed any longer in Egypt and he left for England and sought the permission of the British Ministry to open negotiations with Zaghlul Pasha. He realised that the days of bludgeon-rule had gone. The negotiations have been completed and the British Government have decided to grant independence to Egypt under certain conditions. We think Britain expected some danger from the destruction of the Turkish Empire and prepared itself with its usual sagacity to grant independence to Egypt. Sir Valentine Chirol and Lord Milner also might have influenced the decision. The flame of independence was lit in the hearts of all on account of the efforts of the Nationalist party. What lessons India should draw from the Egyptian happenings need not be told. [The *Ráj Hansa* writes:—Though it cannot be said that Egypt has got full independence, in very many respects the British Government have accepted Egyptian independence. The provinces of Mesopotamia and Syria also will one day have to be given up. Still the wicked desire of exploitation of foreign countries does not seem to have been completely given up by the grossly ambitious British. The *Karnatak Mitra* remarks:—The Egyptians were hungering for independence and the British satisfied them. We have not the real hunger and there are also no signs of a speedy satisfaction. God only knows when our misfortunes will end.]

Kesari (109), 31st Aug.; *Ráj Hansa* (84), 28th Aug.; *Karnatak Mitra* (38), 2nd Sept.

59. The news about the granting of independence to Egypt will give some measure of satisfaction to the Muhammadans, steeped as they are in gloom owing to the blow they have received in connection with the Khilafat question. Egypt has secured independence as a result of strenuous political agitation conducted during the past fifteen years by the Egyptians. Great Britain did all it could to suppress the movement, but she has at last to recognise the independence of Egypt with certain reservations. The events of the last two years go to show that the Egyptians are capable of making any sacrifices for securing independence and for the national honour. The Egyptians first showed their disaffection towards the British and then had

Political Bhomiyo (70), 3rd Sept.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 5th Sept., Eng. cols.

recourse to passive resistance. The British as usual resorted to strong measures and brought various difficulties in the way of the patriotic Egyptians. These patriots, however, firmly suffered incarceration and went through untold privations and sufferings for the cause they had embraced and at last have compelled England to recognise their natural birthright, namely, independence. The Egyptians have been able to break the bonds of servitude by remaining firm in their efforts to secure their goal. Blessed is that nation which does not hesitate to make any sacrifices for securing or maintaining its independence! [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"The recognition of the independence of Egypt by great Britain is an act both of wisdom and justice. It was unwise and unfair to curb the national spirit of a people who had for centuries been free and self-governing..... Now that justice has been done to Egypt, it is to be hoped that something will also be done for Ireland in order to free that unhappy country from the misery into which it has been plunged."]

Gujaráti (20), 29th Aug.

60. The Egyptians have triumphed at last, and Britain has recognised the independence of Egypt. It is expected that Ireland will be similarly dealt with. Will India alone be left to bear the yoke of subordination? India needs to be more wakeful. Strenuous efforts must be made to convert the present form of Government which is entirely under the control of foreign officials to one which would be responsible to Indians.

The position in Mesopotamia.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Sept.

61. "The *Times* comes out with a leading article on the Mesopotamian question and 'refers to the increasing gravity of the situation there owing to the spread of insurrection.' The fact must be faced that the Arabs have made up their minds to have nothing to do with the British, except at the point of the bayonet, and the sooner British and Indian soldiers are withdrawn from such surroundings the better for their safety which is being unnecesarily jeopardised."

Comments on the report that the Arabs in Mesopotamia are to be given the right of self-determination.

Mahrátta (7), 5th Sept.

***62.** "The declaration of the new Mesopotamian policy following, as it does, closely on the heels of the recognition of Egyptian independence convinces us that the Downing Street policy is bent upon springing surprises on the public. However, such surprises, be they never so sudden, are all to the good. If we are to believe the *Daily Express*—and there is no reason why we should not—the Arabs in Mesopotamia are to be given the right of self-determination. It is not at all creditable to the British Government that so much criminal sacrifice in men and money should be required to awaken them to the grievous folly of the no less grievous step they had taken regarding Mesopotamia. But so long reason was clouded by greedy imperialism and wiser counsels were thrown to the winds. For a time, imperialism may appear to succeed, but it is next to impossible to permanently dam the onward march of events."

Swarájya ( ), 2nd Sept.; *Rájakáran* (122), 29th Aug.

63. The English are leaving Mesopotamia because they had to spend a good deal of money there and because the Arabs began to kill them. The *Times* says the Arabs 'have made it plain that they do not want us'. But whoever wants foreigners to be in his country? It is not, therefore, surprising that the Arabs do not want the English to be in their country. What is surprising is that the English have become prepared to leave the country bag and baggage as soon as the Arabs made it plain that they do not want them! Up till now how many subject peoples must have made it plain to their foreign rulers that they did not want them! And how many foreign rulers have left the countries they conquered in compliance with such a demand? The policy hitherto pursued is to ignore all such demands and to stick to the country in opposition to the will of the people. The English are certainly deserving of praise for departing from this established practice. The English gave independence to Egypt as soon as the Egyptian nationalists made it plain that they did not want them to be in their country. In the wake of this event comes the news that Mesopotamia too

is to be given independence! This shows how very magnanimous the English have become of late! Is there anything to be wondered at if India expects to be similarly favoured when there is such a welcome change in the attitude of the English? India needs the protection of the English, but at the same time she wants something more real than the present reforms. Can anyone contend that Indians should not accept independence if the English were to give it to them? If there were any such Liberals in Egypt they would have dissociated themselves from Zaghlul Pasha and flatly refused to accept independence! They would have fought with the English most constitutionally and asked them what they meant by offering them independence when they had given their consent to a protectorate! Fortunately there are no such Liberals in Egypt at the present day! Otherwise these Liberals would not have allowed the misery of the poor English who are desirous of relieving themselves of the worries of the vast Empire to be diminished even by an iota. God grant that no one may have such friends! [The *Rdjakdran* says that since the English have given complete independence to Egypt, they should give India at least the full rights of *swardjya*.]

64. "The insane idea of carrying on a war with Russia through Persia, if it is still entertained in any responsible quarters, had better be abandoned. Such a side show will have no effect and will end only in costly commitments which Britain can ill-afford at present. As the *Times* says, so long as England is in Persia she cannot get out of Mesopotamia and she must wash her hands of Mesopotamia. The best way is to get out of both. After all, what is the use of Britain forcing herself on countries which do not appreciate at all her 'civilising' processes and which only want to be left to themselves? We note that a military correspondent of the *Times* harps on the strategic importance of Mesopotamia. Mesopotamia has indeed a strategic importance. But a Mesopotamia free from any domination by Britain, but in friendly relations with her, will be a source of infinitely greater strength than a Mesopotamia 'occupied' by British troops. The insane South African policy of repression which the correspondent advocates will only bring in disasters to Britain."

England should get out of both Persia and Mesopotamia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th September.

65. The British Government are afraid of the Bolshevist propaganda spreading to this country. With a view to prevent this, the negotiations that are now proceeding between the Bolsheviks and the British Government, among other things, provide that no party shall attack the principles of government of the other and that the Bolsheviks shall hereafter refrain from any propaganda calculated to encourage the people of Asia to take any step against the British. The British Government from the pride of power are unable to realise that the strongest bulwark of British rule in India is not an understanding with the Bolsheviks but the contentment of the people of the country. If the Bureaucracy of India were to repent of its past actions and to change its ways, the danger from the Bolsheviks would be a thing to be despised.

What the Bureaucracy should do to stop Bolshevism spreading to India.
Bharatvasi (143), 19th Aug.

66. Very few English soldiers are being used in the small wars that are being waged since the end of the great war. The British public are tired of war and they do not hesitate to curb the zeal of their statesmen whenever they are inclined to be bellicose. The Colonies have called back all their soldiers. It is only the Indian solders that go to fight in foreign lands in the interests of the British Empire. Evidently the expenditure incurred on these expeditions must be falling on the Indian exchequer. It is difficult to understand why the statesmen who had proclaimed that the great war was being fought to end all wars are now obliged to engage in hostilities. Indians are incurring the odium of other nations as they are being constantly employed to serve the interests of the Empire in every part of the world. Our British rulers do not show as much anxiety to foster our martial instincts as they do to use us on foreign fields of battle.

How Indians are being made to incur the odium of other nations.
Indu Prakásh (44), 2nd Sept.

LEGISLATION.

67. Protesting against the Coinage Bill, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—

Comments on the Coinage Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 1st Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 2nd and 3rd Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 3rd Sept.

Government propose to fix the price of the Sovereign at Rs. 10 and thereby to depreciate the Currency. The result of this will be that the agriculturist and producers of this country will have to suffer a great loss. The export trade will sustain a heavy loss and the burden of the loss will fall on the agriculturists of this country. Of course, the import trade will profit by the proposed change, but the exports of India exceed her imports and hence the loss on the whole will be very high. The agriculturists of India who live in a miserable condition and who are always found to be in debt will sink deeper into debt by this policy of Government. There is no exaggeration in the Honourable Mr. R. D. Tata's anticipation that the country will reach the verge of starvation by this policy. The problem of the currency policy is the most important of all problems, but unfortunately the leaders are not able to devote the necessary attention to it on account of the poltical unrest prevailing in the country, and Government are intent upon pursuing such a ruinous policy regardless of the unanimous protest raised against it by the commercial community of India. The currency policy of Government affects the people of India and yet no heed is paid to popular opinion. The whole history of the currency policy of the Government of India proves beyond doubt that it is intended to put the interests of the British and foreign trader above the interests of the Indian merchant. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that His Excellency the Viceroy's argument against Mr. Tata's motion was mere jugglery in words and proceeds:—There is no reason why this Bill should not be reserved for being brought before the reformed Legislative Council. To us, the hasts with which Government mean to carry it through is inexplicable. We wish that Government would yet show public spirit and postpone the Bill for the present, because the passing of it, as Mr. Tata pointed out, will ruin the country. In the subseqùent issue the paper reiterates that the country will be ruined by the policy of Government and remarks that the proposed depreciation of the currency is a device for indirectly enhancing the taxation of the country. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* congratulates the Honourable Mr. Tata on his protest against the Bill and points out that the people of India regret it extremely that Government should take a leap in the dark by adopting the proposed policy.]

***68.** "The foolhardy precipitancy with which the Government of India have tried to carry out the recommendation of the Babington-Smith Committee and the immense loss the country has sustained therefrom are matters of common knowledge now. The Government is not awake to the enormous change of circumstances since the publication of the report, and are striving much, at the cost of India, to maintain the exchange at 2 shillings. The policy of Reverse Councils has failed as it was bound to. The arguments of the Honourable the Finance Member are not at all convincing. The alteration of the ratio with which the teeming millions of India are familiar will give them a rude shock and will bring on the country a great economic disaster. In all such matters the return-to-nature policy ought to be followed. It is preposterous to try to key up the exchange rate as it would be preposterous to make water run uphill. Legislatures, according to Burke, must follow, and not force, public opinion. But what can legislatures do when they are driven by an irresponsible Executive? That Executive which does not listen to and execute the expressed will of the whole nation has no right to exist. Will the bureaucracy go?"

Mahrátta (7), 5th Sept.

69. "The Finance Member had practically little to say regarding the failure of the Government to make exchange stable in spite of their wasteful sales of reverse councils, and he had no defence to put forward for their hurry in legalising an exchange rate which has not prevailed and does not prevail.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Sept.

His narration of the history of the exchange and currency developments of the first year or two was a twice-told tale which could not enlighten or edify the public because it missed the real issue. The supposed interests of 'the masses' constitute an ancient plea which is too worn out to be of any use. Government have no justification for overriding responsible public opinion and foisting upon the country a currency policy which it does not want and which will be a disastrous blow to its economic interests, Why should they not leave the question to be decided by the new Council? The 'reformed' legislature may be trusted to take a correct view of the question of currency and exchange which is to-day involved in uncertainty and doubt. For the Government to commit the country to their pet policy in an off-hand, hurried and high-handed manner, in the teeth of pronounced popular opposition, and on the eve of the inauguration of the 'new era,' is to do worse than injustice to the people."

*70. In the course of a contributed article the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"At the last Session of the Imperial Legislative Council there were introduced several measures intimately affecting the currency situation in India. The nature of these measures, coupled with the bitter experience of currency experiments of our official financiers, renders these proposals more controversial, more embittered, more suspected and suspicious than perhaps any other proposition of recent times in the official or non-official programme..... There is every reason to apprehend that, unless the widest possible opposition is roused against such ill-advised measures, they will shortly become law with all their inevitable consequences of financial misery and economic distress."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 5th Sept.

*71. "The Select Committee's report on the Imperial Bank Bill was passed. In spite of the suggestion of Mr. Bomanji and the Indian Merchants' Chamber adequate provision is not made for Indian representation on the Central Board. Our conviction is that a State Bank which is, to all intents and purposes, in the leading strings of, or at least substantially controlled by, Government is bound to fail of its purpose. The Government, ought to pursue strictly the hands-off policy and allow the Bank to evolve itself. The Government, of course trots forth the much-too-hackneyed arguments that the Indians have not got the exceptional aptitude for managing the 'engine of finance'. Probably it is true; but must we not learn by mistakes, even by failures? Of course, when we say that Government should not control the Bank we do not mean that they should have no voice in the direction of the Bank's policy. All the governmental functions which are administered in other free countries by State Banks must be entrusted to this Bank, and even the Government balances must be left with them. The Government of India have meddled over much with Indian financial matters and have caused an injury to the country's finances unparalleled in other countries. The sooner the full-fledged Bank sees the light of day, the better for India."

Comments on the Imperial Bank Bill.
Mahratta (7), 5th Sept.

72. Referring to the Indian Auxiliary Force and Territorial Force Bills the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"Anglo-Indians and Europeans are given special privileges. Indians, under these schemes, are admissible only to the Infantry Branch. Clause eleven of what we may call the Indian Bill gives the power to inflict two months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of two hundred rupees or both for the contravention of an order. In certain cases there is no right even of appeal. No wonder that Mr. Shastri adds: 'When both the Bills are published side by side, the public will look aghast at the differences in the two enactments thus tending to accentuate bitterness already existing'. We cannot expect the Commander-in-Chief to remember so ancient a document as Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858. But we expect the authorities to remember at least their own words uttered during the war. Two years ago complaints were made by certain non-official members of the Imperial Council in regard to racial discriminations embodied

Indian Auxiliary Force and Territorial Force Bills.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Sept.

in the Indian Defence Force Bill. The Government explained then that it was but an emergency measure and all difficulties could only be satisfactorily settled after the war. We know now how these difficulties are being settled after the war. Racial distinctions for Indians in other lands are bad enough. Derogatory racial distinctions for Indians in their own country are an outrage..... Both the Bills should be opposed tooth and nail, and non-official members have no right to commit the country to the acceptance of measures which perpetuate the insult of racial bar. If it is not possible to consolidate the two Bills into one, placing Indians and Europeans on an equal footing, during this session, the country would rather do without the dubious concession and wait for a new measure conceived on courageous and statesmanlike lines, to be introduced into the Legislative Assembly."

*73. "The most notable, and from the Indian point of view the most objectionable, feature of the bills is the underlying principle of racial discrimination which seeks to divide a force recruited for the same purpose into two distinct and well-marked units..... The object of the two bills is to form an adequate defence force recruited on a voluntary basis to cope with internal disorders and to prepare a second line of defence against external aggression. This being an object common to His Majesty's Indian and European subjects alike we fail to understand, and every reasonable person will fail to understand, the necessity for creating two separate forces under two separate enactments. No wonder that considerable bitterness was imported into the discussion and the bill was subjected to a volley of criticism by the non-official members of the Council. An idea of the unequal treatment that is sought to be meted out to the two different forces will be easily gathered from a comparison of the two bills..... The government of Lord Chelmsford, autocratic as it is, has lost a noble opportunity of evoking popular enthusiasm that the consolidation of the two bills into one would have produced."

Mahrátta (7), 5th Sept.

74. "The debate on the Auxiliary Bill in the Viceregal Council was characterised by some plain speaking on the part of Indian members..... The Commander-in-Chief resented Mr. Sastri's remarks and said for four years he had done much to satisfy Indian military ambitions! Is the Auxiliary Force Bill, which is intended for Europeans and Eurasians, a measure of His Excellency's sympathy? Is the Indian Territorial Force Bill a measure of His Excellency's sympathy? The former is conceived in a spirit of liberality and generosity. The latter is a narrow-minded illiberal measure thrown like a bone at a barking dog. Yet the Commander-in-Chief disclaims the thought of racial discriminations entering his mind! There was distinct disinclination expressed in General Monroe's speech to push through the Indian Territorial Force Bill, if it met with concentrated opposition. Indians will, according to the Bill, be enlisted in the Territorial Force as infantrymen; but enlistment in the cavalry, the artillery, and the air forces will be completely denied them. Talk of equal partnership in the British Commonwealth!"

New Times (8), 3rd Aug.

75. A complaint was made by Mr. Khaparde and others as to why distinctions were made between the two recruiting Bills, Indian Auxiliary Force Bill and Indian Territorial Force Bill. The wonder would have been if the distinction between whites and blacks maintained everywhere was not observable in a reserved department like the military. It is not possible to compare them both by sections as the second Bill is not out. But it is unquestionable that the concessions allowed to European volunteers are not allowed to Indians. Indians are to be admitted only into the infantry, whereas Europeans will be allowed to join the cavalry and artillery sections. Any Magistrate may inquire into cases against Indian offenders, but in the case of European offenders, only First Class Magistrates and Presidency Magistrates can inquire. Moreover, the Bill concerning Europeans will be passed hastily in the present sessions and the case of Indians is to be referred to the coming Council. Racial prejudices are to be observed thus in various

Kesari (109), 31st Aug.; *Lokasangraha* (112), 4th Sept.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 1st Sept.

respects in these two measures. Still Babu Surrendranath Banerjee and Sir Deoprasad Sarvadhicary were bursting with enthusiasm and enthusiastically welcomed the Bill. The formal assurance was given by the Commander-in-Chief that all objections would be considered in the Select Committee ; but no Indian member who had raised objections was included in the Select Committee. This solicitude of Government for co-operation is worth noting. [The *Lokasangraha* also makes similar remarks, and declares that the raising of the new forces means that Government are going to continue the employment of the Indian standing army outside India for aggressive purposes. It remarks that so long as the English continue to show such racial pride as underlies the two measures, the permanency of British rule in India will not be assured. It insists that both the forces must be made subject to the same law without racial distinction. The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—Not only are there colour distinctions but also inequalities in the two Bills and, therefore, the new scheme has not evoked confidence and sympathy as it ought to have. The policy observed by Government is that one-third of the standing army in India must be European. But Government should immediately change it liberally in the matter of volunteers. We hope that the Select Committee will so revise the Bill that there would be no room for any objections.]

76. Commenting upon the Auxiliary Force Bill and the Indian Territorial Force Bill, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—Any scheme of raising an Indian force on a voluntary basis in order that India may be able to stand on her own legs against invasions from outside and rebellions in the country itself is no doubt welcome at a time when the glorious British Government desires to put India on the path of Self-Government under the Reforms Act. But the Bills introduced by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in the Imperial Legislative Council by which it is proposed to put such a scheme into operation have greatly disappointed the Indian public. While under the Auxiliary Forces Bill it is proposed to raise an European force only, an Indian force is going to be raised under the Indian Territorial Forces Bill. This arrangement is evidently calculated to differentiate between the two communities, and is, therefore, highly objectionable as such. Again, there is a world of difference between rights and concessions which are proposed to be granted to the Europeans on the one hand and those to be granted to the Indians on the other. In such matters as training, pay and rank, the Europeans will enjoy invidious superiority over the Indians. Why should such an injustice be done to the sons of India who are among the loyal subjects of the British Empire when it is proposed to raise an army for the defence of their own country? That such treatment should give rise to discontent and disaffection in the country is evident. The protest entered by the Honourable Mr. Sastri against the Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council is an exact echo of the Indian feeling in the matter. We should not wonder if the whole country is stirred up againt such a policy at a time when the minds of the Indians are highly grieved on account of the Punjáb wrong and the Khilafat question. It is, therefore, necessary that the two Bills should be combind into one so as to confer equal rights on both the Indians and the Europeans not only in the army but also in the navy. We hope that the popular representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council will not be led away by their differences in other matters, and we expect that they will do their duty by the people in the matter of protecting the best interests of the country.

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 30th Aug.

***77.** Commenting on the Select Committee's report on the Bombay Port Trust Act Amendment Bill, the *Gujaráti* remarks:—"We are glad the Port Trust has not been allowed to start a hotel business on a grand scale in the interests of European traders and merchants to the neglect of other pressing duties and responsibilities which the Board has not yet been able to discharge..... The Bill has been amended so as to enable the Trust to construct waiting and refreshment rooms, including temporary sleeping

Bombay Port Trust Act Amendment Bill.
Gujaráti (18), 5th Sept., Eng. cols.

accommodation, and other necessary buildings. No one wishes to subject European passengers to such intolerable hardships as are daily inflicted upon Indian passengers by rail and sea, and we are glad that the Committee have unanimously chosen to emulate the 'obstructive' example set by the Honourable Mr. Purshottamdas and cut down the scope of the Bill in the way above indicated."

NATIVE STATES.

78. Referring to the Kolhápur Circular about the origin of Brahmins, the *Kesari* writes:—Some respectable Brahmins of the Southern Mahratta Country referred the matter to the British Resident and Political Agent, Kolhápur, and asked for redress; the request was in some ways useful. The case went up to the Bombay Government and the Resident has informed the petitioners that the order was private and that no publication was meant and that the Maharaja regrets the publication and that the British Government will see to it that such things do not recur. It is worth noting, however, that the Maharaja regrets only the publication of the Circular. He does not feel any regret for issuing the mischievous order. It was but expected. How can he feel any regret? But Brahmins have nothing to do with his private feelings. Their complaint is about a public exhibition of them and its consequences. It is well and sufficient if the British Government attends to the complaint and removes it. Just as the Maharaja has a right to form an opinion about the Brahmins, the latter also have a similar right regarding him. But there are some gentlemanly and legal limits to be observed by both in giving expression to the feelings. As there are some special difficulties in this particular case in the way of invoking legal assistance, both have to depend entirely on gentlemanliness. Therefore, we have to request both the Maharaja and his critics to remember that there is no glory and utility in wounding the feelings of adversaries and transgress the bounds of polite conduct. Brahmins must feel respect for the Maharaja because of the title of Chhatrapati he bears and the House to which he belongs, and they do feel that way. But it is not possible to continue to have this regard if the Maharaja forgets his status and behaves like a vulgar mischief-monger.

The Maharaja of Kolhapur's Circular about origin of Brahmins.
Kesari (109), 31st Aug.

79. "Disgusted Indorian" writes to the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"For about a year now, some strange cases of abductions of goodlooking respectable middle class ladies are taking place in Indore, Central India. The victim disappears during night and is found lying unconscious in some corner near her place of residence in the morning. In a year's time about twenty such cases have occurred, and it is believed that the Police have got a clue but that they cannot take any action as the perpetrators of these most indecent and outrageous deeds are backed by some persons in higher circles! That such cases are occurring is a fact of my own personal knowledge, and if the above rumour be true it reflects a great discredit upon the administration of the State. People outside the State know very little about such occurrences and are always misled by the reports of administration garbed in high flown language. I am writing this to you with the hope that publicity of such outrages may have some effect of checking them".

Alleged abductions of respectable middle class ladies in Indore.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Sept.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 11th September 1920.

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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the adoption of Mr. Gandhi's resolution on non-co-operation by the Special Congress.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 12th Sept.

*1. "The net result of the voting is that while 1,826 delegates were for Mr. Gandhi's resolution, 804 were for Mr. Pal's amendment, over 100 though present at the meeting did not vote either way, and 3,041 of the registered delegates preferred to absent themselves from the Congress. We can only explain the abstention of these 3,041 gentlemen as meaning that they were neither for Mr. Gandhi's proposition nor for Mr. Pal's amendment, but that they did not care to incur the odium of voting against both in open Congress. This is not the best form of courage, but is about the average one can expect of 3,000 persons without efficient organisation or leadership..... Unfortunately, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya chose to compromise on Mr. Pal's amendment, thus depriving the majority of the delegates who were against the resolution and the amendment of the only leadership possible in the circumstances..... The analysis of the voting above clearly shows that the resolution of the Special Congress on non-co-operation does not represent the opinion of the country. We leave out of account the complaint in some quarters about elections to the Subjects Committee, though one of the most definite of the allegations of 'packing' comes from a staunch Congress journal, the *Hindu* of Madras, edited by the redoubtable Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar..... Sweeping aside all these allegations, and taking the voting at its face value, he would be a hardy—not to say, foolhardy—person who claims that the nearly 2,000 persons who voted for Mr. Gandhi's resolution more truly represent the national attitude to non-co-operation than the nearly 4,000 delegates who either stayed away on the day of voting or voted against it or remained neutral..... What is the exact significance of the proceedings relating to non-co-operation at the Special Congress? It is this. The country is thoroughly disgusted with the present Government of India, here and in England, and though it feels that non-co-operation—Mr. Gandhi's no less than Lord Chelmsford's—is the 'most foolish of all foolish schemes,' it does not care to set itself openly against it, in view of its being conceived as a means—though a futile one—of demonstrating the resentment which the country undoubtedly feels for the unredressed wrongs inflicted on it..... The people have lost faith in what is known as constitutional agitation, so much so that the leaders who still believe in it and who still wish to be known as leaders, have to clothe their counsels of constitutional agitation in some glaringly unconstitutional garb. The responsibility for bringing about this extremely difficult position rests, to a large extent, with Government. The graceful retirement of Lord Chelmsford from the Viceroyalty during the months since the publication of the Secretary of State's despatch on the Punjáb question would have nipped non-co-operation in the bud. Since his lordship did not see his way to take that step, His Majesty's Government should have recalled him if they cared more for the peace of the Indian Empire than for the susceptibilities of His Excellency..... No Indian, Liberal, Radical or non-party, can possibly say a word for Government in the face of these things. But the resolution which the Congress has adopted is no remedy for them as the country will very soon find out. The Special Congress resolution on non-co-operation marks the zenith of Mr. Gandhi's influence. The reaction will begin as soon as those who voted for it realise in the privacy of their homes what it is that they have undertaken to do. In twelve months from now Mr. Gandhi will have reason to sympathise with Mrs. Besant when she sadly recalls that in 1917 she was the idol of the nation. The only thing that can interrupt this non-co-operation in its march to its inevitable doom, is precipitate action on the part of Government to suppress it..... We deplore as much as Mr. Gandhi that Mr. Lloyd George's pledge regarding Thrace and Asia Minor has not been kept but, supposing it had been kept or that the Peace terms with Turkey are so modified now as to be in conformity*

with it, we cannot see that it will, or should, in the least affect the claim of India to full responsible Government. Nor is it right to imply, as the resolution does, that it will be the duty of a responsible Government of India to restore the Khilafat in Turkey. We are most anxious to promote Hindu-Muhammadan unity, but we do not believe that any unity will be lasting except it be founded wholly and solely on the realisation by both sides of their common destinies in India itself. India has never assumed in the past, nor can she assume in the future, a one-sided protectorate over foreign States which recognise no corresponding duties towards her. The way in which the Turkish Empire has been hacked to pieces is a grievous wrong, but to describe it as 'a religious calamity' that has overtaken Indian Musalmans, is an unpardonable abuse of language..... Those who encourage the notion that the Indian Musalman has suffered a 'religious calamity' by the fate of Turkey, are playing with fire..... The other reason given in the Congress resolution for *Swarájya* relates to the Punjáb excesses and the failure of the authorities to punish their perpetrators..... The great end of *Swarájya* ought not to be compassed by means of exaggerations and half-truths. The system of Government in British India has many and serious defects and we have never minced words in calling attention to them with a view to their elimination. But that system does not rest on the occasional perpetration of massacres such as that at Jallianwala and the very horror and indignation aroused by that disastrous episode in India and England, is the best proof of it..... We are sure that many members of the bureaucracy will rejoice if Mr. Gandhi's resolution puts an end to the institution of lawyers. The greatest difference of opinion in the Congress centered on the boycott of the new Legislative Councils, which Mr. Gandhi's resolution insists upon. We have stated above our opinion that the reforms are unworkable as they stand. The position of Minister will be far less dignified, useful and independent than that of a Member of Council at present..... The Services are practically outside the influence of the Ministers or the Legislature under the reform. In these circumstances, though we cannot support the boycott of the Councils as a branch of non-co-operation, we do not think that the application of this item of the programme will do much harm. A membership of the Legislature does not seem to be worth the time and trouble involved in getting it and keeping it. The new Councils will not afford greater opportunities of public usefulness than work outside."

*2. *Gujarâti* (18), 12th Sept., Eng. cols.

"The circumstance that 53 per cent. of the delegates could not vote or did not care to do so detracts not a little from the value of the final result of the voting announced by the Congress president. We have on several occasions pointed out that the present constitution of the Congress is anomalous, because there is no limit whatsoever to the number of delegates that can be elected by any district or province, or can attend the Congress. Until that is prescribed, even the system of voting by provinces loses much of its value. The statement we have compiled shows how disproportionately the different provinces were represented at the time of actual voting. The third circumstance that cannot be ignored is that most of the prominent leaders of the Congress were against Mr. Gandhi's motion. It must be conceded that the part he took in the debate and the great qualities he displayed in presenting his case and meeting his opponents reflects the highest credit on him..... But we hope Mr. Gandhi has now realised, in view of the wide and sharp divergences of opinion even amongst the foremost leaders on the question of non-co-operation that it is after all not a matter to be decided by an appeal to his conscience alone but on a careful consideration of the stern realities of the situation in India which even he had to reckon with and appeal to in his speeches and arguments..... Fourthly, it is the easiest thing in the world to vote in favour of non-co-operation or to be jubilant over the success of his motion. But as Mr. Gandhi has over and over again pointed out, non-co-operation is not at all a matter of bombastic resolution on paper, but of actual practice and honest conduct. Those who are disposed to think that the Congress has done a grand thing by passing Mr. Gandhi's resolution will do well to ask themselves, before allowing themselves to be carried away by

their feelings, how many items out of his programme they are themselves prepared to carry out. That will be the real test of the genuine sincerity and validity of one's convictions..... Before we begin to dance with joy over Mr. Gandhi's triumph, let us all emulate Mr. Gandhi's honesty of character and love of truth, cross-examine our conscience and ascertain what part of his programme we are sincerely ready and willing to give affect to. ..... If there is no truthful and satisfactory answer to this question, Mr. Gandhi's resolution is bound to be an unmitigated sham and delusion in the present circumstances of the country..... This does not mean that the wrongs and grievances from which this country and the Moslem community have been suffering are not real and do not call for some remedy. But it is no use deceiving ourselves with vain delusions and phantoms or empty phrases and shibboleths. In this connection we may usefully refer to the excellent suggestion wired by the Honourable Mr. Paranjpe to the Congress President. 'The Congress,' he says, 'before passing the non-co-operation resolution should prepare a detailed questionaire, asking each delegate to state in writing what personal acts of non-co-operation he solemnly binds himself to carry out immediately. The answers should be examined by experts, tabulated and published. The question of Non-co-operation should be decided after seeing the results of this inquiry, otherwise they will vote in the excitement of the moment, expecting every body else to carry out the programme.' We really wish such a test had or could have been applied on the spot to the Congress delegates at Calcutta, or could be applied even now to them as well as the rest of the public before the annual session of the Congress is held in December next. Within the next few weeks elections to the Councils will be held and it will be interesting to see how many of those, who tried to impose the views of the Amritsar Congress regarding the reforms upon all on pain of not being supported in their candidature for seats in the Legislative Councils and got the Provincial and District Conferences to pass similar resolutions with the help of the majority on their side, are now going to abide by the resolution of the Congress without questioning its wisdom, reasonableness or feasibility. The hour of actual trial has come quite near and it remains to be seen how Congressmen throughout the country are going to face it..... Will they obey or disobey the Congress?..... If the verdict of the Congress is respected, its prestige will be kept up for a time, but not without the most disastrous consequences to the political life of the country so far as it is reflected in the Indian Councils. If it is not respected, Mr. Gandhi's resolution will be reduced to nothing better than a downright farce from the very outset. Such is the serious dilemma in which the country has now been placed?"

3. The question of non-co-operation was engaging the attention of the people during the last several weeks and the Congress has now announced its decision in the matter in clear terms. The Congress has accepted Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation programme and the Extremists who have always misled the people by only accepting its principle without ever entertaining any idea of translating their professions into practice, sustained a crushing defeat. It is not surprising that this defeat should infuriate the Extremists and that they should even threaten to secede from the Congress. It is much to be regretted that the acceptance by the Congress of the programme of non-co-operation will now cause its bark to drift and this unfortunate country will be deprived of the splendid lead given by that body during the last 30 or 35 years. When the Extremists captured the Congress on the strength of their majority it was predicted that some such calamity would one day befall that body. Their regrets will not avail the Extremists now. They are reaping the fruits of their own sins. As for ourselves we are sorry for the Congress. It has been obliged to accept Mahatma Gandhi's creed and so it has deviated from the course it had once marked out for itself. It has lost its utility and it will no longer be able to give the lead in constitutional movements. Although the Congress represented only one party its creed was not interfered with up till now. But the Calcutta Congress was prepared even to abandon it. By accepting the principle and programme of non-co-operation the Congress has brought about a regrettable

Dnyán Prakásh (17), 11th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 10th and 11th Sept.

change in its ideal and its mode of work. The people are opposed to non-co-operation. The Muhammadans also do not appear to be particularly keen about it. Some items in Mahatma Gandhi's programme are impracticable and some are even of a revolutionary character. We are still hopeful that the Extremists will express their adherence to the Congress creed and co-operate with the Moderates in trying to wean the people from the idea of abandoning a course that experience has proved to be the right one. [The *Indu Prakásh* is sure that the decision of the Congress will not in any way affect the situation since it is open to those who do not agree with Mr. Gandhi either to co-operate with Government or to remain neutral. According to it, the acceptance of Mr. Gandhi's programme by the Congress was not due to his popularity but the disregard shown of late by Government for popular opinion. Instead of saying, remarks the paper, that the Congress asked the people to have recourse to non-co-operation it would be more correct to say that the reactionary policy of Government drove them to resort to it. In a subsequent issue the paper says that the resolution of the Congress shows how very tired the people are of the present system of government. It tells Government that unless they change their policy the programme of non-co-operation which is impracaticble to-day will be made practicable at some future date.]

4. Mr. Gandhi's resolution on non-co-operation has been passed in the Special Congress by a large majority. Had the Moderates possessed the wisdom to which they lay claim, they would have mustered strong and helped to safeguard the interests of the people. A large number of the delegates consider Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation as injurious to the country and it is to be regretted that their attempts to reduce its harmfulness have met with failure. It is our firm opinion that Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation is unsuited and harmful to the country. Mr. Malaviya was right in his contention that *Swarájya* for India can best be secured by entering the Councils and not by boycotting them. [The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—It is to be regretted that an amendment to adjourn the consideration of the resolution on non-co-operation till the sitting of the next Congress was not accepted by the Special Congress. It can now scarcely be said that the Congress represents the views of the Indian people on the subjects of non-co-operation and boycott. There is very little chance of the resolution being put into practice and this will act as an eye-opener to those who have taken the responsibility of getting it passed. The people have now realised that those very leaders who indulge in loud talk about democratic institutions have shown themselves lacking in the courage, patience and tact necessary to lead the people and that they have taken their stand on a bare majority of votes and have thus ignored the very essentials of democracy. The people will be quite justified in disregarding the resolution that has thus been passed in the name of the Congress. The *Shri Venkateshwar* wishes that the consideration of the resolution on non-co-operation had been postponed and endorses the views of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on the subject. The paper expresses fear that the difference of opinion on the resolution will cause another split in the Congress.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 10th Sept.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 10th Sept.; *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* (81), 10th Sept.

5. "The decision, to which the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League have jointly arrived, in accepting Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation, brings in relief this fact that for the first time in its history the Indian nation has determined to make the present its own. What is the decision?..... It is not enough to say that it is epochmaking or that it will become one of the historic decisions in the annals of man. All we can say is this that the country has broken through the fog of illusion and found the path of reality..... Lala Lajpatrai nearly approached an adequate estimate of this decision when he said that this country had after all found its soul. And every patriotic heart will rejoice that the discovery has come. The discovery is India's answer to the challenge of the forces of economic imperialism and militarism.....

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Sept.

We have, on previous occasions, insisted on the point that whatever the decision of the Congress, the country was bound to follow it. And we insist on this to-day, that the country is in honour bound to carry the decision of the Congress into effect..... The stage of discussion has passed and the stage of action has arrived and the country must stand united at this hour..... The President, in his closing speech, gave full expression to the national mind when he said that in his judgment the programme of non-co-operation should be proceeded with..... The omission of the boycott of Councils from Mr. Gandhi's programme would have been welcome as well as, as we think, advisable and necessary, but because this has not been agreed to no split in the Congress need be anticipated..... If Mr. Gandhi had yielded on the point, as we think he ought to have done, there would not have been any insuperable difficulties even in the way of an unanimous resolution on the question of non-co-operation..... It would be more politic as well as useful to attack the bureaucratic citadel from inside as well as outside..... The far-reaching implications of the boycott of Councils and of foreign goods were, we are afraid, not fully realised by the majority of the Congress. In fact, while we insist that the Congress having come to a decision, the country must accept it, we cannot help giving expression to a feeling of keen disappointment that sufficient time was not given to the country to examine the practical forms of non-co-operation that were proposed..... We have to break with the past of illusion. But the break to be successful should not be too sudden. As Mr. Jinnah said, it was necessary to take stock of the country. And it would have been a great tactical gain to have given notice to the British Government in the clearest terms possible. And taking all things into consideration, the time that had been given for washing off, to use the expressive phraseology of the President, what we had written for so many years, was very inadequate..... The boycott of schools and colleges will be gradual, and Mr. Gandhi has done well in yielding on these points to the general opinion..... We fully agree with Lala Lajpatrai that before we have national education, we must have national Government and that we do not want to be a copy of the ancient Indians..... Nor do we think the gradual withdrawal of lawyers from practice is feasible, though we fully endorse the view that arbitration courts should be evolved. However, it has to be noted that the declaration of non-co-operation is a temporary phase. It is not contemplated that India should live perpetually in a state of non-co-operation. The idea is certainly not of evolving a State within a State. The object is to compel the State to accept the united demands of the nation. Any temporary inconvenience caused by non-co-operation should, therefore, joyously be suffered by the nation. We have already expressed our view that no one should go to Mesopotamia in any capacity..... As to the boycott of foreign goods, really speaking there was no need for any separate declaration in this respect, because it is implied in Swadeshi. A complete boycott of foreign goods is impracticable and an effective substitute would have been the acceptance of Mr. Pal's suggestion of the gradual withdrawal of Indian capital from European banks and such other industrial and commercial concerns in India as are controlled by Europeans and the withdrawal of Indian labour from such concerns. However, the die has been cast. And, as Lala Lajpatrai urges, the only course left open for us is to proceed with the programme and make it a success. It is a perfectly constituitonal struggle, Mr. Gandhi having wisely withdrawn some items the legality of which was open to question..... The Congress has adopted non-violent non-co-operation, and it should be given a fair chance and opportunity to work it for the perfectly legitimate objects it has set out to secure, undisturbed by the bureaucracy. Hitherto the bureaucracy has adopted a neutral attitude, though fulminating dire threats. It would do well to continue the same policy of neutrality..... The only thing that the bureaucracy should do is to abstain from any interference with the movement. Another objection may be raised from quite a different point of view. What if disorder is promoted by the enemies of the movement and those interested in the continuance of the bureaucratic regime? What if Mr. Gandhi again suspends the movement? In the first case the movement can in no way

be held responsible. The utmost care should be taken, however, to guard against all such machinations. As for the second objection, the movement is no longer in the hands of Mr. Gandhi alone. It is now a Congress League movement, and though Mr. Gandhi would be the most prominent leader of non-co-operation, he would work under the Congress League..... We have seen what blessings it (non-co-operation) can bring in its train, in the case of Egypt. Let the nation now rise to the opportunity and carry out the programme sanctioned and authorised by the National Assembly. Let there be no division in the ranks of Congressmen and let all unite, non-co-operators as they are, whatever be their differences, and the success of the movement is assured."

*6. "After expending upon the work before it an amount of labour and thought, commensurate only with the magnitude of the task and the splendour and paramount importance of the result, the famous assembly has delivered an authoritative pronouncement which, if fittingly and courageously carried out, is full of the highest possibilities of good to the Indian nation, striving, with might and main, to be free, self-governing and capable of holding up its head with the best of them in the comity of nations. Never before in the history of the Indian Nationalist movement did a more desperate situation stare the country in the face; never was the Indian National assembly called upon to deal with more momentous questions; never were leaders forced to act with a greater sense of responsibility; and never, never did the rank and file of the nation look forward to the decisions of the Congress with more intensely anxious minds. The air has now been cleared up and a verdict worthy of the glorious traditions of the unofficial Parliament of India, is given..... None will deny, unless of course he harbours a deep-seated animosity to the Congress, that it has faced the gravest and most precipitate of all grave and precipitate situations fairly, squarely and gracefully. The way of meeting the crisis is not new..... Once in 1906 the nation had had to encounter a situation bearing close resemblance to the present..... But in those comparatively milder circumstances the Congress confined itself almost to the same principles and measures, *viz.*, Self-Government within the British Empire, Swadeshi, national education and boycott. And the Special Congress of Calcutta, under its vastly changed circumstances, and at a time when public feeling against the governmental system was running tremendously high, could satisfy itself with nothing less and nothing more than the same or similar measures, now comprehended under the term of Non-co-operation. It was full well convinced that all other human means of wheel-barrowing the Government were tried and found hopelessly wanting. The Congress discovered that the steeled bureaucracy had entrenched itself behind impregnable ramparts against which wordy bomb-shells flung by the indignant public could avail naught. The indignation burning in the hearts of the people, when sought to be suppressed, grew more and more truculent. The Indian Nation, assembled in Calcutta and chafiing under a thousand and one grievances, was in no mood to accept anything short of non-co-operation as proposed in the omnibus resolution of Mahatma Gandhi. And so the Rubicon is crossed. For long the country struggled and struggled hard to find a way out between the hopelessly signal failure of hard and fast constitutional agitation and the impossibility of pure and simple revolution. The way has at last been found. Among leaders there is a perfect consensus of opinion on the principle of non-co-operation; it is the application of the same that divides them. The battle raged between Mr. Gandhi's resolution boycotting the new Councils, among other things, and Mr. Pal's amendment making a special exception of it..... Plainly speaking, to us, the case between Mr. Gandhi's resolution and Mr. Pal's amendment is a case of six of one and half a dozen of the other. Far from contravening the principle of Non-co-operation, the entry into Councils, we are convinced, carries it one step further in so far as it gives the opportunity of bearding the lion in his own den. If election to Councils is at all co-operation—which, to our mind, is not—the motive of thus far co-operating with Government is to non-co-operate with it, to clog its wheels and thus to achieve the same object. The end is the same, that of paralysing

Mahratta (7), 12th Sept.

the Government, only the roads different..... Whatever it be, the verdict of the Nation is a *fait accompli*; the path has been sketched and drawn; it is not strewn with roses; there are a hundred pits and stumbling-blocks, thorny shrubs and bushes in and about it..... In the present circumstances non-co-operation is the only and chief remedy. In it lies our hope, strength and greatness."

Comments on Lala Lajpatrai's presidential speech at the Special Congress.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Sept.

7. "Lala Lajpatrai has unmistakably displayed his fitness to guide the deliberations of the Indian National Congress by the presidential address he has delivered. This is demonstrated by nothing so much as by the fact that the indictment of Michael O'Dwyer forms the central theme of his speech..... The enormity of his crimes against the people of India and the disgrace that he has brought on the people of Great Britain is brought in relief by the masterly indictment contained in Lala Lajpatrai's speech. Yet O'Dwyer himself, principal culprit though he was, was but the creature of the evil force against which India has to struggle. And the evil force is 'the Prussian conception of Government which dominates the minds of so many of our Anglo-Indian rulers of whom O'Dwyer was the type'..... This conception of Government—the rule of one nation by another by force—is opposed to the conception of Government which we have been wont to associate with British imperialism, namely, the conception of Government by consent. The conception informs the speeches of British statesmen on the Punjáb question and the Reform Scheme. But the deeds of British statesmen fall short of their brave words. Why? The answer to this question supplies the key to the present situation. And it is this that British statesmen themselves are helpless against the forces of reaction..... How powerful are these forces is demonstrated by the failure of the British Government and Parliament to give us justice and guarantees in regard to the Punjáb. The motive which prompts these forces is the desire to keep power, privilege and prestige. And ultimately it can be traced to that economic imperialism which regards Asiatics as hewers of wood and drawers of water, and which is at the root of the dismemberment of Turkey and the consequent blow to the Khilafat. These then are the two forces of reaction—militarism and economic imperialism—which challenge an answer from India. They challenge an answer, inasmuch as they are a menace not only to the peace and security of India and the East, but also to the honour and liberty of Eastern peoples..... In fact, it is the privilege of India to-day to hold in her hands the key to the destiny of the world. And what is the key? It is this that we must give up our policy of isolation and begin to think internationally. It is not enough for us if we are content with the nominal membership of the League of Nations. It would be a mockery. We must seek to make our membership effective. And the first important step towards the securing of this purpose is to demand—and not only to demand but to obtain by all constitutional means that are possible—the immediate and complete withdrawal of all Indian troops from every part of the world where they are engaged in crushing the national aspirations of nationalities fighting for their independence..... We have to cry a halt to this mad desire for imperialistic aggrandisement not merely because of the drain on Indian manhood or of the fear of the possible use of Arab and other Asiatic troops against us, or even of the drain on the British tax-payer, but because of the menace to the peace of the world. The menace of Germany was the Prussian policy of economic imperialism. The policy of Britain and France and of their Allies in regard to the Turkish Empire is identical. And the appetite for imperialistic aggrandisement grows by what it feeds on. And economic imperialism, in its sinister and panicky moods, means Punjábs. How are we to resist this menace. There is only one way. To remove the perilous temptation from the path of our rulers..... We shall be strengthening the Commonwealth of self-governing Nations of which we are determined to be and to remain a part by saving itself from a menace which, if not averted, will lead to its disruption. We shall be doing more. We shall be a powerful ally to the forces of Labour and sane and non-aggressive Liberalism which are struggling to save democracy from the wreck of the war, and we shall be helping to secure the peace of the world.

The supreme need of the moment is thus, as we have stated on previous occasions, the discovery and use of a new weapon of constitutional agitation that will be an answer to the challenge of the forces of reaction that are seeking to undo the work of the war. That weapon must be discovered by the collective deliberation and that of the representatives of the country. Lala Lajpatrai, therefore, did wisely in refraining from prejudicing the decision of the Congress—the Parliament of the Nation. His duty was to speak the mind of the people. He fully spoke the mind of the people—the people who are in no mood to be trifled with either by the Government or by their representatives."

Servant of India (9), 9th Sept.

8. "The Congress presidential address of Lala Lajpat Rai is mostly taken up with the treatment of the Punjáb question, of which the indictment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer forms the most conspicuous feature. Let alone a trial of Sir Michael and other principal miscreants, even official censure and administrative punishment of the officers convicted by the Hunter Committee of gross abuse of authority are not forthcoming..... And yet an appeal is made to the Indian politicians to let the past bury its dead. It is idle to think that India can concentrate on working the reforms with an undivided mind till the Punjáb wrong is redressed. The extremely unsatisfactory character of the Reform Rules forms one of the three wrongs which necessitate, in the view of the Nationalists, a general withdrawal of co-operation from Government..... We have never been backward in pointing out the drawbacks in the Reform Act and in the rules made thereunder, but the dark picture which, Lala Lajpat Rai draws, is, we must say, wholly prejudiced. The Government of India Act is not less, but more, liberal than the Reform Scheme, and there is no reason whatever why the high hopes raised in the Lala's mind by the M.-C. Report should be dashed to the ground by the shape it has finally taken. Lala Lajpat Rai has produced Colonel Wedgwood's authority for the statement that the Reform Act is worse than the Reform Report. But he could not have failed to notice that Colonel Wedgwood's grounds are entirely different from those on which the Nationalists base their conclusion..... Colonel Wedgwood's opinion lends no support whatever to those who have for the time being accepted the expedient of communal representation. To say that a germ of disease has been mixed with the loaf of reforms by means of the rules is to say something which is far removed from the truth."

Kesari (109), 7th Sept.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 7th and 9th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 6th Sept.; *Swarájya* ( ), 9th Sept.

9. There are three important questions before the nation at present, the Punjáb affairs, Khilafat and the Reform Act, and there is also the all-comprehensive issue of non-co-operation as a drastic remedy to solve all the three. Though the President preserved outwardly a neutral attitude regarding the latter, he has given his opinion regarding the former three points in a straightforward and plain manner. Government must necessarily consider his balanced views on the Punjáb question. The President did well in dropping altogether the religious side of the Khilafat question. He considered it from an international point of view, and that portion of his speech is specially important. The question is not of allowing one or two provinces to remain with Turkey; it is also to be considered whether Asiatic nations are to live or die. He wanted the Turkish treaty to be revised in order that Persia, Arabia and Afghanistan might not ultimately lose their independence and recruits from them might not be used against India. The recall of Indian troops from outside should thus be the chief demand. While Indians themselves are enshackled to the point of losing the use of their legs, they should not commit the sin of assisting the enslavement of others. The question is important enough to call for the declaration of non-co-operation. Lala Lajpat Rai has divided co-operation into two parts, optional and compulsory, and he is chiefly against co-operation inspired by considerations of honour and dignity. He has also briefly considered the question of the boycott of Councils and hinted that people should not lose the opportunity of attacking the citadel of power from the inside. It is also necessary to

bring the ideal within the limits of mass-action. Non-co-operation is not unconstitutional and even a little of it saves us from a great danger, as Mr. Tilak has said regarding boycott. This same principle was dwelt upon by the President in his speech. He gives greater weight to work in India than in foreign countries. On the whole, he gave a proper direction to the future programme of the Indian people. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* does not approve of Lala Lajpat Rai's silence on non-co-operation and though it appreciates his treatment of the Punjáb question, it thinks that as the matter has now become somewhat stale and its details are now familiar to the people, Lala Lajpat Rai should have shown the way to the people—the way to obtain justice. It also objects to his slurring over the question of the Reform Act rules. It says that the President does not hope much from foreign countries and the Labour party and remarks that it shows the futility of the work of the Congress deputation in England and that the financial help given to the Labour party by the late Mr. Tilak is so much waste. The *Indu Prakásh* says that the President has given to the Congress the message of self-confidence and remarks that it will serve as a beacon light to the Indian nation, whatever be the decision of the Congress on the question of non-co-operation. The *Swarájya* says that the main feature of the presidential speech was its outspokenness. It calls the president's words bomb shells thrown on the bureaucratic camp.]

10. Our Anglo-Indian contemporaries were afraid that Lala Lajpatrai would deliver such an exciting speech as the President of the Special Congress that the people would be ready to revolt against Government and that the country would go to rack and ruin. But Lala Lajpatrai's presidential speech has falsified these fears. The Special Congress has been convened to consider the question of non-co-operation in view of the injustice done in connection with the Punjáb affairs and in respect of the Khilafat question. The thoughtful speech Lala Lajpatrai has made has fully justified his choice as the President of the Congress by the All-India Congress Committee. The presidential address is such a well-balanced pronouncement that even a member of the ultra-Moderate school of politics cannot help being proud of it. There was not a word of incitement in that speech and it is free from spite and revenge. The speech goes to prove that Sir Michael O'Dwyer was solely responsible for the Punjáb tragedy. The injustice done in the Punjáb and Khilafat affairs is sufficient to excite the people; but Lala Lajpatrai maintained a calm attitude throughout his speech and tried to pacify the minds of the people. He has done well in refraining from giving his opinion on the question of non-co-operation. After reading his speech no one will make bold to say that Lala Lajpatrai is an enemy of Government. In our opinion he has acted as the well-wisher of Government. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—Lala Lajpatrai's speech will redound to the credit of the Congress and the Indian people. It was manly and courageous and was free from bias or exaggeration. He did well in reminding the Viceroy that the Indian people are not likely to forget the Punjáb affair till the chief among the guilty Government officials are brought to book. He has articulated the voice of the people by making a demand for the recall of the Indian troops from Turkish territory. The attitude taken up by Lala Lajpatrai towards the question of non-co-operation in refraining from giving his opinion on it is a very wise one. The *Bombay Samáchár*, while praising the speech for its thoughtfulness, disapproves of the silence maintained by the President on the question of non-co-operation and the absence from it of any attempt to pacify the excited minds of the people. The paper reiterates its views against the principle of non-co-operation and expresses hope that the Congress will take only such steps as will enable India to secure justice on legitimate and constitutional lines. The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, while approving the President's views on the injustice done to India in the Punjáb affairs, deplores his silence on the question of non-co-operation and wishes that he had given his opinion to enable the Congress to give the go-bye to the pernicious doctrine of non-co-operation. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* is of the opinion that the silence of Lala Lajpatrai on non-co-operation

Sánj Vartamán (32), 4th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 6th Sept.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 8th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 6th Sept.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (55),6th Sept.

means that he disapproves of it and does not consider it worthy of recommendation.]

11. Lala Lajpatrai's very brief reference to the Reforms in his presidential address and his expression of the disappointment they caused him will not fail to cause surprise. He frankly admits that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform scheme when published gave him complete satisfaction for some time. But, strange as it may seem, the Reforms Act passed in 1919 made him less hopeful, and as for the Rules finally approved in 1920, they completely shattered his faith. Now, this estimate of the reforms by the Lala is not at all in keeping with facts. Indians are of the opinion that the Reforms Act of 1919 goes beyond the recommendations made in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme and that the Rules in no way whittle down the reforms. Even the leading Extremist papers admitted that the Reforms Act is an improvement upon the original scheme and, therefore, we are constrained to attribute the Lala's opinion to his ignorance. The Reforms Act gave much satisfaction to Mrs. Besant, too, who had at first characterised the Reforms Scheme as most disappointing. Also the fact that at the Amritsar Congress the Honourable Mr. Malaviya and Mahatma Gandhi were not prepared to subscribe to the view that the Reforms Act is disappointing is enough to prove that it is a vast improvement upon the original scheme. The other important point is whether the Rules whittle down the reforms in any way. Here, too, the Lala's disappointment is not justified. Some slight modifications in the rules desired by the people may not have been accepted, but it is wholly incorrect to say that this spoils the reforms altogether. The draft rules prepared by the Government of India were duly revised by the Joint Committee, who have taken care to see that the reforms are not in any way whittled down.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 7th Sept.

12. "Turning to the speeches we notice that Mr. Chakravarty announced to all whom it might concern that the back of the camel was at last broken..... Disillusioned finally and for ever he bade farewell to the last lingering vestige of belief in the justice and good faith of the British governing classes. For the sake of argument we go beyond Mr. Chakravarty and declare that we never had any faith in the British democracy and we certainly agree with him that for all justice, strength and help in evil we must look within and not without. But we venture to ask Mr. Chakravarty how the enunciation of these platitudes helps his case. Does it prove that the scheme of non-co-operation is practicable? Does it show that taken by itself it will appeal to any but the lovers of the hysterical and the histrionic in politics? Does it prove that Mr. Gandhi's nostrum is the one and only remedy for the country's wrongs? The President-elect spoke with dignity, firmness and courage and a large portion of the speech is such as might very well have come from a speaker belonging to the elder school of politicians in India..... The Lala declared that neither he nor his people were actuated by any vindictive and revengeful motive and when he went on to ask how they could sit silent and let the matter drop in the face of all that has happened in India and in England in connection with the events of last year until full and complete justice has been done and until steps have been taken to prevent a recurrence of the tragic events of last year we believe he touched the root of all evil..... Neither the Punjáb affair nor the Khilafat question constitute the real issue. When co-operation and non-co-operation are the rival battle-cries we are glad to notice Lala Lajpatrai's saying 'we were prepared to work out the reform scheme to the best of our ability as a stepping stone to full responsible government.' He, however, goes on to add that the events of the Punjáb have shaken our faith in the motives of those who seek our co-operation in the ostensible working out of the Reform Scheme. Now the good Lalaji ought to know that the motives of these people are going to be a small factor in the working out of the Reforms. The logic of facts is on our side. Time is on our side: the hands of the clock cannot be set back whosoever tries to do it..... Mr. Lajpatrai has no faith in British

Nireekshak (new), 10th Sept., Eng. cols.

Democracy: has he none also in orderly progress? The word 'Revolution' has no terrors for him: why should evolution also have any for him?"

13. "Of all the momentous sessions of the Indian National Congress the last special session of the Congress held in Calcutta was by universal consent the most momentous. It was characterised by unprecedented fervour and enthusiasm, while the issue before the vast gathering concentrated into a single great problem—Co-operation or Non-co-operation..... The keynote of the entire proceedings of the Congress was absolute outspokenness and the straightest of straight talking. There was intense tension throughout, and the demonstrativeness of the vast gathering was remarkable. On one occasion at least the demonstration exceeded the bounds of decency and chivalry. This was when Mrs. Besant rose to support the election of Lala Lajpat Rai as President..... The presidential address of Lala Lajpat Rai is just what it was expected to be, and it raised the fervid enthusiasm of the Indian Nationalists present to the highest pitch. It was a manly, outspoken address dealing with the main issues before the country with characteristic vigour. The main portion of the address rightly dealt with Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration of the Punjáb..... Both he and the Chairman of the Reception Committee protested in the strongest manner against the continued employment of Indian troops in Mesopotamia, Egypt and Palestine. Lala Lajpat Rai's address breathes throughout the democratic spirit of the new Nationalism of India. Its fearlessness is its best justification and it strikes the true note of the new manhood of India."

Comments on the proceedings of the special sessions of the Indian National Congress.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 5th Sept, Eng. cols.

14. Many of the delegates at the Special Congress are prepared to accept the principle of non-co-operation in theory, but they express their hesitation in accepting the programme of non-co-operation prepared by Mr. Gandhi and approved by the All-India Khilafat Committee. This reluctance on their part is due to their being unprepared to make the sacrifices it involves. Should non-co-operation, therefore, not be resorted to? If people refuse to resort to non-co-operation they will prove themselves fit only to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. If they are unwilling to take up non-co-operation they must quietly submit to the injustice to which they are subjected at present. But if they want to secure justice and to regain the lost glory of India, they must resort to non-co-operation and should be prepared to make the sacrifices it involves. Non-co-operation will be a faliure if people are not willing to make the necessary sacrifices. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, on the other hand, writes:—Mr. Gandhi is of the opinion that non-co-operation will result in securing *Swarájya* for India within two years. Every Indian will rejoice at the realisation of Mr. Gandhi's prognostications as regards the securing of *Swarájya*, but Mr. Gandhi himself does not seem to realise the difficulties and dangers in which India would be involved by committing itself to non-co-operation. The confidence of the Indian people in British justice will not be restored as long as Sir Michael O'Dwyer is not impeached and the other officials concerned are not punished. The British Cabinet should repeal the Rowlatt Act, the Defence of India Act and the Press Act and make British administration in India more popular. Should the Congress commit itself to non-co-operation, the real leaders of the people should organise an anti-non-co-operation movement and prevent the country from taking a leap in the dark. Government would do well to inaugurate a liberal policy with a view to strengthening the hands of such leaders as rally to their side and saving innocent people from misfortune.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 6th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 8th Sept.

15. For a man like Sir Ashutosh Choudhari, who only till the other day occupied the post of a Judge of the High Court, to say, as he did at the Congress Session, that he has completely lost faith in the English may or may not be harmful to anyone else, but it is certainly harmful to the British Government. We need not warn Government of what will happen to them if they forfeit the confidence of the people. As for Mahatma Gandhi, he is prepared even to-day

Lokasangraha (112), 10th Sept.

to have done with the British Government. He declares that the Government is wholly unrepentent, that they have not given up the policy of striking in the back, and that they have only gilded our chains. Are any more words needed to bring the British Government into discredit? Is any other mine necessary to blow up the foundation on which British rule in India rests?

16. "Mr. Jinnah's presidential address at the special sessions of the All-India Muslim League is a sign of the times..... The session, important as it is, is being overshadowed by the session of the Congress. This has happened, not because the country has neglected the interests of Muslims, but because it has made them pre-eminently its own. Mr. Jinnah, with characteristically keen insight into the mind of the nation, has adjusted the duty of the President of the All-India Muslim League to this outstanding fact of the situation. This is markedly demonstrated as much by the brevity as by the vigour of his presidential address. But brief as is his address his diognosis of 'the dangerous and most unprecedented situation' that the country has to face to-day is not, therefore, the less adequate and accurate..... The collective wisdom of the people is being mobilised in the sessions of the Congress to decide upon a course of action that will enable the country at the earliest moment to undo the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs. It is premature at this hour to express any opinion as to the trend of the deliberations in the Congress. It is enough for the present if all of us realised the solemn truth of the words which Mr. Jinnah addressed to the members of the All-India Muslim League: 'Remember, that united we stand; divided we fall.' United alone shall we of the present generation be worthy of the proud destiny of the Motherland." [The *Lokasangraha* reiterates in its own words the charges made against Government in the course of Mr. Jinnah's speech, and asks whether the pronouncement of so level-headed a man as Mr. Jinnah in which he warned Government against exasperating the people will have any weight with Government.]

Mr. Jinnah's address as president of the All-India Muslim League.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Sept.; *Lokasangraha* (112), 11th Sept.

17. Adverting to the murder of Mr. Willoughby, Deputy Commissioner of Kheri, United Provinces, the *Hindusthán* writes:—Great is our regret at the news of Mr. Willoughby's murder by a fanatical Muhammadan. The whole country condemns this incident as it is opposed to the religious tenets of Indians and calculated to be a slur upon the people of the country who are desirous of carrying on non-co-operation in a peaceful manner. But, all the same, it is disgraceful on the part of several Anglo-Indian journals that they should exaggerate the incident, in spite of its unmistakable condemnation by the people, and make use of it to run down the Khilafat and non-co-operation movements. It is only the movement of non-co-operation that has kept the seven crores of Muhammadans under restraint. Considering the intensity of the prevailing unrest we would say that it is fortunate for the country that such incidents are not frequent.

Comments on the murder of the Deputy Commissioner of Kheri in the United Provinces.

Hindusthán (22), 5th Sept.

18. The murderer of Mr. Willoughby himself has confessed that he committed the crime in Khilafat frenzy. But some papers ignore this confession and lay stress on the fact that the murderer was a *badmash*. The important point to be noted in this affair, however, is that the Khilafat and the non-co-operation movements provide ample opportunities to *badmashes* to carry out their nefarious intentions. The Khilafat workers of course wholly disapprove of their deeds, but these men by entering their fold bring discredit on the whole movement and thus the interests of the country suffer. It is for this very reason that the Moderates have always opposed the inclusion of ignorant men in extreme movements. Mahatma Gandhi had bitter experience of this last year. But he has not profitted by his experience and has launched the non-co-operation movement this year on a much larger scale. But the masses have not yet grasped the cardinal principles of non-co-operation; and

Dnyán Prakásh (42), 7th Sept.

Mahatma Gandhi himself admits this. Those who accept the principle of non-co-operation, therefore, should realise their responsibility before embarking on it.

19. "In the course of his comments on a letter on the subject of non-co-operation addressed to him by Miss Anne Marie Peterson of the Danish Mission at Madras (which is published elsewhere in the paper), Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—It is my firm opinion that Europe to-day represents not the spirit of God or Christianity but the spirit of Satan. And Satan's successes are the greatest when he appears with the name of God on his lips. Europe is to-day only nominally Christian. In reality it is worshipping Mammon. 'It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom.' Thus really spoke Jesus Christ. His so-called followers measure their moral progress by their material possessions. The very national anthem of England is anti-Christian. Jesus, who asked his followers to love their enemies even as themselves, could not have sung of his enemies, 'Confound his enemies, frustrate their knavish tricks.'..... The last war, however, has shown, as nothing else has, the Satanic nature of the civilization that dominates Europe to-day. Every canon of public morality has been broken by the victors in the name of virtue. No lie has been considered too foul to be uttered. The motive behind every crime is not religious or spiritual, but grossly material. But the Musalmans and the Hindus who are struggling against the Government have religion and honour as their motive..... England through her leaders is insolently crushing Indian religious and national sentiment under her heels. England under the false plea of self-determination is trying to exploit the oil fields of Mesopotamia which she is almost about to leave because she has probably no choice. France through her leaders is lending her name to training Cannibals as soldiers and is shamelessly betraying her trust as a mandatory power by trying to kill the spirit of the Syrians. President Wilson has thrown on the scrap heap his precious fourteen points. It is this combination of evil forces which India is really fighting through non-violent non-co-operation. And those like Miss Peterson, whether Christian or European, who feel that this error must be dethroned can exercise the privilege of doing so by joining the non-co-operation movement."

Europe represents the spirit of Satan.
Young India (13), 8th Sept.

20. "There is undoubted and great religious unrest. The question of the fate of the Khilafat is not, however, the main or the only cause of the growing discontent. Our representative would like to assure the authorities that there is acute economic trouble in the districts so strongly affected. The prices of food-stuffs are unbearably high. Cattle for agricultural purposes are sold at prices which the peasants cannot afford. Our representative who has made inquiries on the spot is satisfied that the original Hijrat movement has acquired unexpected impetus from two sources, *viz.*, the distress in the districts and the most deplorable incident to the Muhajarins at Kachagarhi. Some measures must be devised to neutralize profiteering and to see that the peaceful peasantry are not denied the necessaries of life. *Apropos* of the Moslem religious discontent, Government would be well advised to redouble their efforts to reach truth to the unlettered masses. Rumours in the bazars abound. They are all detrimental to the Christian powers. In the larger towns of the Punjáb, in Quetta, Abbotabad and Peshawar people still consider the Turks as good Moslems who have suffered a martyr's fate. The Punjáb Government studiously combats the campaign of calumny against the British soldiers. It would not be useless to let Bombay know what the Punjáb is made acquainted with."

The present unrest and what Government should do to combat it.
Jam-e-Jamshed (24), 7th Sept., Eng. cols.

21. Mr. M. K. Gandhi thus concludes an article in *Young India* in which he dwells on the alleged wrongs of Indians in the various colonies:—"We are not wanted in any part of the British Dominions except as Pariahs to do the scavenging for the European settlers. The situation is clear: we are Pariahs in our own home. We get only what Government intend to give, not what we demand and have a right to. We may get the crumbs, never the loaf. I have seen large and tempting crumbs from a lavish table.

Indians are pariahs, not only in the Empire but also in their own home.
Young India (13), 8th Sept.

And I have seen the eyes of our Pariahs—the shame of Hinduism—brightening to see those heavy crumbs filling their baskets. But the superior Hindu, who is filling the basket from a safe distance, knows that they are unfit for his own consumption. And so we in our turn may receive even Governorships which the real rulers no longer require or which they cannot retain with safety for their material interest—the political and material hold on India. It is time we realised our true status."

22. The *Kesari* refers to the change in the name of the All-India Home Rule League and its objects, and says that the changes effected are very important and that they are an earnest of Mr. Gandhi's future programme. It says that the objection raised that the non-co-operation movement goes against the Congress creed is not legally correct but it thinks that attempts will be made at Nagpur to change the Congress creed also. However it may turn out, the paper continues, Mahatma Gandhi has freed himself from the shackles so far as the *Swarájya Sabha* is concerned. It shows that Mahatma Gandhi feels confident that we will get his non-co-operation resolution passed in the Congress and the paper congratulates Mr. Gandhi on his self-confidence. [The *Indu Prakásh* expresses its doubt as to how far Mr. Gandhi's *Swarajya Sabha*, the erstwhile All-India Home Rule League, will enlist the support of the general public if it keeps non-co-operation in the forefront of its programme.]

Change in the name and objects of the All-India Home Rule League.
Kesari (109), 7th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 8th Sept.

23. "All internees under the Indian Dora and the greater number of State prisoners were released by the Bengal Government. And what of Bombay? How many political prisoners have been released by the local Government? So far as Bombay is concerned, the Royal clemency might as well have not been declared, for it has been largely nullified by the inadequate action of the local Government. And we boast that we are the most liberal Government in India! The risk, if there was any, was much greater in Bengal than in Bombay. But it was all the same taken by the Bengal Government; and it has resulted in the diminution of political crime. Now, at least, Bombay may take courage and follow Bengal. The other day, in Surat, Sir George spoke eloquently on co-operation. But co-operation is not one-sided. It is the duty of the Government to smooth the way towards co-operation if they really desire it. Even now it is not too late for the Government of Bombay to give Bombay the benefit of the Royal clemency in the large and liberal spirit His Majesty the King-Emperor conceived it."

Bombay Government have not released most of their political prisoners.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Sept.

24. "The contributors of the Dyer Fund, the Secretary of State, the Government of India and the Punjáb Government have all in their own way shown how lightly they think of the feelings of the whole nation. The Kashmere Durbar also seems to join hands with these. If the report of *Bande Mataram* is to be believed, the Kashmere authorities have granted Colonel Johnson a contract for oil prospecting. We should not be much surprised at this even if it proves to be a fact. The infection of slavishness in our country is not infrequently seen in its worst forms in our States. The origin of the evil lies in the spirit of the Government. And this can hardly be revolutionised by intelligent questions in the Councils. These queries need some form of sanction behind. Such a sanction alone can make India a self-respecting nation."

Comments on the report that the Kashmere Darbar has granted an oil prospecting license to Colonel Johnson.
Young India (13), 8th Sept.

*25. "The Government of Sir Frank Sly has at last come to their senses. No doubt, people will know with pleasure that the Ratona slaughter-house scheme, with its humane and economic methods, has been suspended for the time being. The pleasure would certainly have been more unqualified had it been permanently buried underground. But perhaps the C. P. Government was afraid of throwing up the sponge altogether and must have invented this way of a skilful, but none the less transparent, retreat. It is an encouraging sign

Comments on the suspension of the Ratona slaughter-house scheme in the Central Provinces.
Mahrátta (7), 12th Sept.

indeed that the hardened bureaucrats have come to know that there is such a thing as popular sentiment and popular will even in India and that autocrats of the deepest dye have to bow to them. Our anxiety is that the lesson brought home by this event should not be lost upon the alien authorities."

The non-co-operation movement.
Muslim Herald (152), 10th Sept.

26. The *Muslim Herald* states that Indian Musalmans are as a whole poor and uneducated, and the only mode of earning their living is Government service. It suggests that the Khilafat Committee should arrange for the maintenance of all those Musalmans who may be thrown out of the work by putting the non-co-operation programme of the Committee into practice. It also refers to the *hijrat* movement which ended in a fiasco, and declares that repeated failure in its activities will ruin the popularity of the Khilafat Committee. [Elsewhere it repeats the charges about non-Muslim practices against the Committee, and invites those who are learned in the Muslim law to pronounce on the propriety of their actions.]

The Khilafat Conference.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Sept.

27. "There were a few sapient critics who urged that Britain had exaggerated the question of Indian Moslem feelings and that the agitation would die away after a time, leaving Britain free to do anything she liked with Turkey. Britain may as well understand if it has not already realized that the question can have no rest, till the unjust peace terms imposed upon Turkey by sheer force are revised..... .. The Khilafat Conference affirmed its unalterable decision to agitate till the object for which it was brought into being was accomplished. The policy of plunder and distribution of spoils was clearly not the one which Britain should have in the least encouraged, even independently of the definite pledges it had given. We have still faith enough in the capacity or Britain to recognise a hopeless situation and not to push matters to the extreme."

Comments on the proceedings of the Gujarat Political Conference.
Gujaráti Punch (20), 5th Sept., Eng. cols.

28. "The fourth session of the Gujarát Rajkiya Parishad held at Ahmedabad has given its verdict, and it is, as was expected, in favour of non-co-operation..... Barring non-co-operation, the most important resolution that was placed before the Conference was the Boycott resolution, and we extremely regret that the Conference did not see its way to accept it. We are at present not concerned with the causes that led to its rejection, for we are quite sure that but for the influence of a magnetic personality like Mr. Gandhi who threw the whole weight of his powerful influence against it and the little diplomacy of the Chairman of the Reception Committee in prejudicing the audience by condemning it beforehand as a rejected resolution, the resolution would most certainly have been passed..... Boycott is simpler than non-co-operation; and if the latter can be made practicable by organization, it is inconceivable why the former cannot. The fact, however, is we are guided more by sentiment than reason, and that explains the rejection of the Boycott resolution at the Conference..... As regards the boycott of the Duke of Connaught's visit, we believe; a detailed presentation of our grievances in our addresses to His Royal Highness would be better than boycott. Technically Royalty is above politics, but if, as Mr. Gandhi fears, the bureaucracy intends to make political capital out of the visit, the popular counter-blast to it would be the conveyance of our deep dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs by insisting on presenting addresses recounting only our grievances and expressing hope for their removal through His Royal Highness's influence, which we may request him to wield on our behalf."

Comments on the reply to an interpellation in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding General Dyer's pension.
Gujaráti Punch (20), 5th Sept., Eng. cols.; *Praja Bandhu* (29), 5th Sept., Eng. cols.

29. "The veil of hypocrisy has at last dropped. In reply to a question by the Honourable Mr. Sinha in the Imperial Legislative Council, the Commander-in-Chief made the Indian public realize the utter helplessness of their position..... If forfeiture of a Brigade, not even involving the forfeiture of the pension, and granting of unemployment pay during the period of compulsory retirement be all the 'punishment' which General Dyer 'deserves' for playing with Indian life and honour, the Indian

public cannot but despair of getting justice at the hands of her British Rulers. ..... Oh! When will our Rulers realize that even Indians have feelings and that its ruthless trampling cannot go on for ever without its bearing fruits far different from those expected by insolent Imperialists?" [The *Praja Bandhu* remarks:—"So the penalty for what Mr. Montagu has himself indirectly 'censured' as an act of 'terrorism', 'racial humiliation', 'subordination', 'frightfulness', etc., is enforced holiday for a certain period. The little loss that is thus sustained is more than amply compensated for by the 'Dyer Fund' opened by enthusiastic admirers and devout worshippers both here and in England. After these insults upon injuries, can the people of this country lay to heart the advice of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and 'write upon a clean slate'? They have to make their repetitions in future impossible, and if they are at all a self-respecting people, we are sure they will not sit with folded hands, as many wish them to do."]

30. The House of Commons have voted the infliction of a punishment on General Dyer. What is the punishment awarded to him if he receives a pension? It behoves the popular members of the Imperial Legislative Council to bring in a motion for stopping the pension given him. If Government do not accept the motion, the people should commence non-co-operation against the administrators by refusing to pay taxes. The Government officials may recover the taxes by force, but the people should never pay them willingly. Indians should also refuse to work for those Anglo-Indian journals which might write in favour of the payment of pension to General Dyer. [The *Prakásh* writes:—The news of General Dyer's pension boils one's blood. Had he committed the outrage in England his life would certainly have been forfeit long back. But, let alone infliction of proper punishment for taking innocent Indian lives he is to continue to receive payments out of our own money. Blessed is British sense of justice and blessed is British policy!]

Gujarátí (18), 5th Sept.; *Prakásh* (121), 8th Sept.

31. "O'Dwyer has no objection to the publication of his evidence nor have the public on their part. In these circumstances the only sensible thing that the Home member could have done was to lay it on the table..... The Home member's reply cannot be accepted as final. Why, in the first place was O'Dwyer's evidence taken in camera? Sir William has not paid sufficient attention to the fact that O'Dwyer himself is now asking for the publication of his evidence. The attitude of Government can only be sufficiently explained on the ground that they are afraid of inconvenient disclosures."

Comments on the Government of India's reply about non-publication of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's evidence before the Hunter Committee.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Sept.

32. "It is difficult to see what advantage Mr. Sastri intended to secure for the country by interpellating Government regarding post-war appointments of Indians in Mesopotamia. Sufficient is the humiliation which Indians are living under in their own country! Let them not add to it the shame of helping to bring about the subjection of nations who want to be free. We would not have been at all sorry if, after the armistice, a circular of the kind referred to by Mr. Sastri had been really issued prohibiting Eastern races from holding post-war civil appointments in Mesopotamia..... Sir Arnold Wilson, the Acting Civil Commissioner of Mesopotamia, has conveyed to India his whole-hearted appreciation, admiration and gratitude for the notable services of Indians to the Mesopotamian administration. The certificate, fully deserved as it is, is galling in the extreme in the light of events that have developed in connection with the Turkish Peace Treaty and the present attitude of the Arabs of Mesopotamia. It would be useful to know how many Indian troops are in Mesopotamia and how many have been recently sent there. We hope the British Government have duly noted the earnest demand made by the country for the recall of Indian troops from Mesopotamia. The demand applies also to Indians in civil employ in Mesopotamia. If Britain is determined to hold Mesopotamia by force for its oil and against the wishes

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's interpellation about post-war appointments of Indians in Mesopotamia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Sept.

of the Arabs, let her do so on her own account. But is it fair to compel India to share the ignominy of doing so?"

Necessity of duly revising the salaries of Mamlatdars.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Sept.

33. "Government are in daily touch with the work of the Mamlatdars and they know that they are to the Talukas what the Collectors are to the Districts. In the interest of the efficiency of the service, if for nothing else, Government should raise considerably the scale proposed for Mamlatdars. The long years one has to wait to secure a Mamlat, the principle of admixture of castes recklessly carried on by certain overzealous officers, and the poor revision Government propose will tell heavily on the efficiency of the service in which the public are vitally interested. Drastic changes also are required in the methods of recruitment of Mamlatdars..... In order to attract the right stamp of men and retain them in the service, Government should pay them well. A comparison of the old and new scale of Second Class Subordinate Judges and P. W. D. upper subordinates, seventy per cent. of whom have been selected as Assistant Engineers, with the present and proposed scale of Mamlatdars, will convince Government of the grave injustice that will be done, if the Mamlat scale is not appropriately revised in keeping with the dignity and importance of the office..... The proposed scale of 200 to 350 and the annual promotion of Rs. 5 proposed for the first few years are grossly inadequate. We trust Government will reconsider the proposals and give to the Mamlatdars their just due."

Urgent need of the revision of the salaries of Assistant Surgeons.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Sept.

34. "Perhaps in no department of the public services in India have the claims of a body of qualified and competent Indian officers been so persistently ignored as those of the Indian Civil Assistant Surgeons, who have been, for years, made to feel the ignominy of their position in glaring contrast to the position of their less qualified European or Anglo-Indian or Eurasian brethren in the profession..... Their pay and prospects have not been revised for over thirty years. The Government, however, did not fail to increase the pay of the Military Assistant Surgeons..... The Civil Assistant Surgeon holds a University degree which is registrable in Great Britain and Ireland, and, in fact, anywhere in the British Empire. He has to study for six years and to pass a number of difficult examinations both in his college and in the University. He has to pay for all his expenses. On the other hand, the Military Assistant Surgeons, as students, have to study for four years only, and pass a few class examinations of a much lower standard than those of the Civil Assistant Surgeons. Their qualification is not registrable anywhere outside India. All their expenses, as medical students, are paid by the Government. ..... One fails to see any reason save one for this sort of preferential treatment; it is the old prejudice of race. The Civil Assistant Surgeon is an Indian while the Military Assistant Surgeon is either a European or an Anglo-Indian. All other provincial services have been reorganised since the war and their pay and prospects increased; but the Service, which has been of the greatest help to Government, in their most critical needs, has so far received no consideration! This is the penalty of being an Indian, better qualifications notwithstanding! And this treatment is meted out to him in his own native land!..... Most other provincial services are far better paid than the Provincial Medical Service. As is well-known, the cost of living has gone up over 150 per cent. and what, one may fairly ask, have the Government done to improve the condition of this devoted band of servants? ..... The discontent as a result of unfair treatment, so far as we have been able to ascertain, is very great in the service. The injustice of which the Service has been the victim is keenly felt. It is not surprising if its members look in vain for that much-talked-of British sense of justice and fairplay, which at no time was very prominent."

Comments on the total number of King's Commissions held by Indians.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Sept.

35. "The number of King's Commissions granted to Indians upto date is 51. In addition, 193 honorary King's Commissions are held by Indians and 10 cadets are admitted annually to the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, to qualify themselves for the Commissions! The Army Member broke forth into self-adulation and pointed to these meagre figures as evidencing the

earnest and sympathetic regard paid by Government to Indian aspirations in regard to Commissions. What is the number of Indian troops and what is the number of King's Commissions held by Indians? Government have no justification for parading their generosity by telling us that formerly there was no Indian holding the King's Commission and that now the number is 51..... We want a fully equipped military and naval college in India and, as far as possible, all the Commissions in the Indian army should be held by Indians. The time has not come yet for the Army Member to look with pride on the achievements of Government in this direction. The provision at present sanctioned is absolutely meagre. Even as things are, Bombay has been dealt with in a very niggardly and objectionable manner. Of the 51 Commissions, how many are held by Bombay men? Have the local Government nothing to say to the authorities in this respect?"

Comments on the Bombay Development Loan.

Bombay Samáchár (58), 9th Sept.

36. Commenting upon the Bombay Government's Development Loan, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—Having regard to the noble purpose for the fulfilment of which the loan has been issued and to the alluring terms that have been announced with respect to it, it may be expected that subscription of the people of Bombay to it will be ample. Till now no local Government could raise money for its needs in this fashion; but the Reforms Act has conferred such powers upon local Governments, and it is not surprising that Bombay, with a sympathetic ruler at its head, should take the lead in the matter. The rate of interest offered is, indeed, high, but this can well be explained by the fact that industries like the textile industry nowadays return large dividends. But the question that naturally arises is that connected with the 3 per cent. and 3½ per cent. Government loans of former times. The holders of these are placed in quite an unfavourable position. These loans have fallen considerably in value, and we are afraid that the interests of both the Government and the people can hardly be said to be secure. It, therefore, behoves Government either to gradually redeem those loans or enable the people so to convert them into the new ones that their confidence in their holdings might be revived. We might invite the attention of Government to another point in this connection. It is a principle of political economy that a high rate of interest offered for the purpose for which money is borrowed renders the accomplishment of that purpose costly. Government will, therefore, do well to consider the advisability of issuing premium bonds just as several countries in Europe have done. In conclusion, we might recommend it to Government that arrangements might be made to enable the people to buy the loan and receive the interest thereon through the Post Office also. We are of opinion that such an arrangement will add largely to the subscription of the loan.

Complaint about numerous forest prosecutions in the Kánara District.

Kánara Leader (37), 7th Sept.

37. Narayan Jagannath Gokhale of Mundgod (District Kánara) writes:—Just as Kánara is noted as the home of forests, the number of forest prosecutions in Kánara exceeds those in all other districts. It is difficult for one born in Kánara to escape a forest prosecution. Under the forest law, it is not necessary for a man to commit an offence; even if his cattle stray into forest coupes and eat grass there, the owner of the cattle is hauled up as an offender against the Forest Act! Though in criminal cases the prosecution have to prove their case, in forest cases the responsibility lies on the accused! Many cases of the straying of cattle and consequent prosecutions of the owners occur in Mundgod Petha (Kánara) daily. A fortnight ago, the people of Bommikatti (Kánara) were prosecuted because their cattle ate grass in the Nandikatti forest coupe and they were not given any adjournment, except under security, to get legal assistance and the Magistrate terrified them and got then to pay Rs. 59 as compensation. Why is security needed? Are they thieves? Is there any fear that if pleaders appear, Magistrates will have to do more work, or does the Forest Act exclude pleaders? People pay compensation to escape further trouble. As the forest prosecutions are resorted to only with the object of getting compensation by compulsion, the cases are of a civil and not a criminal nature and the Sub-Judges and not the Magistrates should conduct them. If parties are not

present, *exparte* decisions should be given and no warrants should be issued. The accused should not be placed in the dock and they should not be threatened in any way.

Protest against the enhancement of the V. P. P. charges.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Sept.

38. Mr. R. B. Paymaster, writing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, protests against the enhancement of the V. P. P. charges and says :—"In the case of newspapers the new system would be oppressive, and to those who send by V. P. P. hundreds of such copies to their mofussil subscribers it would be simply prohibitive. It would not be a wise policy to over-tax the spread of cheap literature, and I would, therefore, suggest that articles sent by newspaper and book post under the V. P. system should be exempted from the operation of the new rule in case such articles are not of the value of Rs. 20 or more."

Comments on the rule that V. P. Parcels should be registered.
Praja Bandhu (29), 5th Sept.; *Gujarati Punch* (20), 5th Sept.; *Navsari Patrika* (69), 5th Sept; *Kaira Vartamán* (66), 8th Sept.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 5th Sept.

39. The burden of this new requirement will fall on the customers and no one else. It will not be perceptible in the case of V. P. parcels for large amounts, but the burden will certainly be unbearable in the case of V. P.s under Rs. 10. It is true that the salaries of the employees of the Postal Department have been increased, but the additional expenditure can be defrayed without difficulty out of the enormous profits that the Postal Department are making. If this is not possible, the Postal Department should so arrange matters that only the opulent classes may be affected. The rates for insured articles could very well be raised, and it would have been more proper if only V. P.s exceeding Rs. 10 were required to be registered. It is useless to hope that this sort of injustice will come to an end as long as a law requiring the previous sanction of the Legislative Council for every case of increase in taxation is not enacted. [Writing in a similar strain the *Gujarátti Punch* remarks that this requirement of the Postal Department is unjust and calls upon the various sections of the mercantile community to enter an unanimous protest against it. The *Navsari Patrika* complains that the requirement will tell upon the poorer classes instead of the richer ones and concludes with the hope that the Postal Department will see its way to withdraw it. The *Kaira Vartamán* makes similar remarks. The *Kaiser-i-Hind*, on the other hand, welcomes the rule that V. P. parcels should be registered and proceeds :—Of course, the mercantile community will protest against it, but in what other way can the Postal Department increase its revenue, in order to meet its increased expenditure without affecting the poorer classes? Those journalists who have no faith in their subscribers must bear the additional expense. Though we are afraid that we will incur displeasure, we must say that the customers and merchants who desire to safeguard their interests by the value payable system ought bear the fresh burden.]

What has become of the League of Nations.
New Times (8), 5th Sept.

40. "What has become of the League of Nations? The Allied Powers spoke a good deal in favour of it—to please President Wilson! But they cursed it in their heart. With the exit of President Wilson, the Allies have displayed their old Chauvinism. One has occupied Syria, another Mesopotamia and the two have given a big slice of European and Asiatic Turkey to Greece. The Persian Agreement was not entered into with the consent of the League of Nations; General Wrangel is in Crimea, not with the consent of the League of Nations; allied militarists goaded Poland into war with Russia without the consent of the League of Nations; and the League of Nations has done nothing to stop over a dozen wars which have been raging at present. Belgium and France have entered into a military agreement to crush Germany—though they euphemistically call it a defensive agreement; and the agreement has not been submitted to the League of Nations for ratification! The League is dead as dead mutton!"

41. "The present British policy in Mesopotamia has another danger for us. Any reader of the situation can see here the mustard-seed of another East Africa. The triangular interests—of the Indians, the English, and the natives—will naturally conflict, and all the troubles of East Africa will follow in logical succession. We must cut the evil at its very root. We must lose no time in awakening to the real position. Unfortunately, however, blind enthusiasm is still misleading us. The Maharaja of Kapurthala has offered his regiment of Imperial Service Infantry for service in Mesopotamia, which the Government of India have of course gratefully accepted. This report must open the eyes of the citizens in our States. They should wean the Rajas from craven counsels and should themselves stand clean of the sins of imperialistic ambition."

How the British policy in Mesopotamia will make the position of Indians there similar to that in East Africa.
Young India (13), 8th Sept.

42. "Colonel T. E. Lawrence refers to the services rendered by Emir Feisul during the war and says that his expulsion from Damascus is a poor return for them. There was some idea of the British taking him up as a candidate for the throne of Mesopotamia as a puppet King. But France has already raised a hue and cry, and Britain is not likely to offend France. Emir Feisul was useful when the war was on; now he may go in exile and quietly ruminate over his fate. There is nothing surprising in it. It is the common fate of all who invite the stranger to intervene. It is all the same no credit to the Allies, specially to Britain, that Emir Feisul is now a wanderer on the face of the earth. In the case of Syria, Britain has no face to talk to France. As Colonel Lawrence says, it would show a lack of humour if Britain reproved France for a battle near Damascus and the blotting out of the Syrian essay in self-Government, while Britain was fighting battles near Baghdad and trying to render the Mesopotamian incapable of self-Government, by smashing every head that raised itself among them."

Emir Feisul and the British Government.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Sept.

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The grant of independence to Egypt.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Sept.

44. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* refers to the order passed by a British Officer prohibiting further repairs to a decaying wall of the Mosque of Umar at Jerusalem. It quotes the remarks of the *Muslim Outlook*, which inquired whether Musalmans could be deprived of their right to repair the Mosque, and speculated as to the effects of the order on the Moslem public. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* adds that the people of Palestine have been deprived of self-government, and that a Jew has been appointed as High Commissioner of Palestine, where 90 per cent. of the people are Arabs.

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Mufid-e-Rozgár (151), 5th Sept.

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LEGISLATION.

45. "The problem just now is whether the proposed Bill is of such an urgency as to make it imperative on the Council to pass it during the sessions. The Finance Member has argued very powerfully in defence of the Bill, brushing aside many objections, which otherwise are weighty. The first objection against the Bill is that it is not urgent in any way. The financial and economic situation of the world is in a state of tremendous flux; price movements of the precious metals are most uncertain and irregular; the currency policy of the leading states is still under consideration. Under these circumstances, we think, it would have been a wise policy on the part of Government to drop this Bill for the present. The Finance Member has failed to make out a case for the urgency of the Bill..... The ten-rupee ratio will not mean that gold could be obtained in India for silver currency tendered at the Currency Offices. Therefore the Bill practically amounts to demonetisation of gold currency, at least for the present. And we see no reason why it should be done at this stage. The Finance Member believes that the banks that have accumulated huge reserves of gold will be compelled to release them, and in that case Government will be in a position to give pounds. We do not believe that the premium will substantially disappear in the near future. Gold hunger, not only of India, but also of the rest of the world, has not been satisfied yet. The greatest objection against the Bill is that it will damage our already damaged export trade."

Comments on the Indian Coinage Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council.
Commercial Mercury (12), 6th Sept., Eng. cols.

46. It is to be regretted that the sensible suggestion of the Honourable Mr. Tata that the Bill should be put off till the reformed Legislative Council comes into being was rejected. Government are committing a grave error by hurrying the Bill through in the present sessions at a time when the people of the country are opposed to it. At a time when disaffection is rampant among the people on account of the passing of the Rowlatt Act and other similar incidents Government are adding fuel to the fire by this piece of legislation to which the people are opposed. It is difficult to imagine the consequences of this step. [In the opinion of the *Kesari*, though the measure will reduce the profits of the argiculturists, they would be recouped by the reduction of the prices of imported goods such as cloth. It does not understand what Mr. Tata means by saying that the agriculturists would be reduced to starvation if the Bill is passed. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"Mr. R. D. Tata, the newly appointed member of the Indian Imperial Legislative Council, deserves credit for the staunch fight which he put up almost single-handed in order to secure a postponement of the Currency Bill..... This high rate of exchange would no doubt benefit importers, but that would be at the huge and almost ruinous sacrifice of the exporters and through them of the agriculturists who constitute the bulk of the population."]

Hindusthán (22), 7th Sept.; *Kesari* (109), 7th Sept.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 12th Sept., Eng. cols.

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the most responsible posts, and we cannot hope that Indians will be appointed to the same. Instead of appointing capable Indians as Controllers of Currency a few seats will be provided on the governing board for such Indians as the Government would consider 'safe' to depend upon for carrying out their policy of encouraging foreign import of manufactured goods and our export of raw produce, of giving credit to companies working more in the interest of outsiders and less for those of Indians. In the matter of opening new branches also we have our fears that those centres will be selected where other banks have already opened their branches so that their very existence as such branches will be in danger on account of the killing competition of the branches of the Imperial bank enjoying Government support."

Comments on the Muslim University Bill.
New Times (8), 4th Sept.

48. "The Muslim University Bill introduced by Mr. Shafii, the Education Member, will not satisfy those who are averse to official control of education and the Muslim nationalist will not be pleased with the provisions in the Bill which aim at tightening the Government grip on Aligarh..... One wonders if the Muslims have by waiting obtained a more satisfactory Bill than did the Hindu leaders five years ago. Several circumstances should have combined to make the Muslim University Bill less unsatisfactory than it is. The great educational awakening in the country, the demands for starting new Universities, the transfer of education to ministers, the declarations in the Mont-ford Report, and lastly the report of the Sadler Commission should have widened the official outlook. As it is, if the Muslim University Association accept this Bill, the proposed Muslim University will be little better than a Government Department..... One of the 'wise' recommendations of the Sadler Commission was that Universities should be 'protected against interference by any other public body or by any Department of Government in those matters of educational administration and policy which are assigned to their respective care.' This recommendation is violated by the Muslim University Bill, which requires that the Governor-General's 'directions' must be followed by the University authorities. It will be a pity if the Muslims who have financed their College surrender its autonomy to official interference for the sake of securing a University Charter. Culture and independent thought cannot thrive in an official-ridden University."

Comments on the Select Committee's report on the Bombay Port Trust Act Amendment Bill.
Bombay Samáchár (58), 6th Sept.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 12th Sept., Eng. cols.

49. Reviewing the report of the Select Committee appointed to consider the Port Trust Act Amendment Bill, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—It is satisfactory to note that the Select Committee have given consideration to the protest raised against the Bill by the people. We congratulate the Honourable Member responsible for the Bill on his having recognised the impropriety of conferring large powers upon the Port Trust under the present circumstances. Though the decision of the Select Committee that the Port Trust should maintain waiting rooms and bed rooms, etc., is not objectionable, we would urge it upon the popular members to move such amendments to the Bill as would prevent the Trust from giving the preference to these new functions over its other duties, such as the providing of housing accommodation for its employees. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"We are glad to see that the Select Committee in charge of the Bill has thought fit to cut down the ambitious scheme of the Port Trust to build and manage a large hotel and to give it a more reasonable and practical form..... The Port Trust will build small, cheap hotels, instead of one on a large and magnificent scale. We congratulate the Committee for the good sense which they have displayed..... Considering the complexity and controversial nature of the whole question, it is a pity that it was not held over till the formation of the new councils."]

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 17th September 1920.

*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 18th September 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "Lord Chelmsford has unwittingly done a great service to the cause of non-co-operation. If the Congress resolution moved by Mr. Gandhi on this subject was important no less important is the significance which attaches to the disallowance in the Imperial Council of the Punjáb resolution of which due notice was given by Mr. Sastri..... We say, with all the seriousness we can command, that Lord Chelmsford has committed the greatest blunder that it was in the power of any high official to commit at this juncture. Nevertheless, we are free to confess that we are not at all surprised. In fact, Lord Chelmsford has only been true to his own traditions and furnished a fresh demonstration of his unfitness to hold the high office which he occupies. He has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. First and foremost his action has shown up the ridiculous character of the puppet show which goes on with Church-warden solemnity at Simla; and in the words of Mr. Sastri, has given 'a vivid and shocking proof of the impotence of the Imperial Legislative Council, humiliating the position of its members.'..... We were not aware and it will come as a shock to the 'sanest' Moderate among us, until we were told by Lord Chelmsford, that it is against the interests of the public to applaud the verdict of the Secretary of State affirming the principle of racial equality in our country! We were really groping in the dark until we were told on high authority that our demand to safeguard ourselves by asking for deterrent punishment of the guilty officials who behaved with foul savagery in the Punjáb is not really to our interest! Can cynicism go further?..... The action of the Executive has converted even Mr. Sastri into a temporary non-co-operator since he was apparently so disgusted that he gave notice withdrawing his remaining resolutions. If this is the impetus given to Mr. Sastri's mind what impetus has not this action given to the movement which stands for the complete boycott of the Councils? The country will endorse the action taken by Messrs. Ayyengar and Khaparde as well as Mr. Sastri in withdrawing their resolutions"..... [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"A policy of deliberate provocation has been adopted by Government and when a man like Mr. Sastri, the sworn supporter of the Montagu Scheme, adopts non-co-operation, be it temporarily, it may be safely said that the limit has been reached. The Moderates deliberately sacrificed their political position and standing in the country in order to uphold the Reforms. And how has the bureaucracy elected to treat them? Let the Moderates understand clearly that the bureaucracy will allow them to proceed only upto a certain limit. When that limit is reached, the Moderate is as ruthlessly dealt with as the Nationalist, probably with less ceremony, because of the soft material of which he is made. It is the duty of the Moderates to teach the bureaucracy that they will not tolerate such treatment any more than the Nationalists."

The disallowance of the Honourable Mr. Sastri's resolution on the Punjáb.

Bombay Chronicle (1) 15th and 17th Sept.

*2. "The spirit of non-co-operation exhibited by some non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council in its session the other day by withdrawing their resolutions as a protest against the Viceroy's high-handed and ultra-bureaucratic disallowance of the Honourable Mr. Sastri's resolution on the Punjáb affairs proves to the hilt, if proof were at all wanting, that in the present dire circumstances there is no other more effective means of knocking the bottom out of the bureaucracy than non-co-operation..... There is nothing in it [the resolution] which is inconsistent with public interest; on the other hand public interest would have been better served by admitting the resolution and public mind would have been placated to a certain extent. The Viceroy, in his wisdom, however, thought it fit to disallow his resolution and in doing so, he has given additional evidence of his utter incompetence to hold his high post. If he is now afraid of the unpleasant memories that are likely to be roused by a public discussion of the Punjáb affairs he must thank himself for allowing his lieutenants and myrmidons to perpetrate these

Mahrátta (7), 19th Sept.

atrocities under his very nose. We congratulate the Honourable Mr. Sastri and others on the admirable boldness manifested by them and once more ask Lord Chelmsford to make his bow and no longer insult India by his dismal presence here."

3. "The disallowance of Mr. Sastri's resolution demonstrates in a striking manner the great danger of placing arbitrary powers in the hands of an Executive anxious to escape being confronted with their critics..... His Excellency's action is the more glaring in view of the fact that the Punjáb affair has not been discussed in debate in the Viceregal Council since the publication of the Hunter Roport..... An outraged and insulted nation has thus been denied an opportunity to ventilate its grievances in the Viceregal Council. It is plain the Olympian gods are afraid of a combined attack of non-official members of the Council who are of one view on the question of the Punjáb atrocities..... And the same Viceroy and his Provincial satraps expect 'co-operation' from the people!"

New Times (8), 15th Sept.

4. Commenting on the disallowing of the Honourable Mr. Sastri's resolutions on the Punjáb affairs by the Viceroy, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—"It passes all comprehension how these two resolutions have been grouped together. Quite unconsciously but not the less effectively the Viceroy has given a distinct stimulus to the non-co-operation movement just as he did by denouncing Mr. Gandhi's scheme as the most foolish of all foolish schemes. When the Legislative Council met on the 14th instant it was found that the effect of the President's decision was that almost all Indian members had withdrawn resolutions of which they had given notice..... .. Most of us are doubtful as to the success of non-co-operation, but this remarkable unanimity among the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council, not one of whom has voted for Mr. Gandhi's resolution at the Congress, conveys a lesson which can be read by he who runs..... The decision of His Excellency the President has demonstrated in a striking manner the great danger in any constitution of putting an arbitrary power of this kind in the hands of the executive..... Outside the Council the movement of non-co-operation is making astonishing progress, and the loyalty to the decision of the Congress is a marked manifestation of the rapidly growing Nationalism in India..... The goal of India is looming much nearer to-day than it did six months ago."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 17th Sept., Eng. cols.

5. "At the present most psychological moment Lord Chelmsford has proved the best possible friend of the cause of non-co-operation. While speaking against violence, a speaker at the last sitting of the Special Congress said that Mr. Gandhi personally was worth more than ten thousand policemen. With equal truth it might be asserted that the latest action of Lord Chelmsford in disallowing Mr. Sastri to move his resolutions in the Imperial Council, will secure for the non-co-operation cause many wobblers and far many new recruits. In other words, his lordship has been his own worst enemy and has by his own hands dug the grave for bureaucracy in this country..... In the same breath that he appeals the public to forget the past, he comes out with an action, which makes the forgetting of the past not only impossible, but like Ossa on Pelion, piles up further burdens on the long list of official reactionary misdeeds..... We think, and every thoughtful Indian thinks, that to have allowed the Honourable Mr. Sastri to move his resolutions would have been far more consistent with public interest. But apart from their consistency or not, the Government of India is in honour bound to carry out the behest of the Cabinet. The latter have directed the Government of India to take punitive action against the guilty officials in the despatch of the Secretary of State of 26th May last. Mr. Sastri's resolution on the Punjáb was in the nature of a reminder, and yet even such an innocent and innocuous resolution was too much for His Excellency's equanimity..... The new rule is to the following effect. 'The Governor General may, within the period of notice, disallow any resolution or any part of a resolution, on the ground that it cannot be

Sánj Vartamán (32), 11th Sept., Eng. cols.

moved without detriment to the public interest.' We are of opinion that as long as this rule disfigures the statute book, all Reforms and all new powers and concessions are worthless..... It is now certain that the Government of India never meant to punish the Punjáb criminals. It is now certain, that but for public clamour, the Indian Government would never have been compelled to appoint the Hunter Commission..... But now that the public knows more than is convenient for the Government, the Viceroy prevents further revelation behind the convenient shield of 'detriment to the public interest'."

*6. "Lord Chelmsford's Government have been piling blunders upon blunders and would seem determined, as it were, to go the wrong way and intensify the feeling in the country which the Punjáb affairs and their handling by the Viceroy have aroused. Lord Chelmsford himself is not a capable man. He is, besides, wanting in the very qualities that are essential in a Viceroy of India. He lacks political imagination to a woeful extent and genuine sympathy with the people. He lives in the clouds and talks from the clouds and is entirely out of touch with Indian views and sentiments. He is further not very fortunate in his colleagues..... All of them including the Viceroy are dominated by notions of racial prestige and a consciousness of racial superiority and official omnipotence. These have landed them into a series of awful blunders for which they would have been forced to resign in a self-governing and self-respecting country..... These painful reflections occur to us on a perusal of the correspondence that has passed between the Honourable Mr. Sastri and His Excellency the President in regard to Mr. Sastri's resolutions on the Punjáb affairs which Lord Chelmsford has disallowed on the ground that they cannot, in his opinion, be moved 'consistently with the public interest.' It is an extraordinary decision and is bound to meet with unanimous condemnation throughout the whole country. It passes one's comprehension how the first resolution can in any sense be said to be inconsistent with public interests, unless His Excellency the President is opposed to the principle of perfect racial equality and to the principle that 'Indian lives ought to be held as sacred as British lives and British honour.' The disallowance of this resolution is on the face of it a high-handed exercise of autocratic power which is certain to add to the feeling of distrust and resentment which Lord Chelmsford's policy has generated in the mind of the Indian public..... By disallowing Mr. Sastri's resolutions Government have thrown away an excellent opportunity of taking the public into their confidence and pacifying public feeling by a straightforward presentation to the Council of the steps taken by them to vindicate the cause of justice and humanity and by a clear enunciation of their policy with reference to the first resolution. It is perfectly idle to pretend that discussion of the resolutions in open Council would have aroused racial feeling. On the contrary, if Lord Chelmsford's Government had acted in a spirit of righteout courage in dealing with the authors of the Punjáb atrocities, a full explanation of the action taken by them would have allayed public resentment..... It is surprising that His Excellency has failed to realise the gravity of throwing overboard the Home Member's promise that 'the non-official Members should have an opportunity of discussing the Hunter Committee's report.'..... It is no wonder that the Honourable Mr. Sastri found it impossible to endure this further humiliation and outrage upon the wounded feelings of his countrymen which was involved in the disallowance of his resolutions, and felt himself called upon to request His Excellency to treat his other resolutions, of which he had given notice, as withdrawn."

Gujaráti (18), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.

*7. "Lord Chelmsford has brought a hornet's nest about his ears by his refusal to allow the two resolutions of the Honourable Mr. Shrinivasa Sastri regarding the Punjáb affairs to be placed before the Imperial Legislative Council. The Viceroy has of course the power to disallow any questions or resolutions being put in the Council if he thinks that the discussion of such questions or resolutions would not be in the interests of the country; but this power is exercised very seldom, and in this case we are afraid it has not been used wisely. It is no exaggeration to say that the

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.

Punjáb affairs of last year still form a burning topic of the day..... The Punjáb affairs have been discussed freely in the House of Commons, in the House of Lords and in the Army Council, but they have not yet been discussed fully in the Indian Legislative Council. It is but natural that they should be discussed in the Indian Council; it is but natural that the members of this Council, as the representatives of the people, should like to express their views on a question of such grave import..... In fact a promise was given to them that they would have an opportunity freely to discuss the Hunter Committee's report after it had been published; but now that they want to avail themselves of the opportunity, it is refused to them."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 15th Sept.; *Hindusthán* (23), 15th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 15th and 16th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 15th and 16th Sept.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 16th Sept.

8. The Honourable Mr. Sastri had given notice of moving an important resolution in connection with the sad affairs in the Punjáb in the Imperial Legislative Council; but the Viceroy disallowed it in an arbitrary manner. Only lately His Excellency advised the people to forget the past and to co-operate with Government, but he himself has taken a step that will nullify the effect of his advice. The injustice done to Mr. Sastri is an injustice to the whole country, and Mr. Sastri has done well in protesting against the treatment given to him and in refusing to move the other resolntions that stood in his name. It was sheer high-handedness on the part of the Viceroy to have disallowed the resolutlon, and this action goes to show that Government have not in any way changed their attitude towards the public. In these circumstances, there is no alternative for the people but to resort to non-co-operation. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—The Viceroy has committed a grave blunder in disallowing Mr. Sastri's resolution and by doing so has shown his own lack of foresight. The incident will convince the people of the impotence of the non-official members in the Imperial Legislative Council. Let us hope that those who advocate co-operation with Government will take a lesson from this incident. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The Viceroy has shown himself wanting in tact and foresight by disallowing Mr. Sastri's resolution and has strengthened the hands of those who advocate non-co-operation. In the subsequent issue the paper writes:—The whole of India has been roused by the unjust and high-handed action taken by the Viceroy in disallowing the resolution, and everyone has begun to feel that the Viceroy has betrayed the confidence placed in him. Mr. Sastri should again give notice of moving the resolution and if the Viceroy is disposed to be obstinate he should resign his seat by way of protest against the treatment given to him. The non-official members of the Legislative Councils of other provinces should hold meetings of their own and pass Mr. Sastri's resolution and send it on to the Government of India through their respective Governments. If all these movements fail to bring the Viceroy to his senses, then the non-official members of the Viceroy's Council should give notice of moving a resolution in the Council expressing lack of confidence in the Viceroy. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* writes:—The whole of India deplores the unfortunate mistake committed by the Viceroy. The fact that the Viceroy has not the courage to redress an administrative injustice goes to prove the necessity of his being made to make way for a more sympathetic, tactful and strong-minded ruler. The names of Lord Willingdon and Sir George Lloyd are being being suggested as propable successors of Lord Chelmsford. Both of them have proved themselves to be sympathetic rulers and there is ample justification for their names being suggested for the Viceroyalty. In the subsequent issue the paper deplores the action taken by the Viceroy and declares that it will tend to shake the confidence of the people in British justice. The *Bombay Samáchár* also disapproves of the Viceroy's action and declares that he has lost a good opportunity of winning over the hearts of the people.]

Servant of India (9), 16th Sept.; *Lokasangraha* (112), 17th Sept.

9. "The *Times of India*, in a recent issue, advised the Liberals to carry on a propaganda against non-co-operation with as much earnestness as Mr. Gandhi was sure to put into his propaganda in its favour. The Liberals ought certainly to do it, but they suffer from a terrible

handicap. Their success largely depends upon the action of the Government which at the present moment is such as to push on Mr. Gandhi's rather than the Liberals' propaganda. If constitutional agitation everywhere meets with a rebuff, how can the Liberals dissuade people from non-co-operation? ..... Callous to public opinion as they are, the Government of India even go the length of practically defying the Imperial Government's order to take suitable punitive action against officers who were guilty of excesses in suppressing disturbances. Further, they high-handedly decline to answer questions and shut out opportunities of discussing the matter in the Indian Legislative Council—a matter which is nearest the heart of every patriotic Indian. If the Government believe that the Punjáb is quieting down, and that the discussion of the question will arrest the progress, they are living in a fool's paradise. Quiet will not be restored till full reparation is made to the Punjáb." [It is not that Englishmen do not realise that trampling all Indians under foot for the sake of the prestige of a few Englishmen cuts at the root of the British Government, but selfishness and empty pride come in their way. They are not willing to do justice and put O'Dwyer into jail and hang Dyer. They are not willing even to touch officials lower in rank. They feel sure that the Indians being dead to all feeling will forget after a time the wounds of the Punjáb and they are not willing to allow these affairs to be discussed. Mr. Sastri is angry that the Government of India has ignored the instructions of the Secretary of State to punish officials guilty of committing outrages in the Punjáb. But we should now at least understand the diplomacy wherein things are done in fraudulent concert. It is painful that our leaders should still be ignorant about these things. What of the Government promise that they would give an opportunity for free discussion? They felt that they should give a promise then. But who has said that it must be kept? Will the Moderates who have such a great horror of non-co-operation tell us under what category Mr. Sastri's withdrawal of resolutions comes in? Is this not non-co-operation on a small scale?]

10. "As many as 23 resolutions were withdrawn by non-official members of the Viceregal Council as a protest against the disallowance of Mr. Sastri's resolution on the Punjáb horrors. The non-official members have acted with decision and patriotism. They could have gone further and withdrawn from further sittings of the sham Council altogether. Lord Chelmsford will understand now that his trampling upon Indian feelings in the matter has caused the deepest resentment and indignation throughout the country. This action on the part of the Councillors may also be taken as an indication of the esteem in which the President of the Council is held by independent Indians! At the end of the life of this Morley-Minto Council, its President has been presented with a certificate by Indian members withdrawing their resolutions!" [The *Indu Prakdsh* writes:—Mr. Sastri is against Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation. But he also had to accept non-co-operation in this case. Another illustration is now before the public regarding the agency that is diverting even extremely reasonable and mild people like Mr. Sastri towards non-co-operation.]

Comments on the withdrawal of resolutions by the non-official members of the Viceregal Legislative Council.

New Times (8), 15th Sept.; *Indu Prákásh* (44), 15th Sept.

11. The Viceroy made a long speech at the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council. In his speech he referred among other things to the sad happenings of last year and the non-co-operation movement started by Mahatma Gandhi. In connection with the former his advice was that all should forget the past and work in a spirit of co-operation. Having regard to human nature and remembering what attempts have been made even by the Government to protect those who were responsible for the occurrences in the Punjáb, it is not possible for the Viceroy's advice to be followed. The situation has been simply accentuated by the attitude of the House of Lords in the matter. Again, the recent attempts made by Government to levy indemnities for injury done to property in the

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech at the Simla sitting of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Sind Vasi (149), 24th Aug.

disturbances of last year have added fresh fuel to the fire. Does Lord Chelmsford imagine that he can thus secure the end in view, *viz.*, that the past should be forgotten? If, in these circumstances, the people do not listen to the advice of the Viceroy the fault will not be theirs. What the Viceroy said with regard to Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation movement has our general concurrence. At the same time it must be remembered that the movement is neither visionary nor foolish. What comes out of the brain of Mahatma Gandhi cannot be so characterised. There is no doubt, however, that it is a dangerous movement and that if it becomes widespread it will lead to chaos in the country. This is our firm conviction, despite Mahatma Gandhi's assurances to the contrary.

Bharatwasi (143), 24th Aug.

12. We never expected that His Excellency the Viceroy would ask us to forget the past and to think of the future and work in co-operation with reference to the Punjab question. He seems to think that he is a person unconnected with the controversy. The people of this country, however, think that the greatest sinner in the matter after Sir Michael O'Dwyer is the Viceroy himself for whose recall they have cried themselves hoarse. Instead of acknowledging his guilt, the Viceroy finds fault with our people for keeping up the controversy. We remind the Viceroy that it is impossible for Indians to keep quiet until they have secured that atrocities such as were committed in the Punjab last year shall not recur.

Comments on Government's reply as to how the Punjáb Martial Law officers have been dealt with.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Sept.

13. "The report which we publish elsewhere of the replies given, concerning the aftermath of the Punjáb tragedy, during the closing session of the Imperial Council, will be read with consternation throughout the length and breadth of India. The other day Mr. Sastri wanted to recommend deterrent punishment for the guilty officials. Lord Chelmsford refused to allow him to discuss his recommendation on the fictitious plea of public interest. To-day Lord Chelmsford, having made a political blunder of the first magnitude, is found justifying his conduct. [Here the paper gives an extract from the concluding portion of His Excellency the Viceroy's closing speech.] This sounds very nice, pious, elegant, idealistic, high-planned and high-souled. But let us see what Lord Chelmsford's representatives have done during the same sitting for 'reconciliation and good feeling between the communities.' Questions were put by Messrs. Sinha and Sastri concerning the 'punishment' meted out to the guilty officials and the reparation given to the sufferers. The replies given by the Government afford a fitting commentary to Lord Chelmsford's speech..... What are the 'punishments' they receive for the foul and atrocious deeds which they have committed? A police inspector reverts to his substantive rank, another is reduced to the rank of a sub-inspector; a Deputy Commissioner is censured. O'Brien, Doveton, Marsden, Macrae, Campbell and Jacob have been informed, 'and in some cases it is proposed to inform them, of Government's strong disapproval of these officers' actions which were injudicious and improper'! Another is deprived of his power to try Martial Law cases. Kitchin and Miles Irving evoke regrets from the Government for their failure. Bosworth Smith goes on leave preparatory to retirement, 'after a request to remain on active duty till spring of 1921, had been refused.' No action is proposed against Frank Johnson! This sums up the terrible action taken by Government to bring about reconciliation and good feeling between the communities, to vindicate its honour: to do justice to the victims of cruel terrorism! But this is not all. Punishments apart, what of the reparation? The interesting statement is made that forty dependents of needy persons killed at Jhallianwalla Bagh have received assistance from the Government. The average sum paid to these individuals is Rs. 346. On the other hand, the total amount paid as relief in cases of Europeans who lost their lives is nearly five lakhs, the average sum paid to an individual being Rs. 68,617. For relief to Europeans who were injured the average is over seven thousand rupees! In speaking in the Council as he did, after the recital of the above facts by Mr. Muddiman, Lord

Chelmsford must have spoken with his tongue in his cheek. We do not doubt that he means what he says, but we are glad to know now that the value of an European life is worth nearly seventy thousand rupees and that of an Indian life less than three hundred and fifty. We should be thankful that Indian lives are worth anything at all. A strange lesson this in good feeling between the communities! The fact must be faced that Lord Chelmsford has been tried and found wanting, that the system which can play ducks and drakes with our lives, finances, our honour has been tried and found wanting..... There is no doubt that these disclosures will strengthen the people's resolve to work for their salvation by adopting the policy of non-violent non-co-operation. At Calcutta, Mr. Gandhi set the ball of this policy rolling. At Simla Lord Chelmsford and the Indian Government have given it such a momentum that day by day its velocity will increase until the time arrive when such systems of barbaric bureaucracy as prevailed in the Punjáb will be shattered to pieces giving way to a new order of peace and good-will."

Sanj Vartamán (32), 17th Sept.

14. Commenting upon the answers to the interpellations in connexion with the Punjáb disturbances made by the Honourable Mr. Sinha and the Honouroble Mr. Khaparde in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Sanj Vartamán* writes :—The only thing to be gathered from the answers is that the culprits have escaped scot-free with a simple reprimand by Government. What greater insult can be given to the country than that a mere reprimand should be considered enough for the horrible deeds perpetrated? In spite of the clear instructions embodied in the Secretary of State's despatch that those officers who were found guilty of reprehensible conduct should be punished, His Exeellency the Viceroy gave them an opportunity of defending themselves and has thus shown solicitude for the interests of the bureaucracy while utterly disregarding the just demand of the people of India. This action of his indicates that he is in wanting in the statesmanship required for governing a large country like India.

Mahrátta (7), 19th Sept.

***15.** In response to a question put by the Honourable Mr. Sinha, a statement was laid on the table detailing punishments meted out to those officers in the Punjáb who were guilty of excesses and severities during the Martial Law regime..... We hesitate to say more than that these punishments or no-punishments speak volumes for the keen sense of British justice. Again when we come to the help given to the dependents of Indians the reading is equally harrowing. The Home Member felt no qualms in replying to the Honourable Mr. Khaparde's question that the case of inhabitants of Amritsar was adequately met by private generosity and that of persons resident outside the city was dealt by the local Government by distributing £1,200. In reply to the Honourable Mr. Shastri the Home Member said that so far only in forty cases assistance has been given by Government to the dependants of needy persons killed at Jhallianwalla Bagh. The average is Rs. 346. The total amount paid as relief in the case of Europeans injured is Rs. 43,259, the average being Rs. 7,208. Again, the total amount paid as relief in the cases of Europeans who lost their lives is Rs. 480,321, the average being 68,617. The figures tell their own tale. And yet the Viceroy has the audacity to declare, as he did in his closing speech, I feel, as keenly as any in this Council, the need for holding Indian life and honour sacred'. Comment is superfluous. It is this callousness on the part of rulers that brings revolutions into being. Let those concerned take heed in time!"

Indian Social Reformer (6), 19th Sept.

***16.** "If the Government had meted out deterrent punishment to the offenders, the ground of public interest would have been intelligible and better appreciated. As a matter of fact, the punishment meted out to the principal offenders is merely to inform them that Government disapproved of their conduct. Some subordinate Indian officials have been reduced in rank, but all the superior officers, including practically all Europeans, escape scot-free.

The Legislative Council had a clear right to express an opinion on the conduct of Government after hearing whatever explanation it had to offer, and the denial to it of the opportunity of doing so, is a high-handed exercise of the discretion vested in the President..... It seems to us to be quite absurd to allege that a subject which had been discussed in Parliament six thousand miles away could not be discussed in the Legislative Council of India without detriment to public interests. The Government of India should have welcomed the opportunity of replying to criticisms. As it is, they have 'funked' it."

Comments on Government's reply in the Imperial Legislative Council as to the number of military commissions held by Indians.
Lokasangraha (112), 14th Sept.

17. Commenting upon the reply given by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the Honourable Mr. Sastri as regards the number of King's Commissions held by Indians and the number of Indian cadets now undergoing instruction at Sandhurst, the *Lokasangraha* writes:— His Excellency seemed to be thinking that he and his countrymen had treated India most liberally in the matter of Commissions and that Indians would never be able to repay their obligations! When crores of rupees are spent from the Indian treasury on the army, Indians get only 51 commissions! Similarly it is very strange that Government who could secure lakhs of brave men for the army when the war was on are now able to find only 14 men fit to receive instruction at Sandhurst. This state of things can no longer satisfy us. We must be able to defend ourselves. How long is a nation of 33 crores of people to look to others for protection? Indians will not be satisfied unless the Indian army is officered by Indians and is under the control of the nation.

Reflections on the passing of the non-co-operation resolution at the special session of the Congress.
Young India (13), 15th Sept.

18. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Never has the Congress been called upon to decide an issue so momentous as the one it was called upon to decide at its special session presided over by Lala Lajpatrai. Never perhaps has the Congress witnessed such determined opposition as was offered to the non-co-operation resolution. And yet never, within my experience, has a decisive majority listened with such respect and attention to the opposition argument as it did at the last session. Again never has there been such united opposition shown to a Subjects Committee resolution by the noted leaders of the people..... I warned that great audience against accepting my proposal unless they were prepared to suffer and were convinced that true non-co-operation was possible only through the programme submitted by me. But the audience wanted action, wanted suffering..... An analysis of the votes shows that the country wants non-co-operation. Mrs. Besant who consistently, fearlessly and frankly opposed it had very few adherents..... Nothing I heard on the Congress platform has shaken my belief in the necessity or the efficacy of these steps. But I would respectfully address a few words to the majority and to the minority. To the majority I would say: The hour of the greatest triumph is the hour of the greatest humility. The majority has taken upon its shoulders a tremendous responsibility. Every individual voter in favour of my proposal has certainly bound himself, if he is a parent, to withdraw his children from schools or colleges subject in any way to Government control. Every voter being a lawyer is bound at the earliest opportunity to suspend his practice and promote the cause of settlement of disputes by private arbitration. Every candidate for the Councils, who has voted with the majority, has undertaken to withdraw his candidature, every such voter to refrain from voting at the elections. Every delegate voting with the majority has bound himself to stimulate hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in his own person to use only hand-spun aud hand-woven cloth. Everyone of the majority having accepted the principle of non-violence, self-sacrifice and discipline in regard to non-co-operation is bound to treat the minority with respect and fairness..... Those who voted with the minority were either weak or not ready. Some few doubted the rightness of

withdrawing children from schools for instance. But when they see schools being emptied, national schools springing into being, lawyers suspending practice and yet not starving, and the councils deserted at least by the best of nationalists, they will soon begin to believe in the programme, lose their weakness and be themselves ready to adopt it..... To the minority I would say, they have lost in a fair light. Unless now therefore it is a matter of conscience with them, they must come forward to prosecute the programme of non-co-operation in a most vigorous manner..... By far the largest number in the minority have accepted the principle of establishment of private arbitation-courts and national schools. They wanted only a postponement of the consideration of the boycott of councils. I venture to suggest to them that now that the majority has decided in favour of a quicker pace, the minority should accept the verdict and help to make the programme a success. Boycott of foreign goods finds a place in my resolution. I am sorry for it. I may not state how it came to find a place there. But as it did not conflict with my conscience, and in order to show my reasonableness, I undertook to move a resolution whose musical harmony was marred by a false note. Boycott of foreign cloth is included in Swadeshi. Boycott of all other foreign goods is a senseless proposition if only because it is a virtual impossibility. But if the introduction of the addendum stimulates us to sacrifice our luxuries and superfluities, it would have served a good purpose. It is certainly our right and duty to discard everything foreign that is superfluous and even everything foreign that is necessary if we can produce or manufacture it in our country."

19. Everything is useless unless full *swarájya* is obtained, and it must be acquired immediately and the only means to accomplish the purpose are non-co-operation and self-dependence; and we must gird up our loins to adopt these measures. In sum, the Calcutta Congress has laid down rightly what Indians had to say regarding both the end and the means. The back of Government prestige has been broken and Government are under the influence of fear, as is seen in the Punjáb affairs and even in the matter of the reforms. They did not give more because of their fear, and what little has been given is also due to fear. Whatever be the real feelings of Government, people have determined to get what they want at any cost. There was only one question before the Congress and that was non-co-operation The Congress not only accepted the principle of non-co-operation but also some details of action. There are two important things embodied in the resolution. It is impossible to remove the ills of India unless full *swarajya* is obtained and, therefore, a formal demand of full *swarajya* should be made, and the second thing is that so long as Government do not grant it completely we should non-co-operate against it. Elsewhere the paper writes:—The Moderates have begun to spread false rumours that the Nationalists were defeated. But really there is no differenee between the Gandhi party and the Nationalists. Mahatma Gandhi obstinately stuck to co-operation and opposed Mr. Tilak in Amritsar; within six months he has travelled to the other extreme of non-co-operation. It is a victory of the Nationalists. They will not at all leave the Congress. It is quite necessary to boycott the Councils immediately, whatever be the individual loss. We do not think there will be any difference of opinion in the Central Provinces, Berár and the Kárnatak. Mr. Gandhi allowed liberty of action; but once the resolution is passed, we are not willing to allow Mr. Gandhi to interpret it. We have also like Mr. Gandhi got a conscience; and the straightforward way is to accept the Congress decision. [The *Indu Prakásh* refers to the resignations of some Congress officials in the Madras Presidency, and says that the forecast made before the Congress met that new parties would be formed is likely to turn out true.]

Kesari (109), 14th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 15th Sept.

20. "Though the success of Mr. Gandhi was complete in the open Congress, there were other factors which make us discount the magnitude of this success. At this juncture, we cannot blink our eyes to the deliberations and the verdict of the Subjects Committee of the Congress. This Committee is like the

Sánj Vartamán (32), 15th Sept., Eng. cols.; *New Times* (8), 10th and 13th Sept.

Cabinet of the Congress and here the house, for and against Mr. Gandhi's resolution, was almost equally divided. The bare majority of thirteen in favour of the resolution, does not at all signify that Mr. Gandhi had unanimity at his back. Even in the Congress out of 5,814 delegates, the number that actually voted was less than half—2,773. These are significant figures, but even more significant than these figures were the persons who composed the minority. Some of them, in patriotism and national service, are second to none—not even to Mr. Gandhi himself—and we sincerely and honestly believe that when some of these great and stirling men were pleading most earnestly for certain modifications in his resolution, Mr. Gandhi ought to have bowed to their earnest request and yielded a little without in any way taking anything from the gravamen and essence of his resolution. This might have silenced the charge of dictatorship that is levelled against him, and might have given the best proof of his possession of the spirit of sweet reasonableness. We are afraid, by obdurately proving a whole-hogger, Mr. Gandhi sacrificed greater unanimity and greater support for his side." [The *New Times* remarks:—"Sind will be gratified to learn that the National Congrees has accepted the programme of non-co-operation as outlined by Mahatma Gandhi..... The bureaucracy knows now that non-co-operation is not a bluff; and the official challenge of repression will be renewed. Let it be Sind's privilege to keep the flag flying." In its issue dated the 13th September, the paper writes:—"The Nation has voted for Mahatama Gandhi's resolution. The party of 'co-operationists' know now the people are not with them..... It is Sind's clear duty now to set a good example to other Provinces and sustain non-co-operation to a successful issue. Several in the Province will continue to stand aloof from the movement; non-co-operation does not pay! Sind is a Muslim province; but Hindus wield considerable influence. It is for Muslims and their Hindu friends to co-operate to make non-co-operation the success it deserves to be."]

21. "The last two or three sessions of the Indian National Congress were far removed in spirit from their predecessors; but this year the Congress has made a definite break with the past. A change in its creed at the Nágpur session will complete the revolution. Mr. Gandhi for his part does not wish to conceal the fact that he is doing nothing less than revolutionise the policy pursued by the country ever since the British connection. He is putting into the hands of his countrymen a new political weapon which, given an intensity of feeling on any question concerning either domestic or foreign politics, ready to show itself in a limited measure of sacrifice, must prove an infallible remedy against all injustice..... Mr. Gandhi's plan does not differ materially from that of Sinn Feiners. Violence is by no means a necessary or an integral part of Sinn Fein. That movement, equally with Mr. Gandhi's, ignores the British Government and organises its own administrative machinery as if the Government did not exist. If non-violent Sinn Fein has had no chance in Ireland, it is doubtful if non-violent non-co-operation will have one in India, if it is to be carried on on the large scale which is required for its success. The very forces which keep such a movement in being tend to bring on disorder, and serious violence means an end to non-co-operation as Mr. Gandhi understands it. Again, it is impracticable. Of course there is nothing in it which is physically impossible, but as a mass movement, it can have but a limited success. Sinn Fein, separated from violence, can hardly be said to have paralysed the British Government, though it has had several years' run, and Mr. Gandhi's movement, to put it at the lowest, has no better prospects. The other plan of offering systematised obstruction which Mr. Pal favours also has had a trial in Ireland. Parnel used this weapon when he found he could not get the English Parliament, absorbed in its own affairs, to listen to Irish demands. Will our position in the new councils be the same as was that of the Irish group in the English Parliament? And did Parnel himself continue to use obstructive tactics and block all measures to the end? Did he not later subside into a supporter of the Government when he found that obstruction had done work? In any case, this policy did not win home rule for Ireland with

Servant of India (9), 16th Sept.

anything like the speed with which people anticipate it will win home rule in India..... We profoundly disbelieve any short-cuts to the attainment of self-government such as those recommended by Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Das. They only endanger the ordered progress which the reforms ensure. Even if this road should prove somewhat long, it is free from the dangers to which the plan of either Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Das is liable. We prefer steady and sure progress even though seemingly slow; it will in the long run be the least slow of all."

22. Mr. Gandhi has scored a success by getting his resolution on non-co-operation passed in the Special Congress. The resolution will not be allowed to remain on paper only by Mr. Gandhi, but a great deal of harm will be done to the cause of the Congress if it is not put into practice. We wish a Committee had been appointed by the Special Congress to give effect to the resolution. But in absence of the Committee the responsibility of putting it into practice devolves upon the Provincial Congress Committees. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—The Special Congress has proved the extent of the influence possessed by Mr. Gandhi over the people. The programme of non-co-operation laid down by the resolution passed in the Congress is no doubt a heavy one. The country has taken a grave responsibility upon itself. We cannot secure immediate success for the movement, nor do we think that it will be taken up on a large scale. In the first instance public opinion must be educated on the subject, and then national schools should be opened and arbitration courts established. We should pay no heed to the parrot cry that is being raised that the movement will prove a failure. We should continue to do our duty. If all the people of India take up the non-co-operation movement in earnest and refrain from violence they will herald in a new era which will prove of immense benefit to all the people of the world. The *Hindusthán* writes :—It is a matter for gratification that that the resolution on non-co-operation has been passed by a majority in the Special Congress. Even the London *Times* admits that non-co-operation is a way to the acquisition of *Swarajya*. The way may be full of dangers, but they need not frighten us. It now behoves the people to accept the resolution and to try their level best to put it into practice. The *Baroda Vartamán* approves of the the resolution and appeals to the people to give practical effect to it. The *Hitechchhu* welcomes the non-co-operation resolution as embodying the real feelings of the people and expresses hope that it will prove successful. The *Deshi Mitra* also welcomes the resolution and declares that the people had no other recourse open to them as all their petitions for securing justice had been made in vain. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* is of the opinion that the non-coperation resolution as passed by the Special Congress will prove ineffective so far as schools and law courts are concerned. It believes Government will suppress national schools on the plea that they propagate sedition. It, however, believe that the encouragement of *swadeshi* goods and boycott of foreign goods embodied in the resolution will prove beneficial to the country if put into practice in an effective manner. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* declares that the non-co-operation resolution will soon be proved to be impracticable and ineffective. The *Bharat Seva* is of a similar opinion.]

Gujarati (18), 12th Sept.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 11th Sept.; *Hindusthán* (22), 11th Sept.; *Baroda Vartamán* (57), 13th Sept.; *Hitechhu* (65), 12th Sept.; *Deshi Mitra* (62), 16th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 13th Sept.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (55), 15th Sept.; *Bhárat Seva* (15), 17th Sept.

23. Mr. Gandhi won a victory and he took full advantage of the majority of votes in favour of his proposition. It would have been better, however, if he had been a little less uncompromising when it became apparent that although a large number of delegates voted for his resolution, most of the leaders were against it. We have always held that our people are not yet ready to adopt Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation and that to ask them to accept it is to invite certain failure. If anyone thinks that we are not conscious of the terrible sin committed by the English by the destruction of the Khilafat or that we do not hate touching the hand stained with the blood of our

Lokasangraha (112), 12th, 14th and 16th Sept.; *Swarájya* ( ), 16th Sept.; *Lakashahi* ( ), 13th Sept.; *Rájakáran* (122), 12th Sept.; *Dunia* (104), 12th Sept.; *Arya Vaibhav* (90), 16th Sept.; *Dnyán Ságar* (103), 13th Sept.; *Daivadnya Prabodhini* (100), 16th Sept.; *Din Mitra* (102), 15th Sept.

people, he is mistaken. But these things do not perturb us simply because we are inured to them. To get angry with the English is to betray our ignorance of their real nature. We lost all our honour on the day on which the English conquered us. It is no use now trying to keep aloof from them. Their grip upon us is so very complete that it is practically impossible to shake them off. The Punjáb and the Khilafat have not dazed us; they have not fallen upon us like a bolt from the blue. These are the natural concomitants of an alien rule like that of the English. Our aim ought to be to take advantage of every opportunity, be it ever so small, that promises to facilitate our progress towards the goal of *swarájya*. We abide by the decision of the Congress, but at the same time we must make it clear that we do not at all approve of non-co-operation. [In subsequent issues the paper says that the true interests of the country will suffer if worthless men are permitted to enter the Councils. At the same time it finds fault with Messrs. Malaviya and Kasturiranga Ayangar of the *Hindu* for standing as candidates for election to the Councils inasmuch as such conduct will, in its opinion, destroy the national character of the Congress. The *Swarájya* writes:—It is clear that those killed in the Punjáb cannot be brought to life and England alone cannot alter the terms of the Turkish treaty of peace decided upon by all the Allies. What then should be done to ensure the co-operation of Indians again? The answer is obvious. Indians will give up non-co-operation when they get a proper recompense for the wrongs sustained by them, and such recompense is the grant of the full rights of *swarájya*. The *Lokashahi* exhorts voters not to vote for any candidate that may present himself for election. The *Rájakáran* warns people that the Congress will be held up to ridicule if its decision is not given effect to. The *Dunia* tells people that they should give up the idea of entering the Councils even if they honestly believe that they can serve the interests of the country thereby. The *Arya Vaibhav* on the other hand says that to ask people to resort to non-co-operation at this stage is to expect a child, who is hardly able to walk, to fight with a sword. The *Dnyán Ságar* says that thoughtful persons will be sorry to see the Congress subscribing to the doctrine of non-co-operation. The *Daivadnya Prabodhini* points out that some items in the programme of non-co-operation are impracticable. The *Din Mitra* says that it has always opposed non-co-operation since, in its opinion, it is unsafe to ask ordinary people to resort to it.]

24. "The programme embodied in the Congress Resolution of non-co-operation has become the country's choice. But it would not do to ignore that the choice of the remedy has not been unanimous. There is a strong and influential minority that does not believe in the present remedy. It includes many respected names in the roll of those who have toiled for the country. And their doubts and fears cannot be discarded..... But the majority under the spell of Gandhi's call have made their choice. Success or failure is in the lap of the gods. Cold reason sees doubt, difficulty, even disaster; warm faith sees none and forges ahead."

Kánara Leader (37), 14th Sept., Eng. cols.

25. The Honourable Mr. R. P. Paranjpe, writing in the *Servant of India*, says:—"It was natural for the crowd to feel resentment. Government has been sadly remiss and even criminal in their apathy. The venom of the Punjáb has circulated in the whole body of the country. In the resentment people think that the country cannot descend lower now. Any change, they feel, is, therefore, bound to be for the better in any case; and they do not much care what that change is. This is not the pass to which a so-called civilised Government should bring a vast portion of the Empire. If they had taken the steps that were obviously necessary to right the wrongs of the Punjáb they would have ushered in the reforms in a congenial atmosphere. The country would have begun its course under very favourable auspices. The strong advocacy by Government of the Muhammadan point of view on the question of the Khilafat would have received due acknowledgment. But, as Mr. Montagu said, the Government is too wooden: it has no life; far less has it any imagination. Thus with wooden, lifeless and unimaginative, prestige-bound Government on the one hand, and an uneducated, unthinking, impresionable people led by visionaries, fanatics and popularity-hunting but cowardly men on the other, we ask again: Whither is the country going?"

Servant of India (9), 16th Sept.

26. The *Shubhodaya* says that if non-co-operation is to be adopted it should be adopted in full and that half measures will not do. However, it is willing to abide by the decision of the Congress, whatever it be. As for Lord Chelmsford's fear that non-co-operation may lead to outrages, it says that there will be no danger, if Government leave off fighting with non-co-operation. [The *Lokabandhu* says all should follow the Congress decision. The *Karnatak Mitra* welcemes the decision but says the path is difficult and wants to see how the programme will work out. The *Vijaya* remarks that it is the duty of every Indian to remember his ancestors and adopt the vow of non-co-operation. The *Rájhansa* expresses itself against the boycott of Councils but urges the acceptance of the Congress decision. In its issue of the 14th instant it says there was not much difference of opinion and that the fight was not against the principle of non-co-operation but only about the time when it was to be enforced. The paper writes in favour of the boycott of Councils and withdraws its previous criticisms and requests the candidates to make use of their arrangements in asking the people not to vote. In its eyes, it goes without saying that they themselves should withdraw. The *Karnátak Vritt* writes :—Like the Vedas, the Congress decision is an authority. Every Indian must adopt non-co-operation.]

Subhodaya (86), 16th Sept.; *Lokabandhu* ( ), 12th Sept.; *Karnatak Mitra* (38), 9th Sept.; *Vijaya* (87), 11th Sept.; *Rájhansa* (85), 11th and 14th Sept.; *Kárnátak Vritt* (83), 14th Sept.

27. Non-co-operation has many aspects and those who cannot take up political non-co-operation as advocated by Mr. Gandhi should resort to social and economic non-co-operation against their rulers and bring them to their senses in the matter of the favourtism shown to foreigners. People should wake up and take action with regard to the remarks made by the *Times of India* about the late Mr. Tilak. We are convinced that Europeans will not be moved unless we practise non-co-operation against them in such a manner as to affect their purses. Should we tolerate those Anglo-Indian papers who are collecting subscriptions for the Dyer Fund? If Indians show a firm attitude, the Anglo-Indian papers will have to bow down to their wishes. Mr. Gandhi has advocated the renunciation of government titles and honours and we shall, therefore, take no notice of any honours conferred upon either officials or non-officials, nor shall we publish accounts of meetings held in honour of officials on their transfers or of non-officials on their receiving titles, etc. Our readers would, therefore, do well not to send us any accounts of this kind. We shall not make any mention of Government titles while referring individuals.

Gujaráti (18), 12th Sept.

28. "It has been remarked that had the Moderates attended this Congress they would perhaps have been able to influence the ultimate decision. Nothing of the kind. The Moderates would have had no chance of making any protest, so deafening was the clamour of the demagogues. It was not a question of co-operation or non-co-operation; for the Nationalists were all agreed from the first as to the principle of non-co-operation. The struggle was between the partial non-co-operation and the whole-hoggers. The former were against the inclusion of some items in Mr. Gandhi's programme; the latter wanted the whole programme to be accepted. The whole-hoggers have won the day, though after a stiff fight. Now that the much discussed programme has received the imprimatur of the National Congress, the question is how will it be carried out. Will all those who have voted in favour of the programme withdraw their children from Government schools to the detriment of their education? Will all those lawyers who have voted for the programme give up practising in the courts? Will all those who declared themselves in favour of boycott forsake the use of foreign goods? A little thought will convince anyone that such a programme is senseless, impracticable and harmful to the best interests of the country, let alone the personal interest of individuals."

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.

29. The *Gujarâti* quotes figures illustrating the magnitude and volume of the foreign trade with India and remarks :—" If some of these facts and figures had been borne in mind by Mr. Gandhi before he accepted Mr. Vijaya Raghavachariar's amendment in favour of the boycott of foreign goods, the Congress would not have committed itself to a decision of a sweeping character which has made it ridiculous in the eyes of all business or sensible men in the country and outside onlookers who expect Congressmen to show greater knowledge and a keener sense of responsibility than they have exhibited in passing the boycott resolution in an unqualified and impossible form. There can be no two opinions as to the supreme necessity and importance of promoting the cause of *swadeshi* by all means in our power. But the above statement makes it perfectly clear how the daily life of the entire population is bound up with the imports of foreign goods in some form or another, and how even the textile industry of the country is dependent upon foreign machinery, and we leave it to our readers to say whether there is the slightest chance of a resolution, conceived in an impracticable shape, being respected by the owners of mills, factories and presses, the other importers of foreign goods, the countless dealers therein and the people at large. The cause of true *Swadeshi* is thus brought into needless discredit by such extravagant or impossible mandates. The Congress loses its prestige and reputation for good sense and statesmanship by resolutions of this kind and exposes itself to effective attacks by hostile critics and general ridicule. There is, in our judgment, no question of greater importance to the country at this juncture than that of the industrial development. But it must be approached and solved in a right way and by the right means and the people must not be misled into believing that the boycott of foreign goods means the economic salvation of India. What is required is constructive work throughout the country for its economic development and that task involves the organisation of the available capital and business talent, skill and labour and the educational and scientific resources of India." ["An observer", writing in the *Servant of India* says :—"The boycott of foreign goods now accepted as part of the resolution will bring about, if practised, such a revolution in our fiscal and commercial policy that it is difficult to estimate the likely consequences..... Compared with this the boycott of Councils is a minor affair, but it is symptomatic of the psychology of the men assembled at Calcutta that two days in open Congress were devoted to a discussion of this topic, and from all accounts no one cared to trouble about the profound change in the economic and fiscal policy of the country. We understand that certain legally-minded folk are oppressed with the idea that a portion of the resolution may offend against the newly-passed Corrupt Practices Act. To inaugurate a revolution unique in character in the history of the world and yet to be afraid of a minatory provision in a measure designed to regulate elections is really to swallow the camel and strain at a gnat. The only explanation for the tactics displayed at the Calcutta Congress is that, save a few sincere adherents of Gandhi, the rest of them were playing at an elaborate make-believe. But in the pursuit of their game it must not be forgotten that they have committed the Congress to a policy which renders it powerless for good in the present conditions, though potential for mischief uncontemplated by the originators of the new article of faith... ..... A readjustment of political vision and a reassortment of political parties is the need of the hour. To hesitate now would be to succumb weakly in the face of a dynamic propaganda whose results are only too easy to envisage."]

Gujarâti (18), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.; *Servant of India* (9), 16th Sept.

***30.** "Lala Lajpatrai's speech at the closing of the Congress is a masterpiece of inconsistency. After having remained silent throughout the whole course of the proceedings, after having deliberately shunned his obvious duty of guiding the Congress by frankly declaring his own views after all was said, done, finished and settled, he opened his mouth to speak—and hark! What words of wisdom and commonsense fell from

Comments on Lala Lajpatrai's concluding speech at the special session of the Congress.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.

his lips! Had he uttered them at an earlier stage of the proceedings how much better would it have been for himself and for the whole nation!..... It is rather amusing to see the Lala blowing hot and cold at the same breath in his efforts to appear impartial. He condemns a part of the (non-co-operation) programme as suicidal and impracticable. Yet he thinks that they should carry it out with all the means at their disposal; and yet he begs them that in case their programme required modification, they should not refuse it..... Of a truth, there is a time to speak and a time to remain silent. The Lala remained silent when he ought to have spoken, and spoke when he might have preserved silence."

31. "Perhaps the strongest part of the Congress proceedings at Calcutta was the closing speech of the president, Lala Lajpatrai. It was sane, vigorous and plain-spoken. It spared neither friend nor foe, and relentlessly exposed the weaker points of our nationalism to-day. He openly condemned some of the more objectionable features of the proceedings and administered a timely rebuke to those who had been guilty of excesses and improprieties. The contemptuous reference by Mr. Jitendralal Bannerjea to Mr. Montagu's nationality was entirely uncalled for and in very bad taste. The president's rebuke to the speaker and his expression of regret were therefore both essential and opportune..... He whole-heartedly supported non-co-operation, but he did not disguise his opinion that the accepted programme was not the soundest and most effective. He was absolutely opposed to the withdrawal of boys from schools and colleges. He considered the proposition suicidal..... Mr. Gandhi's view that European education had given Indians slave psychology appears to us to be quite wrong. It is those who have received Western education who have been foremost and most uncompromising in their criticism of the system of Government..... Most important of all was the president's pronouncement on the aim of the national policy..... Lala Lajpatrai by his closing remarks in the Congress has helped to clear the air to a considerable extent."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 16 Sept. Eng. cols.

32. It appears from Lala Lajpatrai's closing speech that even though the Congress has passed the resolution about non-co-operation, its scope will have to be greatly modified to make it acceptable even to Congressmen. The resolution has evidently been passed in haste and it is likely to prove harmful to the country if efforts are not made to keep its operation well under control. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—It was wrong on the part of Lala Lajpatrai to have withheld his views on non-co-operation at the opening of the Special Congress. Had he given out his honest opinion, when he was required to do so, the Congress would have been duly warned and Mr. Gandhi's resolution on non-co-operation would scarcely have received the enthusiastic support of the Congress. It is very strange that Lala Lajpatrai should have given his whole-hearted support to the resolution and considered it as bending upon all Congressmen when he himself differed from it. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* is of the opinion that it is clear from Lala Lajpatrai's final appeal to the Muhammadans to support the non-co-operation movement that he is convinced that the movement is not likely to find favour with them.]

Bombay Samachár (58), 14th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 13th Sept.; *Akhbár-e-Islam* (55), 13th Sept.

33. Commenting on the proceeedings of the special session of the All-India Moslem League, the *Praja Bandhu* remarks:—"We are glad that it has affirmed its previous decision to continue the agitation until the Turkish Peace terms are revised..... Non-Co-operation, they declare 'with perfect certainty and precision' is a religious obligation absolutely binding on Indian Musalmans, which they should carry out first of all completely and successfully in their movement. We agree with them so far, but express our doubts, when they offer heartfelt sympathy to those Indian Musalmans who have performed and are willing to perform the *hijrat* as a

Comments on the proceedings of the special session of the All-India Moslem League.

Praja Bandhu (29), 12th Sept., Eng. cols.

religious duty and resolve that the Central Khilafat Committee should immediately make arrangements for *Muhajirins*. No doubt they have expressed gratitude to the Amir of Afghanistan for the Islamic brotherhood with which he has received and treated Indian *Muhajirins*. Still it is not fit and proper to follow their own Captain-General Maulana Shaukat Ali, who declares from every platform 'I do not leave India, because India is mine.' We think the considerations of circumstances have weighed with him in this decision more than anything else. Just as he has bid adieu to his religious duty of *jehad*, because of its inherent impracticability under our present circumstances, similarly he has bid adieu with equal prudence and foresight to the other religious duty of *hijrat*. We wish his followers also had exercised these sovereign virtues of prudence and foresight, and given up *jehad* as well as *hijrat*. Non-co-operation is the only remedy for them which they would do well to avail themselves of in preference to all others, and we are sure they will see the fruition of their religious aspirations completely, if not speedily."

34. The Moslem League held a successful sessions in Calcutta. Mr. Jinnah diagnosed the deep discontent reigning in the country everywhere and said definitely that there was no other alternative to non-co-operation. He also asked Government not to drive the people to extremes. The Moslem League also passed Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation, and it has further resolved to boycott those who disobey the resolution. It remains to be seen how far this social boycott turns out successful. If it has any effect on Mr. Shafi and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, then only it can be said that the Moslem League resolution has some meaning in it.

Kesari (109), 14th Sept.

35. In a leading article, the *Akhbar-e-Islám* exhorts Muhammadans to refrain from *Hijrat* and writes:—The Sultan did not enter the war for any religious cause. He joined the Central Powers only for the purpose of extending his territory. It is, therefore, improper to bewail the present lot of Turkey on religious grounds, and resort to *Hijrat* and to non-co-operation against the British Government who are protectors of our faith. It would only be ungrateful on the part of any Muhammadan to look upon the British Government, who have conferred so many benefits upon Muhammadans, as enemies of Islám.

Muhammadans should not join the *Hijrat* and non-co-operation movements.

Akhbar-e-Islám (55), 14th Sept.

36. The Pir's apology will no doubt have a weakening effect on the Khilafat agitation. It has already demoralised the Pir himself. For some time past Musalmans have been saying that under their *shariat* they cannot remain loyal to the British Government so long as that Government holds their holy places, that is to say, that in the present circumstances it is impossible for Musalmans to be true to Islám and the British Government at the same time. Yet, as will be seen from the speech which he delivered yesterday, Pir Mahbubshah advises Mussalmans to be true to both, an advice which he might not have given if he had not apologised to Government. His conduct at the same time cannot but influence other Pirs and Moulvis and the general public.

Comments on Pir Mahbubshah's apology.

Bharatvasi (143), 20th Aug.

37. "Mr. Montagu is as unrepentent as ever. He is anxious to show that both the Viceroy and himself are pursuing a a common aim. Of course, there were some differences but these differences had been magnified. As if to placate the British Junkers, Mr. Montagu hastened to pay a tribute to 'the selfless devotion of the Viceroy in public and private to duty.' And this is the answer of Mr. Montagu to the universal demand made in India for the recall of Lord Chelmsford! Mr. Montagu is not at all in touch with the real feelings of the country and no one acquainted with recent events in India can give the least credit to Mr. Montagu's idle compliments showered on the head of a Viceroy

Comments on Mr. Montagu's and Lord Sinha's speeches at the banquet given in honour of the latter.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Sept.

convicted clearly of proved incompetence. Mr. Montagu took an opportunity to refer grandiloquently, at the banquet to Lord Sinha on the eve of his departure from England, to the opportunities that were open to Indians in the British Empire for services to their own country, Empire and civilisation. From the solitary example of Lord Sinha, no such wide inference can be drawn..... Mr. Montagu emphasised that Government sought to strengthen not British rule but the union with Great Britain in partnership. But the magnificent theories of Mr. Montagu do not coincide with hard facts obtaining in India. Mr. Montagu asks for co-operation and wants India to look to the future, working together, seeking the good of one in another and to destroy or overlay the memories of the past in the achievement of a brighter future. Co-operation is a thing which one should deserve before seeking it. Or rather what need is there of soliciting it, if it is one's due? If Mr. Montagu calmly examines the situation, he will find that England has deliberately sought non-co-operation by her persistent refusal of justice to India. What has Britain done that India should forget the past and to let the dead past bury the dead? Lord Sinha in reply broke forth into gushing eloquence and said that England had redeemed the pledges given in 1833 and 1857 and 'repeated so often', by his appointment. The new Governor of Bihar attaches exaggerated importance to his appointment and his views are not at all shared by Indians. His sermon on the necessity of steady and progressive stages is entirely out of date. The process of nibbling recommended by Lord Sinha shows that he has still to learn much of Indian political aspirations. Lord Sinha promises elimination of racial discrimination but he will learn better when he actually comes out to India and finds how powerless he will be as against the perfect bureaucratic machine to effect any lasting good of India."

38. "Mr. Montagu's speech at the Sinha Banquet is intended for Indian consumption and Lord Sinha's for Anglo-Indian consumption. The former pleads for India's union in partnership with Britain, not to strengthen British rule but for the achievement of a brighter future for India. The latter speaks of the wonderful changes made during the last 10 years in the administration of the country, deprecates sudden or violent rush, and favours slow and steady development by successive stages—words very dear to the Anglo-Indian heart!..... We hear much in certain quarters of 'co-operation' and 'commonsense' of the people. 'Commonsense' comes strongly from the mouths of officials who have ruled on the assumption that the people of India have neither commonsense nor the rights of civilized citizenship..... The people whose aspirations have so long been thwarted now see through the bureaucratic comouflage of the 'Reforms'; and they have commonsense enough to see that behind the new offer of 'co-operation' is a policy of repression ready to be directed against those who would adopt the only self-respecting course open to an ancient and cultured nation—that of non-co-opration. It is to kill this awakened self-respect of the people voiced by the great movement associated with the honoured name of Mahatma Gandhi, that the bureaucracy now treats us to sweet ditties on 'co-operation'. The bureaucrat has not really changed his heart; he has merely changed his tactics; then we must beware of these ditties, specially when we find they are echoed by a certain section of our own countrymen."

New Times (8), 14th Sept.

39. Lord Sinha's speech shows the extent to which his views diverge from the aspirations of his countrymen. His Lordship counsels *aste kadam* when the whole world is making rapid progress and when India itself has put forth a demand for the immediate grant of the full rights of *swarájya!* Lord Sinha is a favourite of the bureaucracy, nay he is one of them, and cannot, therefore, be expected to share the feelings of his countrymen. He hopes that all people will co-operate with him when he assumes charge of his office. We are sorry his hopes are not likely to be realised for we are sure that the clarion call of the Congress for non-co-operation will reach his ears ere he returns to his mother country.

Lokasangraha (112), 14th Sept.

***40.** "Now that both Lokamanya Tilak and Mr. Gokhale are gone Sir Valentine Chirol may find it safe to give out his secrets or special knowledge relating to both. Ordinarily no one would now attach any importance to what Sir Valentine might say about Lokamanya Tilak; but it entirely changes the complexion of things when he declares, as he has done in the *New Statesman*, that it was the late Mr. Gokhale who told him in the confidence of private conversation that he (Mr. Gokhale) regarded Mr. Tilak as the 'most sinister figure in Indian public life.' ..... We cannot with equanimity contemplate a man like Gokhale telling Sir Valentine that Lokamanya Tilak was 'sinister' meaning thereby a 'corrupt' or 'dishonest' man. Mr. Gokhale's guilt becomes all the more dark and aggravated owing to the fact that he must have known at the time that Sir Valentine was in league with the Bombay Government and actually engaged in systematically misrepresenting not only Lokamanya Tilak, but nearly the whole class of Nationalists. We do not know if the friends of the late Mr. Gokhale are prepared to swallow this blasphemous exposure of him by Sir Valentine Chirol; but in case they do not give the lie to Sir Valentine, the only course open to all fair-minded people would be to regard that Mr. Gokhale was, after all, much worse and debased than he actually appeared with a fair and plausible exterior..... We are, of course, aware that a blood-feud or a *Vendetta* between the followers and admirers of Lokamanya Tilak and Mr. Gokhale must be only prejudicial to public interest, but we must confess we are not so free from human qualites as to easily forget that even a man like Mr. Gokhale could not resist the temptation of blackguarding Lokamanya Tilak secretly to such wicked enemies of India as Sir Valentine Chirol."

Sir Valentine Chirol and the late Mr. Tilak.
Mahrátta (7), 19th Sept.

41. "The decision of the Government of the Central Provinces to cancel the lease given to Messrs. Davenport and Company for an up-to-date and extensive slaughter-house and tannery at Ratona is welcome. It is to be hoped the lesson of the episode, which may now be taken to be definitely closed, will not be lost on either the Provincial Government concerned or the central Government..... No definite census of cattle exists and no one knows whether there is a sufficient number of cattle for the agricultural and domestic requirements of the country and whether their number has been increasing or declining. The census taken a few months ago in this Presidency revealed an appalling state of things, the loss of cattle in some of the districts ranging from one-third to one-half of the total. It is to be feared that conditions all over India are not dissimilar to those in this Presidency. In these circumstances, it is vitally necessary that the authorities should formulate without delay a policy of active conservation of the cattle resources of the country."

Approval of the cancellation of the lease for a slaughter-house at Ratona given by the Central Provinces Government.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Sept.

***42.** Referring to the speech of Mr. Hughes, the Australian Prime Minister, on his Government's defence policy, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"Who are the 750,000,000 to whom Mr. Hughes referred as those from whom Australia had to be defended? Some 250,000,000 of them are British subjects in this country. Mr. Hughes' speech is a challenge to them as to the remaining 500,000,000. So far as India is concerned, she can never admit the justice or validity of the policy of White Australia, and it behoves the Government of India plainly to intimate this to the Government of the Australian Commonwealth. A serious responsibility rests also on His Majesty's Government who cannot view with complacency the implication underlying Mr. Hughes' declaration that the Indian subjects of His Majesty have more to gain by making common cause with the subjects of China and Japan than with their fellow subjects in what yet calls itself a British Colony. Mr. Hughes' declaration is tantamount to a declaration of war against Asiatics, whether British or foreign subjects."

Protest against the Australian Prime Minister's allegation that Australia shall have to defend herself against India.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 19th Sept.

His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and the Viceroyalty.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 19th Sept.

*43. Discussing the merits of the various names mentioned in connection with the Viceroyalty, the *Indian Social Reformer* says:—"As for Sir George Lloyd, His Excellency's persistence in imposing a very restrictive residential qualification on candidates to the new Legislative Council in spite of the expressed preference of the Secretary of State for electoral freedom, has not favoured the earlier estimates of his political broad-mindedness, while some of his schemes have disclosed a certain impatience and immaturity of judgment for which time is the only cure."

Lokasangraha (112), 16th Sept.; *Swarájya* ( ), 16th Sept.

44. The British Government are not likely to accede to the popular demand for the recall of Lord Chelmsford before his term of office expires. But since his Viceroyalty is drawing to a close the question of his succcssor is engaging the attention of the public. In our opinion such discussion is valueless since, whoever comes, he will adhere to the policy of squeezing us to the utmost limit. The latest report is that either Lord Willingdon or Sir George Lloyd will succeed Lord Chelmsford and that the latter has a better chance of being appointed to the post. We shall indeed be very sorry if this proves to be true. Wo know what Lord Willingdon is worth. But he is at least noble-minded and our present Governor lacks even this quality. Sir George possesses the knack of giving you nothing while professing sympathy for you. But there is no reason why the British Government should have regard for popular opinion and why they should not consult their own interests first. [The *Swarajya* on the other hand says that the appointment of Sir George Lloyd, if made, will give greater satisfaction to the people than that of any one of those whose names have hitherto been mentioned in this connection.]

Complaint against the alleged inferior status assigned to Indians in the I.M.S.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Sept.

45. "An Indian temporary Officer of the Service, whether a lieutenant or a captain, receives a salary of Rs. 550, whereas a British temporary lieutenaut in the I.M.S. is paid Rs. 700 and a British captain Rs. 750. Besides this difference in starting salary, a British Officer is entitled to two months' leave after a year's service, while his less fortunate Indian brother is given leave only when the exigencies of the Service permit. In these days of awakened political self-consciousness how can any qualified Indian Medical man, who has to perform as equally onerous duties as his British colleague, quietly bend his head to the fiat of Governmental will and pleasure and remain satisfied? This state of things is not conducive to growth of self-respect nor effeciency in Service. But when has the sense of fairness been prominent in the ethical code of the bureaucracy? It has been urged that better pay and prospects are offered to the Europeans, not only to maintain the British character of the Service but also to attract Europeans of the highest qualifications to the Service. How can it improve the morale of the Indian Officers of the Service or lead to increase their efficiency in professional attainments if the same conditions of employment are not offered to them? With a view therefore to attract Indians with the highest qualifications it is equally necessary that similar scales of pay and prospects and privileges should be held out to them..... We would ask the Government of India to state frankly how many Indian Officers of the Indian Medical Service, in which there are about 1,700 officers, with the Indians in the majority, have been given even Civil Surgeonships of important stations, where they may have lucrative practice, not to speak of Staff and other appointments, such as commands of Station-hospitals, etc., which carry special allowances and other privileges? These, of course, are meant only for the chosen few of the other hue. We would ask the Government of India, if there are nine Officers iu about 900 Indian Officers in the Indian Medical Service (or one per cent.), who hold, for instance, Staff appointments? And this is the way in which a benign Government is Indianising public services. Have Indians been tried and found wanting?"

46. Another helpless class of people whose cry for adequate pay is not yet met are the primary school teachers. Teachers of Poona, Belgaum and Dhárwár held meetings last week. Their disappointment has reached such a stage that they will go on a strike if the new scale is not soon sanctioned. If railwaymen, postmen and signallers strike, Government work is obstructed and their complaints are readily considered. But Government's sleep is not likely to be disturbed if village school masters strike. It is possible that officials may disregard the demands of the teachers. But it would be suicidal to do so. Government cannot disregard the *Satyagraha* to be followed by the Dhárwár teachers who have resolved to do the work but not to accept inadequate pay.

Necessity of increasing the pay of primary school teachers.
Kesari (109), 14th Sept.

47. A correspondent writing to the *Kesari* says that Talatis and Marathi karkuns in Mamlatdars' offices are quite on a level as regards work and that the demand of the Talatis for equal pay with the latter is, therefore, proper. He says that the Talatis of many districts have sent applications to Government for amalgamation with the Marathi karkuns' establishment. He further remarks that Government will be mistaken and unwise in thinking that the Talatis will be content with the crumbs thrown out to them after the Thána and Gujarát strike of Talatis and he requests an early consideration of the grievances of the Talatis and their removal.

The talatis should receive the same pay as the Marathi karkuns in Mamlatdars' offices.
Kesari (109), 14th Sept.

48. "Early this year the Government of Bombay published a press communique from the Government of India inviting applications for the appointment of an Indian from this Presidency to the Indian (Imperial) Police Service during the current year..... From among the applicants eleven were later on asked to appear before the Selection Committee at Poona on the 3rd May 1920..... The Selection Committee after examining the eleven candidates is understood to have recommended favourably three of them, a recommendation which the Government of Bombay endorsed and forwarded to the Government of India. Last week the name of the fortunate individual who has been finally selected by the Government of India was announced, and the public will be astounded to learn that this favourite of Government was not at all among the eleven candidates who were examined by the Selection Committee, much less among the three who were finally recommended by the Government of Bombay. The Government of India's nominee happens to be a relative of one of the Kathiawad Chiefs, and since he did not figure among the regular candidates we can only infer that strong back-door influence had been brought to bear with a view to nullify all the labours of the Selection Committee and the Local Government..... Is it fair to the official and non-official gentlemen whose labours have been wasted in this scandalous manner? Moreover, what impression, we ask, will this arbitrary step of Government leave on the minds of the youthful candidates who were subjected to unnecessary trouble and expense? Is it calculated to inspire in them confidence in the fair dealings of officialdom?"

Protest against the way in which an Indian from the Bombay Presidency was selected for the Indian Imperial Police Service.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Sept.

49. The condition of Police Patels is worse than that of Talatis. They get Rs. 4 minimum and Rs. 24 maximum annually! More than 52 years have elapsed since this generous scale was settled. Are Government waiting for the auspicious moment that comes once in 60 years? And what are these poor Patels asking for? Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per mensem. Government do not feel any compunction in raising the pay of officials, of their own race receiving thousands of rupees, by Rs. 500. They do not even pay their servants like these Police Patels what beggars in the streets of Poona get. Is this a joke played against the men, or is it an indirect way of asking them to go on a strike or is it the indifference of officials? What is it?

Necessity of increasing the remuneration of Police Patels.
Kesari (109), 14th Sept.

***50.** "The terms of the loan are advantageous to investors; it is repayable at par after fifteen years, that is in 1935, the rate of interest being half per cent. higher than any other Government loan. This loan gives an opportunity to the citizens of Bombay to take an active part in the development of their own city. It is they who have the most interest in the successful execution of the scheme; and, needless to say, the success of the scheme depends primarily upon the monetary support which the citizens will give to it. We are sure Bombay will not fail in giving substantial support to this loan, especially as it offers a very sound investment to all capitalists and businessmen."

The Bombay Development Loan.
Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.

51. The terms of the loan are so simple and attractive that we would not wonder if middle-class people should freely subscribe to it along with the richer classes. The rate of interest, *viz.*, 6½ per cent., free of income-tax, is by itself enough to attract subscribers to the loan. We are of opinion that this loan will be more successful than any of the Government of India loans have been in the past. [The *Bombay Samáchar* remarks that the participation in the loan to the extent of fifty lakhs by the Municipal Corporation of Bombay considerably enhances the advantages accruing to the subscribers of the loan. It is quite likely that the loan will be quoted at a premium at no distant date. In a subsequent issue the paper congratulates the Karachi Port Trust on its participation in the loan to the extent of thirty lakhs and calls upon the Karachi Municipality to follow suit. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* gives in detail the terms of the loan and is sanguine about its success.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 13th Sept.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 15th and 17th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 18th Sept.

52. The *Kánara Vritta* states that in the village of Bangani and some other villages of the Kumta Taluka, district Kánara, herds of wild elephants are causing damage to the crops of the poor villagers and that the peasants there, despairing of any help from the British Government, are trying to emigrate to Mysore. It says that it is a well known fact that the generosity of the Mysore Government to their own ryots is attracting to the State a large number of agriculturists from British villages on the Mysore border and requests Government to look to the grievances of these ryots without delay.

Complaint about damage being done to crops in Kánara by wild elephants.
Kánara Vritta (39), 9th Sept.

53. Reviewing Mr. C. F. Andrews' report about the condition of the Indians in Fiji, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—The hostility shown by the white colonists in Fiji against the Indians is such as would exhaust the patience of the latter. Mr. Andrews' report on the condition of the Indians in Fiji is a heart-rending document. Indian labourers there, having been released from their indentures, asked for higher wages in order to avert starvation. As they were not given the higher wages that they asked for they went on strike in a peaceful manner. Instead of bringing the strike an end by a sympathetic consideration of their condition, the white colonists confronted them with a military force and machine-guns. They did not stop there; several innocent persons were pierced with bullets and several men and women are reported to have been punished with imprisonment. The minds of the people of India have not yet been quieted after the Punjáb affairs, and this report of the agonies of their compatriots living in distant countries is sure to add to their excitement. It, therefore, behoves the Government of India to chalk out a definite line of action in this matter and act with a strong hand. It is quite necessary that the Government of India should make a full inquiry into this affair. They should, therefore, appoint a mixed Committee of officials and the accredited leaders of the people to hold an independent inquiry into the matter.

Grievances of Indians in Fiji.
Bombay Samáchár (58), 13th Sept.

54. "The plea of the Government of India that the Governor of Fiji's despatches throw all the light that is needed on the unfortunate happenings cannot be accepted. The despatches formed a tissue of misrepresentations calculated to screen effectively the misdeeds of Fiji officialdom and it is the height of impudence on the part of the Government of India to ask the people of this country to rest content with the version of very officials who are accused of atrocities against helpless Indian men and women in those Islands. The anxiety of the present Government of India, who have so effectively screened the excesses of authority in their own midst, to draw a veil over the Fiji tragedy, is not difficult to understand, but the public of this country can never rest satisfied till an independent enquiry is held into the atrocities of February and a definite guarantee is given by the Fiji Government that there will be no repetition of such excesses in the future. Till that guarantee is forthcoming, no Indian should be induced to go to Fiji and all who are still there ought to be prevailed upon to return to India..... If the Government of India cannot undertake to arrange for a commission of enquiry into the happenings of February last, they had better give up the idea of sending any commission at all. Indians know enough of the conditions of labour in Fiji to resolve not to allow any emigration to that Colony any more. Government, on the other hand, would do well to make arrangements with the Fiji authorities to facilitate the speedy repatriation of all Indians who are anxious to bid a final adieu to those islands of slavery."

Duty of the Indian Government to make an enquiry into the causes of the Indian riots in Fij.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Sept.

55. "Lord Chelmsford is an obliging person. In spite of his differences with Mr. Montagu, he has taken the trouble to supply him with a bit of information which Lord Chelmsford hoped would relieve him from the difficult situation in which he found himself as a result of the correspondence that passed between him and Mrs. Naidu in the matter of the ill-treatment of women in the Punjáb during the Martial Law regime last year and the consequential interpellations in the House of Commons. In his zeal to ease Mr. Montagu's situation, Lord Chelmsford seems to have forgotten the real point at issue. The question raised by Mrs. Naidu referred to the ill-treatment of women in Manianwalla, in the Gujaranwalla District, but the point seems to have escaped Lord Chelmsford, who informed the Secretary of State that the women referred to belonged to a wandering tribe of prostitutes that had settled in Amritsar for purposes of prostitution and that the offence was committed not by officers but by sepoys..... Will Lord Chelmsford ever realize that bringing such miscreants to book is far more honest and statesmanlike than shirking and shifting? Will he ever realize that the former would be more in the interests of the Empire than the latter?

Comments on Mr. Montagu's reply in Parliament to interpellations regarding ill-treatment of women under Martial Law in the Punjáb.
Gujaráti Punch (20), 12th Sept., Eng. cols.

56. Protesting against the candidature of Government pleaders for seats in the Reformed Legislative Councils, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The niceties of the law come in the way of regarding Government pleaders as Government servants, but as they receive salaries from Government they are, in a way, Government servants. If Government allow them to stand as candidates for election to the Legislative Councils they would be considered to be permitting Government servants to encroach upon the rights of the people. The proper course, therefore, would be to prevent them from standing as candidates for the Reformed Legislative Councils. Another reason why they should not be allowed to enter their candidature is this that Government pleaders in the mofussil are in constant touch with the police and have, therefore, a great deal of influence with them. People would, therefore, naturally prefer to vote for a Government pleader, to the disadvantage of his competitor. Such a

Government pleaders should not be allowed to stand as candidates for elections to the Reformed Councils.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 16th Sept.

state of affairs would be a clear encroachment upon the legitimate rights of the people. Again, we are of opinion that no Government pleader can protect the interests of the public by going to the Councils inasmuch as he is a paid servant of Government. Under these circumstances, we would urge it upon Government that they should take immediate steps calculated to prevent Government pleaders from standing as candidates for election to the Reformed Legislative Councils.

57. "Mesopotamians do not seem to appreciate at all 'the good intentions' of Britain and how long is Britain going to stay in a house, at such a terrible cost, specially when she is not wanted? And what of Indian troops in Mesopotamia? Far from Government bringing back Indian soldiers from Mesopotamia, they are actually sending more troops to Mesopotamia. So far as India is concerned, it has left the matter in no doubt and it was perfectly made clear in Calcutta that the country wanted to have nothing to do with Mesopotamia. If Britain wants to plant herself in Mesopotamia, it is her business and the least India expects from her is to employ her own troops in conquering other countries for herself."

The British should evacuate Mesopotamia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Sept.

58. "Mr. Dobbs, replying to Mr. Shastri referred—amidst applause, we are told—to the appreciation by Sir Arnold Wilson of the services of Indians both in civil and military employ in Mesopotamia. This 'appreciation' may be flattering to some; but it will not find an echo in the heart of the country. It is true Indian troops have conquered Mesopotamia for the Imperialists; but is that to the credit of India? The country has demanded that Indian troops should not be employed to take away the liberties of Asiatics. And much discontent exists on account of the extraordinary delays in demobilisation of troops recruited years ago. The British public would never have tolerated such an unconscionable delay in the demobilisation of British troops two years after the war. But Indians have little voice in the affairs of their own country. 'Let not Asiatic countries be made safe for the white man by Indian troops, whose countrymen will be treated as helots in the country they helped to conquer', said the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Special Congress. The Government will do well to give heed to these signs of profound discontentment."

Complaint about the continued employment of Indian troops in Mesopotamia.
New Times (8), 10th Sept.

59. Poverty, engendered by the world-war, is at the bottom of the spread of Bolshevism. Owing to this very cause Bolshevist doctrines are finding acceptance in eastern countries and news has just been received that the Bolsheviks have captured Bokhara. Similar unrest is not wanting in our own country. Prices have risen heavily and, therefore, the far-sighted officials have sanctioned liberal increases in their own salaries! But although the salaries of superior officers have thus been increased, Government have not yet found sufficient time to consider an increase in the salaries of their low-paid Indian employés. This has given rise to much discontent. But how can the poor authorities meet the demands of so many people? India has becoms impoverished as its wealth is pouring into foreign countries through varioue channels and, therefore, these demands of the people must be causing no little embarrassment to the authorities. The politically-minded people of India seem, therefore, to have resolved now not to make any more demands and thus embarrass the authorities still further! The Special Congress went a little further and decided by a majority not even to co-operate with the authorities in future.

Poverty helps the spread of Bolshevism.
Swarajya ( ), 16th Sept.

LEGISLATION.

60. „The blundering Government of Lord Chelmsford goes on in its career of accentuating bitterness between the rulers and the ruled in this country. It has been a long-standing complaint of the people of this country that the military policy of the Government of India based as it is on distrust of the people is most unjust to them and is most resented by the people. The complaint has found vent on many occasions but

Comments on the Auxiliary Forces Bill and the Indian Territorial Forces Bill.
Gujarâti Punch (20), 12th. Sept., Eng. cols.

never more powerfully as at the time of the introduction of the Indian Defence Force Bill during the late war. But the question was then shelved under the precious plea of want of leisure to consider broad points of Imperial policy under the stress and strain of the war and the Viceroy promised to consider the points raised in the debate at a more favourable time. That promise, however, seems to be forgotten if we were to judge from the nature of the two bills—The Auxiliary Forces Bill and the Indian Territorial Forces Bill—introduced in the recent session of the Imperial Legislative Council. ..... One fails to understand the necessity of two different measures for one and the same object. If, however, we look at the provisions of the bill, the point will be at once clear. The racial bar seems to have again come in the way of their recognizing the just and primary claims of the children of the soil to bear the main share of Home Defence and they are relegated to an inferior status. While the Auxiliary Forces Bill makes provision for entering the cavalry and artillery, the Territorial Forces Bill is intended only for infantry. There are also other differences in their provisions that cannot but be galling to the self-respect of Indians. Oh! when will that day dawn which will make our rulers realize that trust pays more than suspicion."

61. "The Indian Territorial Forces Bill underwent a few changes in the Select Committee and the Commander-in-Chief hailed the amended Bill as a triumph of co-operation. We prefer to think otherwise. The bureaucracy has not yielded on the main point and it has made some minor concessions which need not be rated very high..... The Commander-in-Chief, liberal in words and profuse in sympathy, looked forward to a time when Indians also would be recruited in the auxiliary force. In the meantime, the insulting racial distinctions remain. So far as the fundamental principle is concerned the bureaucracy has won all along the line and tried to maintain the distinctions undisturbed..... For the present, the territorial forces would be confined to the infantry. Mr. Shastri carried an amendment authorising the Viceroy to establish all or any branches of the force, as circumstances may permit from time to time. We are not disposed to attach much importance to such a watered down amendment..... So *aste kadam* pursues the nation here also! By the time we reach the aerial force, a round thousand years will be required. The Commander-in-Chief deprecated the opening of other branches also on the score of expense, and told the members that they had no idea what it cost Government to maintain the technical and auxiliary branches. They have a clear idea and they know that it is not money but 'political' consideration that is keeping Government back. Why should there be any hesitation and diplomacy? Why should Indian members also fall a prey to the tactics pursued by Government? A crippled and humiliating scheme like the one put forward by Government will not succeed..... If people are assured that all the branches are thrown open to them, that Government have abandoned their suspicious attitude, that Government do not commit themselves to creating a controlling European force, the experiment is more likely to succeed, not now, but when the non-co-operation question is settled. As to money, India will spare any amount for the purpose of instruction in all the branches. Are Government prepared to undertake the scheme? Let them honestly answer the question first. Meanwhile, they have perpetuated an insult to the people."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Sept.

NATIVE STATES.

62. The *Lokasangraha* states that it is reported that Brahmin women going to the Jagadamba temple at Kolhápur are being openly insulted in the streets and asks the British authorities to attend to the matter. A correspondent writing in the paper at a subsequent date complains that he witnessed, while on a visit to Kolhápur, a Maratha purposely touching Brahmin women in sacred cloth who visited the temple of Mahalakshmi there. The religious feelings of the people were also wounded, he says, by the letting in of two dogs into the interior of the temple. The writer alleges that the persecution of the Brahmins by the Marathas must be due to the secret encouragement that the latter receive from the Durbar. A correspondent of the *Rájakáran* also makes similar allegations about Brahmin women being openly maltreated and abused at Kolhápur.

A complaint against the Kolhápur Durbar.
Lokasangraha (112), 12th and 14th Sept.

63. "*N*", writing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, remarks:—"The so-called 'Disgusted Indorian' has been, in my opinion, very mild and moderate in writing out his facts. He gives his facts thus; he says that 'The victim disappears in the night and is found lying unconscious in some corner or the other near her place, in the morning, etc.'. What he writes is as true as a truth can be, but he is speaking about the method adopted only about a month and a half ago. For the last month and a half a new and a most daring method has been invented in which the poor victim is openly assaulted on the roads and is carried away in a motor car nobody knows where. A case of the above description happened only about a fortnight ago, and it is a fact of my own personal knowledge." On the other hand "*T*" writes in the same paper:—"I am a fresh arrival from Indore, where I was for the last three months. I hardly heard about any outrages on good looking middle class women about which your correspondent 'Disgusted Indorian' writes. I believe your correspondent is some discontented spirit who has come forward with these stories of outrages—outcome of his own halucinations, purely to belittle the ability of an Indian officer who has come to hold the important post of Inspector-General of Police—up to this time held by an European."]

Alleged abduction of respectable women at Indore.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Sept.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 24th September 1920.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 25th September 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "A new dawn has come over India. The Congress has passed Mr. Gandhi's resolution for non-co-operation. It is a grave step, a serious step, a step of the greatest import to the future of India..... The step is bold but not strange in these times, when quarrels between old types of Governments and the people are becoming common in many countries from Russia to Persia and Egypt. The people of India have resolved to assert themselves and make their voices heard and their will felt. We do not know, and we do not care to prophesy, how this movement will end. But whether it ends in success or failure one thing is certain, and that is, that it it will be a great world education for India and Indians. It will teach them the beauty of unity. They will realise clearly that there are no such peoples as Hindus and Muhammadans, but that they are all Indians. They will be required to exercise the greatest amount of self-sacrifice..... We do not believe that all people will do it. But some at least will do it, and they will, therefore, win the admiration and homage of their patriots."

Comments on the non-co-operation resolution passed by the Calcutta Special Congress.

Hindusthán (22), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.

2. "The Congress has taken the decision, but the Congress is not India. There are in the ranks of the people representative Indians with knowledge and experience of the country no way less than that possessed by Mr. Gandhi who have received this policy with great misgivings for the future. Even the President of the Special Congress himself in his closing speech specifically deprecated certain of the items in Mr. Gandhi's programme in quite plain and unequivocal language, on which the Congress as we know has given the country a lead by its resolution. The success which Mr. Gandhi has achieved in carrying the Calcutta Congress with him in regard to non-co-operation raises before all practical and sober men in the country evidently a great and very arduous position which we solemnly hope they will not take lightly. They must organise all their forces and use all the power that is in them to come out and declare the faith that is in them. It is nothing more or less than to declare that they shall henceforth by means of an equally organised movement make it their business to accord to Government a close and progressive co-operation not only, as has been so aptly remarked by a contemporary, to remove the present grievances from which their country now suffers, but to attain her full political stature. If they believe that the path of progress is along constitutional lines, down the broad way of the new constitution to the final and secure goal of self-government they must soon decide and take a firm attitude to meet and face effectively the prospective danger which the practice of non-co-operation will certainly raise before the country."

Gujarát Mitrá (19), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.

*3. "Nationalists have argued that if they did not remain loyal to the Congress, they would thereby weaken its moral prestige. But the very letters of withdrawal of their candidatures and the view and feelings which have found strong expression in their organs of opinion show that they are deeply 'distressed' over the non-co-operation resolution or at least over the suggested boycott of Councils. There is no more staunch Congressman than Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. But he is altogether opposed to the boycott of Councils, because it is, in his opinion, a dangerous doctrine to adopt..... According to Mr. Baptista, Mr. Gandhi has wounded the Congress and dug its grave! Has not such condemnation of the resolution in public and private on the ground of its impracticability or unreasonableness or dangerous character affected the credit and prestige of the Congress, and is it right to cling blindly to a resolution which all agree in condemning in its present form? As a matter of fact, steps are being taken by Nationalists to get it suitably altered at the annual session of the

Gujarátí (18), 26th Sept., Eng. cols.

Congress to be held at Nagpore in December next. We do not think that this external or formal manifestation of the loyalty to the Congress coupled with an open internal revolt against its non-co-operation resolution is true loyalty. The matter must be looked at from another but higher standpoint. The Congress is, we say, greater than Mr. Gandhi and the country is greater than the Congress. We do not think that it is at all possible to challenge the validity of these two propositions. If so, what is it that paramount interests of the country demand? That is the only question to be considered. Loyalty to the Congress, which has, on the admission of the Nationalists themselves, gone wrong, is therefore, not the supreme consideration..... Besides it is not a statutory body and Mr. Gandhi at any rate at the outset left it open to every Congressman to carry out the resolution according to the dictates of his conscience. That leaves, it is true, a dangerous loophole to the halting followers of his creed for nullifying his programme. But there is no doubt that it cannot stand in its present form for any length of time and will have to be materially amended, if it is not to remain a dead letter or result in smoke..... We again say that the Congress is greater than Mr. Gandhi and that the country is infinitely greater than any particular session of the Congress. There are Nationalist Congressmen who can afford to cease to practise as lawyers. There are again Nationalist doctors who have not boycotted nor do they expect to be able to boycott foreign drugs, medicines and surgical instruments. How many have boycotted foreign sugar, paper, matches, kerosine, petrol, glassware, soap, nibs, needles, pencils and clothes? How many nationalist proprietors of newspapers and printing presses are prepared to boycott imported paper and machinery? What then becomes of the principle of loyalty to the Congress? We specially ask our readers to note that we do not wish to blame any or condemn one, because the resolution of the Congress, at any rate in its present form, is absurd on the face of it and should never have been accepted..... The new Councils, whatever the defects of the new scheme of reforms, will afford a valuable training ground and excellent opportunities of doing good to the motherland. They should, therefore, be representative of the best minds and the best talent, knowledge and experience of the country. We do not care whether the new Councillors are Moderates, Liberals, Nationalists or Extremists, provided they represent what is best and enduring in their party..... Many officials will rejoice that 'undesirables' have boycotted themselves. But surely Congressmen ought not to play into their hands. We, therefore, deplore the decision of Nationalists not to enter the Councils and make the best use of the opportunities that the reformed Councils will present for practising hearty co-operation in the best interests of the motherland as well as non-co-operation if it is demanded by the all-compelling exigencies of any situation."

4. Commenting on the non-co-operation resolution passed at the special session of the Congress, the *Gujarâti Punch* writes :—"It is the counsel of despair—the product of a distracted mind baffled by the failure of the time-old means of political agitation to cure the stupidity and cynicism of officials in the country. The best brains of the country consider it to be an unpractical scheme—a scheme that will leave the Government—at least during the first stage—practically unaffected while it demands of the people steps which may react adversely on the interests of India in the long run. The boycott of Councils, Schools and Law Courts are instances in point..... The Councils are more posts of duty, than badges of honour and although it may not be possible to obtain Swarajya from them, they can be turned into a powerful handle for our political agitation. As for the boycott of schools, while we are wholly in favour of National Education, or more correctly, as much National Education as is possible under a non-National Government, we do not think it either prudent or advisable to boycott Government educational institutions. India needs as much education as the combined efforts of both the Government and the people can give and even more, and even if a wholesale, or even partial boycott were possible—which it is not—it is not desirable. Educational institutions do not grow like mushrooms, and even if it were possible for the people to provide its children and youth all the education they want single-handed, it will take years to bring such institutions into

Gujarâti Punch (20), 19th Sept., Eng cols.

existence. And yet these are the means with which the Non-co-operation movement seeks to paralyse the most powerful bureaucracy in the world. It is, therefore, much to be deplored that the Special Congress has hastened to give its sanction to a scheme which is not only unpractical, but which contains germs fairly capable of positive harm to the future progress of India, and it were very much to be wished that the country had been given more time to consider and organise if necessary in the matter." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—The non-co-operation resolution of the Special Congress has added to the responsibilities of the people and their leaders. Everyone should now consider how best he can do his duty. The opinions expressed by various Congress leaders after the meeting of the Special Congress are likely to create confusion in the minds of many people. Some weight should be attached to Lala Lajpatrai's opinion expressed in his closing speech about the necessity of sending boys to Government schools and the indispensability of courts of law during the continuance of British administration in India. It is also urged that if Indian pleaders boycott the courts, their places will be taken up by Europeans. Such considerations seem to have induced Mr. Gandhi to introduce the word 'gradual' in respect of boycotting schools and law courts. The boycotting of the Councils will give rise to the possibility of the election of such men as are opposed to the Congress. The recommendations made by the Congress in the matter of boycotting foreign goods and encouraging *Swadeshi* deserve our support. It is desirable that the country should respect the resolution passed by the Special Congress by a large majority of the delegates present.]

*5 "The Indian National Congress has been unanimously voted to be the only authoritative and representative institution in the country, and we hold—and here we differ from Mahatma Gandhi—that the resolutions passed by this great assembly are in every way binding on the people. We know and admit that the present constitution of the Congress is not as satisfactory as it ought to be, but no human institution is free from all defects. As loyal Congressmen we shall try to make all possible improvements, but that does not deter us and ought not to deter anyone from obeying the Congress decisions. Secondly, it must always be borne in mind that we are fighting against an organised and highly efficient bureaucracy and unless the whole Nation acts in unison there is no hope of success. We cannot afford to remain divided. We must, by our acts, vest this national institution with all the authority and weight that the present fight requires, and we cannot but congratulate the Nationalists throughout the country who are giving such a hearty response to the Nation's call. Mr. Banerjea, the high priest of the new-fangled liberalism, reminds the country of the exhortation of His Majesty the King Emperor, in respect of co-operation, but we frankly state that we prefer to obey the mandate of the national assembly to the effete proclamations. Under the circumstances it behoves even the Moderates to rally round the National Congress and make the National boycott of new Reforms possible." [The *Kesari* thinks that Mr. Gandhi should have yielded when he found that so many leaders were ranged against him and it blames him to that extent. But it says it respects him none the less. In Mr. Gandhi's opinion, it continues, the nation is ready at this moment to enforce his programme fully but others do not agree with him. It remarks that the Nationalists advised the people during the days of the Bengal Partition to start independent schools but that the people there were not asked to withdraw students from schools before national schools were started. The same thing, in the opinion of the paper, applies to Arbitration Courts. It is true, it continues, more stringent measures are necessary, after the lapse of fifteen years; but it asks, is it possible to withdraw all students from schools at once? Mr. Gandhi should have also considered, it holds, whether law courts would be stopped even if all pleaders retired from practice. Though Nationalists have withdrawn from Council elections, the journal says, the point of difference remains and it trusts that whenever it will be raised again, the Nationalist vote will be mostly against

Mahratta (7), 26th Sept.; *Kesari* (109), 21st Sept.

it. On the whole it says that there are many differences regarding details, though the principle of non-co-operation is acceptable to the Nationalist party and that there is no moral or legal binding to give up the idea of getting the Congress resolution amended hereafter.]

6. In an article headed "The hour of trial has come", the *Karnatak Mitra* enjoins it upon all people to follow the lead in non-co-operation given by Mr. Gandhi, and remarks that though the credit of whatever advance India has up till now made should be given to the educated Indians, still if they hold themselves back at the present juncture they would be called traitors to their country. The paper is glad that Mr. Gandhi has found a means of putting to the test the patriotism of all the leaders who up till now made only verbal professions. It concludes by saying that we must choose now between non-co-operation or perpetual slavery and that our forefathers in heaven would curse us if they saw us keeping quiet at the present crisis. [The *Kandra Vritta*, the *Shubhodaya* and the *Karnatak Vaibhava*, all writing in the same strain, observe that the Congress mandate should bind all Congress men, whatever their individual opinion might be. The last two papers favour the boycott of the Councils after the elections are made.]

Karnatak Mitra (38), 16th Sept.; *Kandra Vritta* (39), 16th Sept.; *Shubhodaya* (86), 17th Sept.; *Karnatak Vaibhav* (82), 21st Sept.

7. The Calcutta Special Congress has created a very delicate situation by passing a resolution in favour of non-co-operation. We have from time to time pointed out the danger from the non-co-operation movement, and clearly stated that if the people support this movement the country will be reduced to a state of chaos and that if they do not support it and the movement ends in a fiasco we shall be discredited as wanting in cohesion, and what little weight is now given to our opinion will not be given to it hereafter. Mahatma Gandhi is of opinion that if the country were to adopt non-co-operation, *Swarâj* could be had in a year's time. But the question is whether the country will adopt it so completely that the Government will be forced to hand over the reins of Government to us and clear out. We think that it is impossible to expect that non-co-operation will be adopted to such an extent. The most important question that now arises is whether a resolution passed by the Congress is binding on the Congressmen. We think that it is binding on them; otherwise there is no meaning in convening the Congrees and in passing a resolution. The question now is whether all Congressmen will abide by the resolution in favour of non-co-operation passed by the Congress. If all will not, how can the Congress stand?

Sind Vási (149), 14th Sept.

8. The people in general should show respect for the Congress by trying to put into practice the resolution that has been, fortunately or unfortunately, arrived at by the Special Congress in respect of non-co-operation, and we are glad to note that efforts are being made in various quarters for putting the resolution into practice. Those who want to find out loop-holes of escape from the responsibllity imposed upon them by the Congress may be allowed to do as they like, but we should hold fast to the path of duty well chalked out for us by the Congress. We should have faith in the dictum of Garibaldi that "Liberty does not fail those who desire it", and should proceed further in our political agitation. [The *Bombay Samáchár* on the other hand draws the attention of the public to the opinions expressed by the Honourable Mr. Sastri at Sholápur on the non-co-operation resolution and appeals to them to take an active interest in the forthcoming Council elections. It is of opinion that the decision of the Special Congress will have to be revised by the next Congress which will meet at Nagpur. The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, endorses the views expressed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya at Calcutta on the harm that would come to India by the operation of the non-co-operation resolution passed by the Special Congress and expresses hope that the people will be convinced by them and induced to take an active interest in the forthcoming Council elections.]

Hindusthán (23), 18th Sept.; *Bombay Samáchár* (58), 25th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 23rd Sept.

9. We do not understand why the Extremists are under the impression that their decision not to stand for election to the new Councils has given satisfaction to the Moderates. We have never had any faith in non-co-operation. Its acceptance by anyone, whether he is a Moderate or an Extremist, is to be deprecated in the interests of the country. We have always held that the Extremists should not boycott the Councils contrary to the dictates of their conscience, simply with a view to demonstrate their loyalty to the Congress. Even Mahatma Gandhi has declared that those who hold the view that they can serve the interests of the country better by entering the Councils can do so. We urge the Extremists, therefore, to give up the ridiculous attempt of boycotting the Councils unless they are prepared to carry out the programme of non-co-operation in its entirety. [The *Sandesh*, on the other hand, is of opinion that the non-co-operation movement is necersary not to redress any specific wrong but to attain the goal of *swarajya*.]

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 21st Sept.; *Sandesh* (123), 18th Sept.

10. "We ask all Sindhis to boycott the Councils. In Hindu-Muslim Unity is the future of Sind. Is it not the clear duty of Hindus to stand by their Muslim brethren at this hour of crisis? Several Hindus in the Province have been misled into the belief that Lok. Tilak disapproved of non-co-operation. Indeed, more than one speaker at the Sind Conference quoted Lok. Tilak while opposing non-co-operation! They forgot that Lok. Tilak's life was spent in a non-cooperaion struggle; Lok. Tilak showed by his powerful anti-bureaucratic agitation that he was a non-co-operator; and Mr. Kelkar and some other Tilakites have, by accepting the Congress Resolution, shown what Lok. Tilak himself would have done..... Hindu candidates from Sind are very few, and there is a Parsi candidate. Is it too much to ask them to stand by the Congress Resolution? In boycotting the Councils, they will set a fine example of disinterested friendship with the Muslims—an example which will create profound moral impression throughout the country and prove a source of strength to the National Movement in Sind."

Appeal to Sindhis to boycott the Councils.

New Times (8), 20th Sept.

11. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* raises a protest against the manifesto issued by the Khilafat Committee of Bombay exhorting Muhammadans to withdraw their children from Government and aided schools on the ground that such action on their part will tend to deprive children of the benefits of education and throw boys of immature age into the whirlpool of political agitation. It further remarks:—To withdraw Moslem boys from Government schools and colleges is tantamount to ruining the community. The community is already in a deplorably backward state in the matter of education and Moslem parents should not commit the very great mistake of removing their children from Government schools or colleges without making adequate provision for their education in other institutions.

Muhammadans should not withdraw their children from Government and aided educational institutions.

Akhbár-e-Islám (55), 20th Sept.

12. "On Wednesday before last the Moslem League adopted the non-co-operation resolution on the lines of Mr. Gandhi's programme with the addition of boycotting every Muhammadan socially who would refuse to abide by its decision. This is an earnest of their determination to mean business by what they profess and preach to the four winds. We are quite confident that among them there is a large number who will not hesitate to do anything once their religious sensibilities are touched. But at the same time it cannot be gainsaid that there are some among them also who manifest stoical indifference towards every thing but what touches their own pocket. With what feelings they will receive this threat of social ostracism we cannot say. But it is quite

Comments on the non-co-operation resolution passed by the Special Session of the All-India Moslem League.

Praja Bandhu (29), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.

clear that social ostracism for an isolated individual is not a little thing in this land of castes and creeds. They will, therefore, sooner or later have to bow to the mandate of their countrymen and co-religionists. If so, why not sooner than later?"

13. "His Excellency the Viceroy made a belated confession, while closing the Viceregal Council, that the lives and honor of Indians too were sacred. But he has let off the official perpetrators of the Punjáb atrocities with only a disapproval of their action. The Viceroy, also, said while explaining why he disallowed Mr. Sastri's resolution that he thought the country had had enough of racial bitterness and passion. Why then is bitterness kept live in the Punjáb and the Delhi Province? What is the purpose of imposing and collecting the indemnity taxes in Delhi city, in Gujranwala, in Amritsar and other places in the Punjáb? If His Excellency is sincere, he should issue orders prohibiting indemnity taxes imposed by an executive armed with irresponsible powers."

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's closing speech in the Imperial Legislative Council.

New Times (8), 18th Sept.

14. The reasons assigned by His Excellency the Viceroy for disallowing Mr. Sastri's resolution are not at all satisfactory. He has by so doing added fuel to the fire of discontent existing in India. His Excellency declared that he shared the feelings of the honourable members of his Council in the matter of respecting the lives and honour of the Indian people; but the compensation given to the Indians and Europeans in connection with the Punjáb affairs leads us to strange conclusions. The figures in this respect show the difference between precept and practice. If the Viceroy means to re-establish peace and good feelings he should not give preferential treatment to Europeans and should pacify the minds of the Indians by rendering justice in the matter of the Punjáb affairs. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The explanation given by the Viceroy, in his closing speech, in the matter of disallowing Mr. Sastri's resolution tends to weaken his own position and to exasperate the public. The agitation in the matter of the atrocities in the Punjáb will continue as long as justice is not done to the people and Government will not be able to realise their hope of creating a calm atmosphere in the country till then. Let us hope that God Almighty will grant good sense to the Government of India and show them the true way of soothing the lacerated hearts of the people.]

Hindusthán (23), 20th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 20th Sept.

15. "We had thought that the Government of India had realised sufficiently the consequences of its folly, short-sightedness and autocracy in the present deep unrest of the country and would seriously think of mending its manners. But unfortunately, as has been said often, the Indian bureaucracy has never learnt the lessons of the past nor begun to unlearn as it should its many failings and vices. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, who should have in the interests of peace in the country retired long ago, has now disallowed a resolution of which the Honourable Mr. Shastri had given notice regarding the Punjáb situation..... This is a tragic circumstance that while the Calcutta Congress is resounding with cries of non-co-operation, and where there is already a party being formed in the country aspiring to have complete self-government and independence by means of non-co-operation, the reactionary and blind Government of India does not shrink from alienating sympathies of the small band of moderates who have still their faith in the constitutional methods of agitation..... Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues in the Government are bent upon closing their eyes rabbitlike to the situation which is developing round them as a result of their narrow and short sighted policy. Mr. Montagu too is still continuing to bless Lord Chelmsford and to give him certificates of character at short intervals as if with a view to renew the older certificates."

Comments on the disallowance of the Honourable Mr. Sastri's Punjáb resolution.

Hindusthán (22), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.

16. Had not Mr. Sastri to follow the questionable (?) method of non-co-operation even for a day? It follows, therefore, that Mr. Sastri and his followers are not against the principle of non-co-operation. Mr. Sastri felt annoyed and his anger lasted for a day and he withdrew his remaining five resolutions. If those who have been treated unbearably on account of the undesirable Punjáb outrages decline to co-operate with Government till the Punjáb offenders are punished, what wrong is there in it? [Elsewhere the paper writes:—Lord Chelmsford tried in his concluding speech to bring about amicable relations, but it is a question whether he himself was satisfied with his speech. It is not possible that the lacerated hearts of Indians will be healed by the verbal condemnation of the officers by the Secretary of State. Mr. Sastri gave an opportunity to the bureaucracy to correct its past mistakes, but it was lost and, instead of the wound being dressed, salt was put into it. This happened on account of the unwise obstinacy of the Viceroy. Both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy say that they value the lives of Indians as much as they do those of Europeans. But who will be satisfied by these empty assurances, when the action belies the words?]

Kesari (109), 21st Sept.

17. Lord Chelmsford's regime still does not come to an end. The British Government did not pay any attention to the importunities of the Indians to extend the term of office of Lord Hardinge. Similarly, they now ignore the demand for the termination of Lord Chelmsford's regime. Lord Hardinge, who is the most proper person to be sent out to India at this time, is sent as Ambassador to Paris. One of the evil effects of this appointment is likely to be that a useless man like Lord Willingdon will be appointed Viceroy. What does all this mean? It means that the British Government seem bent upon completely ignoring the wishes of Indians. The Viceroyalties of Lords Curzon and Chelmsford have been reponsible for a great awakening in India, although these two men differ widely in temperament from each other. Whereas the first was an out-and-out autocrat and did not allow the least freedom to his lieutenants, the other gave his subordinates complete license and has been ever ready to whitewash them. [Here the paper observes in parentheses that Bombay is lucky in this respect in having a sympathetic Governor like Sir George Lloyd.] We wonder whether the Indian nation would have had to seek its soul at Calcutta if the term of office of this worthless Viceroy had been ere this brought to a close. The Congress decided on non-co-operation and Lord Chelmsford blessed the movement. He fed it indirectly by vetoing Mr. Sastri's resolution on the Punjáb. The arbitrariness of the Viceroy had at least the effect of convincing a most moderate politician like Mr. Sastri of the uselessness of the Legislative Councils and driving him to a form of non-co-operation. We congratulate Lord Chelmsford on his part in bringing about this result. [In the opinion of the *Lokashahi*, the Viceroy's action in vetoing Mr. Sastri's resolution will have the effect of defeating the very purpose which he had in view. The *Dnyan Prakásh* writes:—The total disregard shown by the Government of India to popular opinion in disallowing this most important resolution will not fail to ruin the chances of the success of the reforms. It is quite clear that this policy of indifference will increase the unrest in the Punjáb and will create obstacles in the way of co-operation between the people and the authorities. People will also now doubt the wisdom of allowing Government, under the reforms, certain powers to be used only in an emergency. By their own action Government have created a suspicion in the public mind that such powers may be abused to cover their own misdeeds. We do not know in what the discontent in the country will culminate if Government do not resist the temptation of showing their contempt for popular opinion. Mr. Sastri and the other members of the Council did well in withdrawing their resolutions, to record their protest against this policy of Government. The *Lokasangraha* bitterly remarks that the measures taken against the offending officials in the Punjáb are so very inadequate and, therefore, so very exasperating that it would have been far better if Government

Dunia (104) 19th Sept.; *Lokashahi* ( ), 20th Sept.; *Dnyan Prakásh* (41), 18th Sept.; *Lokasangraha* (112), 20th Sept.

had kept them to themselves instead of of announcing them to the public. It says death itself is preferable to such humiliation.]

*18. Referring to the statement published in the *Advocate of India* that the Honourable Mr. Sastri's resolution was disallowed at the instance of Sir Edward Maclagan, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes :—" Government can do many things, but it cannot make people forget to order. If Sir Edward Maclagan has succeeded in removing much of the traces of the past bitterness, he should have welcomed the occasion to place before the country the methods and the results of his great achievement. There is not much evidence of it, available to the public. If the *Advocate's* correspondent is right, Sir Edward Maclaglan is as convinced a believer as Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the policy of sitting upon constitutional safety valves. This incident is a weighty addition to the reasons against the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb having his summer headquarters at Simla. One of the reasons why the capital of India was removed from Calcutta to Delhi was that the Government of India overshadowed the provincial Government at the former place. At Simla the Provincial Government seems to dominate the Imperial Government, which is a far more co gent reason why the former should have some other hill to summer on than the one sacred to the Government of India."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 26th Sept.

19. "In disallowing the Honourable Mr. Sastri's resolutions on the Punjáb disturbances on the ground that they cannot be moved consistently with public interest His Excellency the Viceroy has unfortunately raised another source of strife and controversy in the country between Government and the people at a time when these had better been allowed to rest undisturbed..... However Lord Chelmsford's ruling may be technically supported by the authority of the rules, we are inclined to think that His Excellency has been ill-advised in disallowing Mr. Sastri's resolutions from being discussed in the Council as that amounted to an attempt to burke discussion. We note with much concern that an impasse has been created in the Imperial Legislative Council consequent upon the unfortunate decision..... The action of the Viceroy has unfortunately been of a sort which took away, as the Honourable Mr. R. Ayyengar said, the little confidence still left in the members of the Council to rectify the grievances of the country by getting them discussed in the Council."

Gujarát Mitra (19), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.

20. "What is there in this resolution of which Lord Chelmsford fights shy? Is it the affirmation of the principle of racial-equality and partnership in the Empire? Or is it the meting out of deterrent punishment to Dyer, O'Dwyer and Company? But the more curious fact about it is that Lord Chelmsford has disallowed the resolution under the well-worn shibboleth of its being inconsistent with public safety. But pray! What is public safety? Is it the convenience of Lord Chelmsford and his gang of bureaucrats or the interests of the people at large? If it is the former we have nothing to say. But if it is the latter, does Lord Chelmsford think it is in the interests of the people not to mete out even deterrent punishment to blood-thirsty generals who counted Indian life and honour cheap? If he does think so, he would do well to make it expressly clear. The fact is Lord Chelmsford is hopelessly out of touch with public feelings and sentiments and has afforded one more proof of his utter incapacity to hold the important position of Indian Viceroyalty. Nay more! his cynicism is a danger to the Empire and the sooner Lord Chelmsford seeks the solitude of his country manor, the better it would be for him, India and the Empire." [The *Praja Bandhu* deplores the high-handed step taken by the Viceroy in disallowing the Honourable Mr. Sastri's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council and remarks :—The non-official members did well in showing their resentment at the action taken by the Viceroy by withdrawing the resolutions that stood in their names. In this way they resorted to a modified

Gujaráti Punch (20), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.; *Praja Bandu* (29), 19th Sept.; *Baroda Vartamán* (57), 20th Sept.

form of non-co-operation of their own accord. This incident will tend to strengthen the non-co-operation movement started by Mr. Gandhi. The *Baroda Vartamán* believes that the incident will serve as an eye-opener to the blind sycophants of Government who advocate co-operation with them and will induce them to respect the resolution on non-co-operation passed by the Special Congress.]

21. "Official delinquents of the Martial Law regime were guilty of outraging the modesty of women, of humiliating, in a hundred ways, the people and their leaders, of ordering aeroplanes to throw bombs on innocent and unoffending population, of indiscriminate floggings and arrests, of handing over a peaceful city to the mercies of military rule, and, in one word, of smiting the Punjab with O'Dwyerism. How are they punished by the Government of India? They have been simply informed that 'Government strongly disapproved of their actions which were improper and injudicious.' And these men will continue to honor the country with their presence and draw fat salaries from the revenues paid by the people of the country they have insulted!"

Comments on the punishment inflicted on officials in connection with the Martial Law administration and the compensation given to sufferers.

New Times (8), 18th Sept.

22. Referring to the punishments of the Punjáb Martial Law officials and compensation figures announced in the Council, the *Kesari* says:—If Government begin to award such terrible punishments, there need be no fear now of the officials oppressing Indians hereafter! The information given in reply to Mr. Sastri's question is such as to utterly exasperate the people. [The paper here quotes the figures of reparation.] Government felt nothing in offering Miss Sherwood Rs. 50,000 as compensation, but that lady out of self-respect accepted only Rs. 1,500 and declined to have the balance. The Government figures themselves prove that an Indian's value is Rs. 346 and that a European's value is Rs. 68,617, that is, 200 times that of an Indian. The proportion was fixed perhaps according to the threat held out that for one European 1,000 Indians would be killed. It is proved that, compared to the life of Europeans and the prestige of officials, the life of Indians and their honour are not worth a cowrie. Still, Mr. Sastri brings in a resolution thanking Mr. Montagu. It was good that Lord Chelmsford rejected it! Or Mr. Montagu would have had an opportunity of parading the certificate that would have been given to him by the resolution and the cry that Indians are not treated justly would have been proved to be hollow by the resolution.

Kesari (109), 21st Sept.

23. "The action which the Government of India has taken against the Punjáb officials proved to have been guilty of excesses while suppressing last year's disturbances only serves to show its unbounded faith in the doctrine of official impunity; it seems to think that officers of Government, whatever their crime, must be maintained in undiminished prestige and power, if they are to rule Asiatics with something like success. The Government of India's record throughout this episode is wholly black. While the disturbances were in progress, it did not stir its little finger to keep in check the rigours of the militarist regime established in the province; after the restoration of the peace and order, its representatives sought to justify in the Imperial Council every manner of barbarity practised by the Punjáb officials, not excluding Jallianwala Bagh slaughter and the crawling order! and now when there is a pronouncement by its own Committee upon official misdeeds, it gave no sign of taking any punitive action against the peccant officers, notwithstanding the Cabinet's orders contained in the Secretary of State's dispatch, until goaded thereto by the non-official members of Council, and ultimately takes such ridiculously inadequate action as to amount in practice to no action..... That such an episode should have such a finale only shows how little weight the Government attaches to public opinion. There is no wonder that the people should lose faith in the Government and take to methods of agitation which would have been impossible, had the Government of India discharged its duty firmly in the matter of the Punjáb."

Servant of India (9), 23rd Sept.

24. The *Gujarâti* tries to show the ridiculousness of the insignificant punishments awarded to officers responsible for the atrocities in the Punjáb and remarks:—For perpetrating improper, unjust and unreasonable actions, Government have inflicted on their officials the tremendous and unheard of punishment of allowing them to continue in service and to exercise authority over the people! We wonder if Government thinks that such a form of punishment will act as a deterrent to these officers and their successors in office! Can this be called punishment? This is heaping ridicule upon those who are clamouring for justice! Government seem to throw out a challenge to the people by saying "This is our punishment in response to your demand for justice. What are you going to do?" We do not think history affords a worse example of bitter ridicule heaped upon the people. [The paper elsewhere quotes the figures about compensation given to Europeans and Indians for injuries and loss of life in the Punjáb disturbances and remarks:—Thirteen Europeans have received nearly five lakhs and a quarter, while forty Indians have been given Rs. 14,000 only! It would be wrong on the part of Lord Chelmsford to think that such differential treatment will tend to remove the differences existing between Europeans and Indians and re-establish good feelings between them. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also ridicules the inadequacy and disproportionateness of the punishment meted out to Government officers for their ill-advised actions, and dwells upon the differential treatment given to Europeans in the matter of compensation and remarks that such actions on the part of Government will not restore public confidence in Government.]

Gujarâti (18), 19th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 20th Sept.

***25.** "The Secretary of State in his famous despatch of 26th May last had given a clear hint to the Viceroy to take punitive action against the guilty officials. It is much to be regretted that Lord Chelmsford's Government has failed to act according to that hint, and has allowed these officials to escape so lightly. The mere passing of votes of censure against these offending officials will have little or no moral effect upon them as long as they know that there is a certain section of the public which approves of and upholds their conduct. These officers should no longer be allowed to remain in the province where they have become so unpopular and disliked. The first thing that ought to have been done was to transfer them from this country..... What the people want is not vengeance on any particular person or persons, but a confirmation of the principle laid down by the Secretary of State in his despatch and in the speech which he made in Parliament during the Amritsar debate. If that principle is to be adhered to, if India is not to be governed by force alone, if the lives of all classes of subjects are to be considered of equal value—if, we say, these just and righteous principles are to be acknowledged and acted upon—then it is absolutely necessary that men like Bosworth Smith, O'Brien, Doveton, Marsden and Macrae should not be allowed to hold responsible positions in the land."

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 26th Sept., Eng. cols.

26. The name of our popular and sympathetic Governor Sir George Lloyd and that of Lord Willingdon are freely mentioned in connection with the Viceroyalty of India. Of all the names that have hitherto been suggested that of Sir George Lloyd is the most popular and his appointment will have the effect of considerably healing the wounds inflicted during Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty. His elevation to the post will be considered as partly redeeming the pledge of our gracious Sovereign to regard the contentment of the people as the mainstay of the Empire.

His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and the Viceroyalty.

Lokashahi ( ), 20th Sept.

27. "The selection of Lord Lytton as Under Secretary of State for India is of the usual humdrum sort, the outstanding qualification, possessed by his lordship, for the post to which he is appointed, being that he was born in Simla. It is noteworthy, in a way, as marking a reversion to the old order. Evidently the British Government think they have gone far enough and

Lord Lytton's appointment as Under Secretary of State for India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Sept.

that Lord Sinha should add to his many records that of being the last as well as the first Indian Under Secretary of State. Lord Islington's name was mentioned in connection with the Under Secretaryship. Does the selection of Lord Lytton mean that Lord Islington is to come as Viceroy?"

Sir William Meyer's appointment as High Commissioner for India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Sept.

20. "The appointment of Sir William Meyer as the High Commissioner for India raises some important questions of policy. According to the Simla communiqué, the Crew Committee had recommended that 'the Government of India should have a special representative of high status in London who would eventually take over all the work hitherto done by the India Office, which is of an agency as opposed to a political or administrative character.' But the work entrusted to the first High Commissioner, consisting as it does of the care of students, the purchases of stores, etc., seems scarcely to be in accord with the spirit of this recommendation. Similar officers of the self-governing dominions occupy a position more analogous to that of an ambassador than of a mere agent..... But this new agent of the Government of India is only a sort of glorified 'buyer,' whose utility will be considerably lessened by the existence of a Trade Commissioner, on the one hand, and an Adviser to the Indian students, on the other. 'Our Sir William' will, therefore, be only a fifth wheel in the coach..... This quite possibly is but one more example of the new pernicious policy of multiplying highly paid offices for the benefit of the retired civilian, and adding to the cost of civil administration. We do not know what or how Sir William will be paid. Presumably, he cannot be paid less than his subordinate the Trade Commissioner. Whatever the salary, it will, of course, be in addition to the pension he draws as a retired civilian. There would also be salaries of his staff, office rent, besides the non-effective charges of his establishment. All this would mean an increased cost of at least £10,000 a year now, and much more later by progressive increments. What will India gain in return?"

Comments on the creation of the post of Indian Trade Commissioner for British East Africa.
Hindusthán (22), 19th Sept. Eng. cols.

29. Commenting upon the creation of the post of Indian Trade Commissioner for British East Africa, the *Hindusthan* remarks:—"When this question first cropped up, the Indian Merchants' Chamber emphasized that none but an Indian should be appointed to this post. We have, however, reasons to suspect that the Government of India is not thinking at all of an Indian for this appointment though even the East African deputation, led by the Honourable Mr. Vishram, pressed for it recently. It will not be to the *Izzat* of the British Raj to have an Indian as Trade Commissioner in such a reactionary country as East Africa. If an European is appointed, however, the remedy will be worse than the disease. He will be obsessed by the party prejudices and the racial feelings predominant in the country and will be entirely incognisant of the feelings and sentiments and grievances of Indian traders and merchants. The fundamental object of a Trade Commissioner will be defeated, namely, that he should act as a medium of interpretation between the East African Government and the Indian settlers. The demands of the public have, however, so consistently been neglected and treated with indifference recently that we have no hope that the demand of the Indian comercial community for an Indian Trade Commissioner will be granted."

Necessity of raising the pay of the Police.
Kesari (109), 21st Sept.

30. The Police Department is a favourite of Government, but it would be a mistake to suppose that the Police have no complaints of their own. Their pay was revised about 15 years ago. Much is spent on the Police, but those who will minutely examine how much of it goes to the higher Indian officials and all the European officials will realise the cause of the discontent prevailing in the lower ranks of the Police. And of all, the Policeman cannot express his discontent! This pillar of Government does not receive even the wages of an ordinary coolie! The Police have to perform responsible duties, the whip of Government is always ready to be used against them and they have to bear popular criticism also more than any other

body of officials. In these days of high prices, the Police should receive help first. It would be creditable to Government to remove Police discontent the moment it appears, as it is very difficult for them to give expression to it.

31. The temporary hands employed in the Supply and Transport Office get no increments and no allowances. Though they are temporary, their belly is not temporary. They have to feed themselves permanently. Is it not the duty of the Military Department to see that its servants do not starve? If temporary men are not to get increments, let them at least have full allowances.

The temporary hands in the Supply and Transport Office should be paid the necessary allowances.
Kesari (109), 21st Sept.

32. Inviting attentiou to the discontent prevailing among the teaching staff of the Educational Department, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—It appears tbat owing to the adverse working of the time-scale system recently introduced, discontent is rampant among the teaching staff of the Education Department. It must have been the aim of Government to satisfy the staff by the introduction of such a system and if the system has not proved a success, we believe, Government will take immediate steps for remedying its adverse working. Again, the withdrawal of war allowances is an inexplicable proceeding. The case seems to be that either the responsible officials of the Department have not devoted any thought to the question as to how a teacher would be able to maintain himself and his family on Rs. 50 or 55, or that somebody misunderstood the language of the order in connection with the time-scale. Some of the teachers have already sent in their resignations, which, we regret to note, have been accepted without any consideration as to the causes underlying them or without any consideration for the interests of the students. We would not wonder if inadequate salaries and want of sympathy on the part of the authorities with the teaching staff are the root cause of the inferiority now-a-days to be observed in the education imparted in Government schools as compared with that imparted in private schools. But there is another complaint about the working of the time-scale, and it is this. While comparatively fresh employees have begun to obtain Rs. 150, old employees who have put in twenty years' service also get only Rs. 150 and nothing more. Again, those who have long since duly earned the right to be admitted to the selection grade have not yet been admitted to the same. This has given rise to anxiety among the staff as to whether their services long or short, good or bad will be recognised or not. Again, what about the provincial service scheme of the Department? Such a scheme has already been put into operation in backward provinces like the Central Provinces and the Punjáb. It is to be desired that publicity should be given to the scheme and that it should be brought into operation. Again, the Educational Department seems to be following a peculiar standard in making appointments. The appointment of an assistant drawing teacher as an Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector has transgressed all reasonable bounds. It is a question how a man who has not passed the final examination of the training college, who has neither taught children in primary schools, nor seen them being so taught, will be able to inspect and test the work of the teachers of primary schools. We would like to see that the vagaries of the Educational Department are brought to an end.

Grievances of the teaching staff of the Bombay Educational Department.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 22nd Sept.

33. "We have been (or at least have been till recently) used to receive our postal communications with such absolute regularity that we had come to rely implicitly on the Post Office as something infallible and immaculate..... The instances of postal vagaries of late gave us a rude shock. And the entire suspension of the service was something beyond our dreams until we saw it actually occur..... The frequency and the general unsatisfactory nature of these strikes must at once impress us with the necessity of strikes legislation. The right to strike work in certain conditions must be admitted; for to deny it would be tantamount to reducing workmen to

Comments on the strike of Bombay postmen.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 20th and 23rd Sept., Eng. cols.

a species of slavery. But the conditions must be defined. Then in all strikes, and specially in the case of those that involve the Public services, the necessity of giving notice must be insisted upon. Also, in order to prevent strikes altogether, or to prevent their being protracted beyond proper limits, some machinery of settlement or arbitration should be provided by which the disputes might be speedily and satisfactorily ended..... At the same time the dilatory, arrogant and niggardly manner in which employers and officials deal with just or even plausible grievances is highly to be deprecated and must be made impossible. The only way in which these unsatisfactory features can be obviated is to set up independent tribunals which can become seized of the disputes as soon as they arise. We can only trust that now that the action of the post men has created a serious situation the whole subject will be properly handled and measures devised to put a stop to a recurrence of these conditions. No purpose will be served by mutual bluffing and bullying. The service must be put upon a proper basis. The wages of the men must be revised in the light of existing economic conditions. At the same time care must be taken to prevent the men from thinking that in the ability to strike at any moment they possess an all powerful weapon against which the world is helpless. That would be a very dangerous impression. The men as well as the masters have to reckon with the general public, and they must be taught to feel that any unreasonable conduct on their part will not be tolerated." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes :— "The abruptness and suddenness of the strike shows that it is not likely to be terminated soon and the confusion will grow worse every day. The public will be chiefly affected by such a strike, for the postal and telegraphic service of the Government will be carried on without much difficulty, and the public has a right to complain that it should be subjected to so great an inconvenience almost without notice. The postal and telegraph authorities are doing all they can to face the situation and volunteers are hard at work, but when an extensive organisation suddenly comes to a dead stop it is impossible to replace it efficiently at once. On the present occasion, all that can be ascertained is that the postmen contend that their starting salary is lower than the wages of a cooly, but before going on strike they should have exhausted all legitimate sources of representation. The telegraph men have gone on strike without notice and without formulating their grievances. Consequently, the situation is different from that in 1917 and the public is more exasperated than sympathetic. Although the inconvenience is considerable there are no complaints and the public are giving every help to the postal and telegraph officials..... The alienation of public sympathy from the attitude of the strikers is noteworthy and will help to defeat the object of the strike. As the strikers have had no thought for the convenience of the public they should not be surprised at the withholding of public sympathy, and if there are no complaints from the public the authorities are not likely to take any action to placate the strikers."]

34. "The strike situation remains unchanged. Officials, high and low, seem to have adopted an uncompromising attitude and the prospects of an early and satisfactory settlement are remote unless the official attitude materially changes. It is no longer a mere Departmental affair. It is time for Government to step in and inquire into the circumstances and adopt the necessary measures to end the strike. The Postal officials are, as it were, on their trial. To leave it to them to deal with the strike as they like and assume an attitude of indifference would mean that Government had resigned their functions of control in favour of departmental heads who have after all their own prejudices and prestige to maintain. It is necessary for Government to understand that the public are opposed to the methods and policy of the Postal authorities and that they entirely disapprove of their frantic efforts to break the back of the strike by heedless and wasteful expenditure of public money..... An irresponsible Anglo-Indian paper may call for 'blunt resistance,' but it is inexcusable for the responsible head of the department who ought to have been in Bombay long before, to declare, from

Bombay Chronicle (1) 24th and 25th Sept.; **Mahrátta* (7), 26th Sept.

the heights of Simla, a war to the knife against the postmen and telegraph peons. If the Director-General entertains the idea that the public will support him in his action, he is entirely mistaken.... ..... In their own interests, we advise the officials to drop their minatory tone. If they are, however, not amenable to reason and if Government give them a *carte blanche*, they may as well know that Bombay is equally determined not to allow the duel between the officials and postmen to go on indefinitely.....x.... We are strongly of opinion that the demands of postmen are not at all extravagant and that they should be conceded in full. As an experiment, some intelligent postmen may be appointed as clerks; it is quite necessary that they should have a fair prospect of bettering their position. The case of the telegraph peons has been scandalously mismanaged. It comes like a shock to learn that their pay is only Rs. 7-8-0 per mensem! With allowances, it comes only to 17-8-0. ..... Constant cycling has sent many of them to an early grave. Telegraph peons are human beings; they are not tram-horses or rather tram-horses were better treated and cared for than are telegraph peons. Do Government consider it to be a credit to themselves that within the knowledge of these hapless peons, no one has gone on pension?..... They justly demand that they should not be made to work as cycle peons for more than eight years during the entire period of their service and that too not more than one year at a time with a period of rest..... We are not at all surprised that these men with such crying grievances did not observe all the technicalities in declaring a strike, and we are not disposed to blame them. Their case deserves sympathetic consideration at the hands of Government who seem after all to exercise little or no control over the department for the efficient and satisfactory working of which they are ultimately responsible. We trust false considerations of prestige will not supervene, and that wise and speedy measures will be adopted to settle the strike. [In its next issue the paper refers to the allegation in the *Times of India* that Mr. Vaughan, the Presidency Postmaster, had complained that the Hindu clerical establishment of the General Post Office were hindering the Post Office work in a deliberate manner, and says:—" We want to know whether Mr. Vaughan has made any such statements as are attributed to him by the *Times of India*. We want to know further why he has adopted the highly questionable method of attacking his staff through a newspaper notorious for its anti-Indian prejudices..... We should like to know whether Mr. Vaughan is responsible for alleging that the 'Hindu clerks in sorting duty are wilfully missorting letters and packages.' If this is true, the Presidency Postmaster has ample disciplinary powers, and he has no need or business to solicit the help of the Anglo-Indian papers in managing his office. Or is the malicious attack meant to excuse the blunders of the Postal official and the great inconveniences caused to the public?"] [The *Mahrátta* writes:—"In consideration of the importance to the public of the branch which they run and also the disproportionately low pittance of Rs. 27 with which they have at present to make-shift for themselves the Postal authorities, and failing them the Government must satisfy their legitimate demand and put a speedy end to the tremendous dislocation of the life of Bombay. Even now there are no signs of a settlement; the authorities are unmoved; the Government is sitting with folded hands. The higher services have been pampered; the income of the department is yearly fattening and yet the most pitiable phenomenon is that 'while the grass grows, the steed doth starve."]

*35. "We are never in favour of encouraging excessive or unfair demands on the part of workmen at the expense of the community nor are we prepared to tolerate an unsympathetic attitude on the part of the employers, including Government departments. Government never find any difficulty in allowing all kinds of concessions to the higher services. But when the question of duly remunerating the subordinate services comes up before them, they quibble or parade a number of excuses, including the interests of the tax-payer, and even give him a threat that the increased expenditure on the subordinate services will make it necessary for them to impose heavier burdens upon the

Gujaráti (18), 26th Sept., Eng. cols.

public. Having regard to the general rise in prices it ought not to be difficult to find out what should now be the remuneration of postal and telegraph peons in Bombay. Mere percentages of increase over the pre-war salaries are of no value. Already the postal and telegraph services have immensely deteriorated in efficiency. The two Departments had won a reputation for themselves for efficiency and promptitude. That is now a thing of the past. Gross irregularities, mistakes, and miscarriages are matters of frequent occurrence and all complaints prove infructuons. The older men are overworked and dissatisfied with their position. The new peons are either inexperienced or inefficient. The Telegraph peons are also overworked and miserably paid. Assuming for a moment that the strikers are in the wrong, why is it impossible to bring all the parties together and discuss matters in a spirit of candour and fairness instead of treating the men in a spirit of unrelenting defiance? Whatever the journalistic ventriloquists of the two Departments may say to the contrary, the present arrangements in the native town are highly unsatisfactory and a source of provoking delay and annoyance, grave inconvenience and anxiety and even loss. We must strongly protest against the attempt that is being made to lead the authorities to believe that the public are not being subjected to any inconvenience. The fashionable and influential quarters of the city are being well attended to. But there is intolerable delay and inconvenience and even chaos and confusion in the other parts of the city..... The postal and telegraph peons are entitled to considerate treatment and their legitimate grievances should be promptly inquired into and redressed in a liberal-minded spirit."

36. We have no sympathy with strikes of this kind because we are of opinion that they are detrimental to the prosperity of the country. We do not sympathise with the postmen for this reason that they did not sufficiently ventilate their grievances before the public and did not care to earn their sympathy. Their action, involving a loss of crores to the business-men of the country, can in no way be supported. All the same, it is our duty to examine their case in an impartial manner. Theirs is not a fresh complaint but a complaint remaining unanswered for a long time past. The so-called liberal revision of their pay is hardly adequate. We doubt if an increment of five to ten per cent. would have ever satisfied the higher officials who move about in fashionable dress with costly cigars in their mouths. Their attitude towards the lower staff is only an index to their selfishness and miserliness. It is impossible for any human being to maintain himself on the paltry sum of Rs. 20 or 30 in these hard times. What, then must be the plight of a man with a family? Any workman in the street earns Rs. 3 at least per day. Illiterate mill-operatives earn from Rs. 70 to Rs. 100 per month. The plight of the postman earning Rs. 20 or Rs. 30 per month is no better than that of the sweeper who has now begun to earn Rs. 23 per month. The authorities and employers of labour should now give up the hope of finding employees for Rs. 20 or 30 per month. The demand of the postman for a living wage deserves full consideration and we would recommend the authorities to leave the matter to be decided by an arbitration board representing all sorts of interests. [In a subsequent issue, the paper calls upon His Excellency Sir G. Lloyd to prevail upon the authorities concerned to hold a searching inquiry into the demands of the strikers. The *Akhbar-e-Islám* remarks that it is quite natural that workmen should be discontent and indifferent if they are not paid adequately. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the short-sighted policy of the authorities is at the root of the discontent prevailing among the postmen and consequently of the strike. The paper calls upon the authorities to give up the plea of prestige and make efforts for bringing about a settlement. The paper exhorts the strikers to patiently lay their grievances before the authorities and to refrain from entertaining a spirit of vindictveness. The *Sánj Vartamán* supports Mr. Baptista's suggestion about conciliation, *viz.*, that Mr. Sams, the Postmaster-General and he should make joint efforts at arriving at a settlement. The paper adds that the

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 21st Sept.; *Akhbar-e-Islám* (55), 22nd Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 22nd Sept.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 23rd Sept.; *Hindusthán* (23), 22nd and 23rd Sept.

suggestion that Mr. Gandhi should be appointed as an arbitrator in case a difference arises between Mr. Sams and Mr. Baptista is quite an apt suggestion. The paper remarks that if the suggestion is put into operation, the strike would immediately come to an end. The *Hindusthán* sympathises with the demands of the postmen and calls upon the authorities to accede to them, emphasising the fact that the higher officials have received liberal increments long ago. In a subsequent issue, the paper warns the public against the advice of the *Times of India* that the people should co-operate with the authorities, pointing out that such a course of action would be tantamount to playing false with their brethren in distress.]

Indu Prakásh (44), 25th Sept.

37. The *Indu Prakásh* says that the authorities lie when they say that the inconvenience caused to the public by the postal strike is gradually being overcome and that normal conditions would soon be restored. It expresses its conviction that no settlement is possible unless the head of the Presidency intervenes in the matter. It draws a pathetic picture of the lot of the Telegraph peons and says that their duties are so very onerous that not one of them has up till now lived to earn a pension. It tells Government that people wholly disapprove of the conduct of the Postal authorities and blames the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs for enjoying the cool breezes of Simla when it was plainly his duty to inquire personally into the grievances of the men and to redress them.

Sir Valentine Chirol and the late Mr. Tilak.

Kesari (109), 21st Sept.; *Lokasangraha* (112), 19th Sept.; *Swarájya* ( ), 23rd Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 25th Sept.

38. Commenting upon Sir V. Chirol's letter about the late Mr. Tilak, in *New Statesman*, the *Kesari* says:—If Sir Valentine does not speak falsely (we think, he does), no other inference can be drawn but that Mr. Gokhale was a slanderer. It is well known that Gokhale and Tilak were not on good terms. If Mr. Gokhale has taken wicked anti-Indian like Sir Valentine into confidence and vilified his equal behind his back (we cannot say it is true), it cannot but be said that Mr. Gokhale has acted vilely in a way lowering his character. It appears Mr. Gokhale inspired and got inspiration from Britishers, as a matter of routine, on account of the particular political opinions he espoused. The Gokhalite papers should have strongly condemned Sir Valentine, but the *Dnyán Prakásh* has not written a single line and we note with regret and surprise that the *Servant of India* wrote only a word about it and that, too, in a half-hearted way. [The *Lokasangraha* writes:—Mr. Gokhale was a simpleton and the idea that he might have similarly erred while speaking to Lord Morley is not impossible. However, both Gokhale and Tilak are dead. There is no need to suppose that every word of Sir Valentine is quite true. But the Moderates should learn a lesson from the incident, and if they do, it will do a world of good. The *Swarájya* remarks:—Gokhale's followers should explain matters if possible. The *Servant of India* says, "These (Chirol's) statements ought to receive and will receive no credit." But people want proof and they earnestly desire that Sir Valentine Chirol should be convicted of falsehood.] [The *Indu Prakásh* is of opinion that Sir Valentine Chirol has devised this new means for formenting a fresh quarrel between the adherents f the two dead leaders and regrets to find that the Tilak party has fallen a victim to his tricks. It thinks that Sir Chirol's allegation should have been disregarded.]

Government should refrain from taking any action in the matter of schools closed on account of Mr. Tilak's death.

Kesari (109), 21st Sept.

39. Some schools were closed when they learnt the news of the death of Mr. Tilak and some students absented themselves of their own accord for half a day or so. We understand that some officials do not approve of these things and that they intend to take some action. We only suggest that the officials should not go so deep into the matter. If the students are fined, they will pay the fine or the people themselves will raise a fund and pay down the amount. But such a mean exhibition of the bureaucratic attitude will not bring about any improvement in the people's sentiments towards Government but make them worse. As the Municipal and

Local Board schools were closed acccording to the order of proper officials, students and teachers are not to blame at all. How are Government going to punish the officials of the local bodies. If they can dare suspend local bodies for honouring Mr. Tilak, they are welcome to do so. We do not think they can even dare to stop the Government grant. If schools and offices can be closed for even a petty saheb, why should there be an objection in Tilak's case alone? There are elected members in both Municipalities and Local Boards. They should fight out the question to the last.

40. Commenting on the order issued by the Director of Public Instruction to the authorities of the Belgaum High School and the Mission High School of Belgaum to fine the students who absented themselves on the day of Mr. Tilak's death, the *Shubhodaya* observes that the Director's action will only create contempt in the minds of the people for both the Director and his ideas of school discipline. Why were the schools closed, the paper asks, on the death of Mr. Sharp, the late Director of Public Instruction, when no student felt the least sorrow at the event and why should the Director get angry with students for absenting themselves from school on the day on which the whole of India was grieving?

Shubhodaya (86), 17th Sept.

41. "Private Chilcott, the accused in connection with the Kacha Garhi tragedy, in which a Muhajir was horribly done to death, has been found not guilty and acquitted by the Murree Court Martial. The verdict is not surprising. But the matter cannot be allowed to rest with this verdict. The decision to have the case tried by a court-martial was in itself most unsatisfactory, there being no reason why the matter should have been removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. The Indian public, however, cannot be satisfied until, as we urged in the beginning, a most searching and impartial investigation is conducted by a body entirely independent of the local administration and the military authorities. The fact that, as the *Times'* correspondent wrote, there was 'reticence and delay in giving a full version of the incident' and that there was admitted inaccuracy in the first official statement, is, apart from other considerations, not calculated to inspire confidence in the proceedings of the Court Martial. The accounts of the tragedy that have been made public have sent a thrill of horror and indignation throughout the country. What are the Government of India going to do to see that justice is done?"

Comments on the decision of the Court Martial on the Kacha Garhi tragedy.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Sept.

***42.** "It is highly gratifying to find that the Hindu-Moslem unity effected and sanctified at the top in the memorable year 1916 is broadening down from precedent to precedent, and the way in which the Muharrum festivals passed off here is a clear and unmistakable evidence of the fact. We had pointed out in these columns that the simultaneity of the festivals of the Muharrum and the Ganesh would put to a very acid test the unity between the two halves of Indians, and everybody would now rejoice to see that both the Hindus and Muhammadans rose to the occasion and celebrated the ceremonies with characteristic mutual forbearance. The sight presented here of Hindu *Melas* chanting their songs in front of *Tabuts* and Muhammadan leaders delivering lectures before the public idols of Ganpati was a sight for even gods to see. Nor was this all. The *Tabut* procession was headed by a portrait of the late Lokamanya, a veritable embodiment of the unity, and prominent leaders of the Nationalist party figured conspicuously in the vanguard."

Comments on the Muharram and Ganpati celebrations in Poona.

Mahrátta (7), 26th Sept.

43. "The entry of the *Muslim Outlook* into this country has now been proscribed. The *Muslim Outlook* is the organ of the Islamic Bureau of Information in London and its offence, of course, is that it has bravely waged a vigorous though forlorn struggle to secure justice for Turkey and Islam. Besides its outspoken comments on the hypocritical dealing of the 'Victors' in the

Protest against the proscription of the *Muslim Outlook* newspaper.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Sept.

war, its salient feature has been the publication of extracts from leading English and continental papers, throwing the searchlight of truth on the doings of the imperialists and diplomats. The object of the ban against it is evident: it is the blockade of truth, in reference to Turkish questions so far as India is concerned. But if the object is to be properly served, why should the Government not take the sensible course of proscribing all English newspapers and periodicals?"

Indian students in London.
Servant of India (9), 23rd Sept.

44. "The grievances of the Indian students in England are many and have often been ventilated in the public Press. The Government maintains, at considerable cost to the Indian taxpayer, an establishment at 21, Cromwell Road, London, of which he is expected to avail himself. But owing to the suspicion which is gathering strength every day that political motives contributed to its foundation, its utility as a shelter for fresh arrivals from India receives a great set-back. Those who have stopped at 21, Cromwell Road for some time complain that the food is far from satisfactory and the behaviour of the servants leaves much to be desired. The agitation set up by the inmates of the house to mend matters resulted in the inclusion in the Committee of management consisting of nearly a dozen members of only one of their number! Cheapness was at one time the special feature of this establishment; but recent increases in its rates have removed even that attraction. The consequent dissatisfaction is reported to have found expression in the withdrawal by the students of their only representative from the Committee! It is to be hoped that the Government will set matters right at an early date by the removal of the causes of suspicion which restrict its scope of usefulness and by affording such other reasonable relief as the Indian student stands in need of. A non-official committee, enjoying the full confidence of the student community and associated with the management, might go a long way in inspiring confidence among students."

Reflections on the birth of Krishna.
Hindu (144), 4th Sept.

45. Whenever rulers inebriated with the intoxication of power oppress their subjects and throttle justice, whenever sinful souls in power follow the dictates of their perverse minds, whenever infants are forced out of mothers' laps and butchered, and whenever those who advise wrong-doers against their misdeeds are subjected to punishment, Sri Krishna in order to punish the wicked and the cruel takes birth in India. The life of Lord Krishna has a lesson for the world to-day. His life affords inspiration to all sorts of men, to devotees and to soldiers alike. To the latter it says: 'Give up cowardice and fight. If you die in battle you will go to heaven; if you survive, you will be the masters of the country.' His sermon to Arjuna in the Gita inspires souls with hope when they are down-hearted. It dispels Arjuna's indecision and makes him fight and do his duty. To-day this beautiful sermon of Krishna's is before us saying 'Oh Bharata (title of Arjuna) be up and doing for without action there is no emancipation for you.' To-day we want men who will follow the example of Krishna, who will sacrifice their all and jump into the fire for the emancipation of their country, and, consuming themselves in the fire of martyrdom, be merged in the Beloved.

Colonel Johnson and the Kashmir Darbar.
Sind Vasi (149) 4th Sept.

46. The *Bande Mataram* writes that the Kashmir Darbar has granted Frank Johnson a contract for extracting oil. We do not know if this is true. We do not think, however, that the Maharaja of Kashmir is so queer as to keep a man who has behaved brutally. If the report is true, the Kashmir Darbar seems to have lost its senses.

The Bombay Development Loan.
Bombay Samáchár (58), 20th and 24th Sept.

47. Adverting to the Bombay Development Loan, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—The suggestions made by the Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies in connection with the loan deserve to be recommended to the notice of the various co-operative Societies of the presidency. He has advised them to advance,

at a moderate rate of interest, Rs. 95 to an investor making an intial payment of Rs. 5 towards a loan for Rs. 100. The Societies will earn ¼th per cent. as commission just like the various banks. These banks made profitable business out of the war-loans in this manner, and so did some of the insurance companies. Hence it is certain that the Co-operative Credit Societies will also make a profit, besides giving facilities to small investors. We are confident that these Societies will do the needful in this direction. [In a subsequent issue, the paper invites the attention of investors to the steadiness of dividends and to the security of their holdings in the present loan and advises them not to entertain any misgivings about its stability on account of the sad experience of the public in connection with the old Government of India loans, by pointing out that this is only the first liability of this kind under taken by a provincial Government.]

Alleged continuance in Bombay City of the old bucket shops in the shape of sports clubs.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 23rd Sept.

48. Inviting attention to the fact that the "bucket shops" of former days are continuing their existence in the shape of sports clubs, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :— It is difficult to imagine how very ruinous will be the results of the mania for race-gambling that has overpowered the bulk of the population of Bombay. While, on the one hand, Government make efforts to check the evil, the gamblers on the other, find out some way or another to render them impotent. Government passed a law prohibiting the maintenance of bucket shops only a few months ago. But bucket shops have not ceased to exist as such, because they have been replaced by the so-called sports clubs. The object of Government in enacting the recent legislation, *viz.*, that of checking the evil of gambling, has thus been frustrated and a large number of the poor and middle class people is being daily ruined by this evil. There is nothing in the existing law by which these sports clubs can be brought within its purview. Any amount of money is being received at these sports clubs for betting without any risk of being run in by the law. The volume of the business that these clubs do can easily be estimated by the presence of the immense crowds that gather together there during the racing season. Thus, it is evidently necessary that the law should be so amended as to be fully effective. We would further invite the attention of the police to the existence of the old bucket shops at some places in spite of the law prohibiting them and would urge them to take vigilant steps for tracing them out, as well as their owners who might be given an exemplary punishment so that others may be deterred from plying the business.

The threatened famine and Government's duty with regard to it.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 21st Sept.

49. The rains in India have this year proved to be a failure. In some places excessive rainfall has ruined the crops, while in other parts, a scanty fall has led to the withering of the growing crops. It is no exaggeration to say that the whole country stands face to face with a famine of a severity to be paralleled only by that of the great famine of 1900-1901. We would, therefore, invite the attention of Government and the leaders of the people to the necessity of co-operating in the matter and of devising means to give timely succour to the masses before it is too late. In this connection, we are reminded of the opinion of the Famine Commissions appointed in the past, that speedy measures of relief tend to lessen the hardships of the famine-striken people, whereas tardy measures, however liberal they may be, do not prove to be beneficial. Now that the Imperial Legislative Council has come to a close, we would suggest that the popular members of the Council should address a letter to His Excellency the Viceroy requesting him to appoint a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to consider what measures should be adopted in order to face the threatened calamity. So far as Bombay is concerned, we expect His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to make a statement on the agricultural position of the presidency at the next session of the Legislative Council, which begins its sittings in the last week of the current month. His Excellency will do well to afford an opportunity to non-official members to discuss the question in detail and finally appoint a

Committee consisting of officials and non-officials to devise practical measures to combat the menace. Such a course of action will tend to reassure the people, and the measures to be adopted will be all the more effective on account of the co-operation of the officials and the leaders of the people.

50. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, the Governor of Bombay, in the course of his speech at the New English School Poona, spoke of Industrial Education. While admitting the need of this Education His Excellency observed that it was difficult to provide the necessary funds for it at the present time. Everybody will be sorry to hear of a Governor like Sir George Lloyd expressing his inablity to find money for an object the importance of which he fully realises. Whenever any demand from the Public Funds has been made the reply has always been that there are no funds. A reply such as this in the regime of Lord Sydenham was not surprising. It is certainly disappointing when coming from Lord Willingdon or Sir George Lloyd. While Government can find money for other objects and fat promotions to its officials, it is strange it can find none for an important object like Education! Every one knows that India has suffered immensely for want of Industrial Education. If the drawback cannot be removed in the time of a Governor like Sir George Lloyd, one cannot say when it will be removed.

Comments on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's speech at the New English School, Poona.

Sind Vasi (149), 3rd Sept.

51. "A question was raised some time ago as to the eligibility of persons convicted of offences connected with the Punjáb disorders and subsequently given the benefit of Royal clemency, of offering themselves as candidates for Council elections. Government kept silent then and now pomposuly announce that they had always contemplated action that would remove the disabilities of such persons under the election rules. They have accordingly 'pardoned' 27 persons, the effect of the 'pardon' being that they can contest the elections. The gift comes too late when none is so poor as to value it in the least. The Punjáb leaders have already boycotted the Councils and the Government of India have troubled themselves for nothing. This tardy act of justice extended but to a limited number of sufferers, nobody would appreciate. It is not likely to tempt anybody to stand for the elections, so long as Government have not righted the Punjáb wrongs. Meanwhile they can keep the Councils to themselves."

Government of India's order removing the disability for Council elections of certain persons in the Punjáb.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Sept.

52. "The bureaucracy has a capital way of doing things. The Reform rules were designedly so formed as to bar the entry of the Punjáb leader into the new councils. The 'bounteous' royal amnesty was interpreted so as not to cover their cases so far as the new councils are concerned. The attention of the Government was pointedly drawn to this fact, but the Government, with all their show of fairness, remained unmoved. But lo! the Olympic gods are at once full of sympathy for these Punjáb leaders who were unjustly put under a ban, when they learnt that to avenge the Punjáb atrocities the Indian National Congress passed a resolution of Non-co-operation with the Government and these very leaders solemnly resolved to boycott the councils. The bureaucratic gods now were pleased to issue orders of pardon which will have the effect of removing the disqualifications in the case of 27 such persons! The bureaucracy is not lost to all sense of humour. The communiqué states that 'the Government of India have always contemplated action that would remove the disabilities imposed under the rules regarding the elections to the new councils'. Indeed, none but themselves and perhaps the sycophants around them can admire their speedy despatch of work."

**Mahrátta* (7), 26th Sept.

53. "The belated announcement has at last been made that the imprisonments suffered by the Punjáb leaders in connection with the disorders of last year shall not bar their way to the Councils. Nearly two months after Colonel Wedgwood failed, by means of

Servant of India (9), 23rd Sept.

amendments to the rules, to get this disqualification removed, the Government of India hasten to assure the world that they 'have always contemplated action that would remove the disabilities imposed under the rules regarding election to the new councils.' If so, they could have saved themselves from some unpleasant criticism on this score by an opportune announcement of their benevolent intentions. As it is, we are afraid the removal of the disability will fail to ease the tension of feeling between the Government and the people in the Punjáb. The agitation in favour of a boycott of Councils bearing the imprimatur of the Congress has been taken up in right earnest in that province and seems to be making headway. It is doubtful in the circumstances if any of the Punjáb leaders will care to avail themselves of this grudging concession which has been made too late to check the spread of the feeling against the new councils."

54. "Does the Viceroy or the Government of India expect that the publication of this announcemont will be greeted with a gush of gratitude in the Punjáb or anywhere else in the country? The Government may not know many things, but it has absolutely no justification for asseverating ignorance of the temper and attitude of the country just at the present time. Nevertheless, we are afraid that the publication of such a *communique* after the Special Congress of Calcutta will pass unheeded and unnoticed. As has happened in the case of most beneficent measures of the Government of India, this announcement of pardon to a number of victims of martial law in the Punjáb comes too late and it will not elicit the slightest response in the country. It comes after the decision about non-co-operatiou in the Congress, it comes after the remarkable and spontaneous exhibition of non-co-operation in the Imperial Legislative Council. ..... It will not produce the slightest appreciation either in the Punjáb or elsewhere. The removal of disabilities for Council elections in the case of the 27 persons named in the *communique* will benefit nobody, for the gentlemen named will not offer themselves for election for any Legislative Council..... It is stated in the *communique* that the Government of India have always contemplated action in the case of certain persons convicted under the regime of martial law in the Punjáb for the removal of their disabilities for election to the new Councils. This contemplation has been going on from December 23rd, 1919, when the Royal Proclamation was issued to the 18th September, 1920, when the contemplation has been transferred into action. Can there be a finer example of bureaucratic promptitude?"

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 21st Sept., Eng. cols.

55. *Apropos* of the closing session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Akhbár-i-Islám* writes:—Great were our hopes and expectations when the Imperial Legislative Council was remodelled, under the Morley-Minto Reforms, in the form in which it has existed till now. But those hopes and aspirations have not been realized. But for a few exceptions, the country has gained very little by this Council. The only advantage that the country secured was that of having one Indian member in the Imperial Executive Council. The existing Imperial Legislative Council has made it glaringly clear that the popular voice is impotent owing to the official majority and hence the country has suffered more than it has benefitted by that Council. We are eager to see how the Legislative Council under the new reforms turns out to be beneficial, for on that depends the acquisition of *Swarájj* by the country. There is a ray of hope for the successful working of the new Council in view of the fact that the true well-wishers of the country have condemned the non-co-operation movement and the boycotting of Councils advocated by Mr. Gandhi.

An estimate of the Councils under the Morley-Minto Reforms.
Akhbár-i-Islám (55), 21st Sept.

*56. "Looking over the co-operative movement as it has developed since the ball was set rolling in 1904 and taking into consideration the vast change that has come over the economic life of the country we think that the development of co-operation, so far, has been hopelessly lop-sided. None can dispute that Non-Credit Agricultural Societies would lead more to the greater and more lasting good of the peasants than Credit Societies in regard to which the time has come for crying *festina lente*. The

Alleged failure of the Co-operation Credit movement in the Bombay Presidency.
Mahratta (7), 26th Sept.

only object with which the Credit Societies are started is to lighten the incubus of heavy indebtedness of the peasants, but unfortunately far from accomplishing it, the remedy is proving worse than the disease. Cases have been brought to our notice in which the Societies have stimulated the habit of borrowing and all the moral, social and economic benefits attributed to the movement by its advocates were lost. The most keenly felt want of the present day is the formation of Non-credit Agricultural Societies. Again, especially in big cities the problem of Co-operative Building has peculiar importance and the type of Communal Societies seems to be the most practicable and easiest solution under the present circumstances. For all these phases of the Co-operative movement to work smoothly, much spade-work has to be done by way of training the people in the principles of co-operation."

The Indian Press Act.
Bharatwási (143), 3rd Sept.

57. When the Royal Proclamation was issued it was said that a new era would now appear in the country. We, therefore, hoped that the press of the country might be allowed more freedom. But we were mistaken. Some newspapers have since had their securities forfeited and several new newspapers have had to furnish security. Thus the sword of the Press Act is still hanging over the heads of conductors of newspapers. We doubt if the people in England will tolerate a Press Act such as we have in India. It would appear from what has appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of the Punjáb recently that it is possible that the Press Act may be repealed or considerably modified. Our Anglo-Indian contemporary sees no good in this Act and advises Government to return the deposits to the persons concerned. At the same time it expresses the hope that the Act will either be repealed or considerably modified. It is hopeless to expect that the Government of Lord Chelmsford will do this. It may amend it under a mandate from the higher authorities, but it is not likely that it will repeal it.

Cómments on the situation in Mesopotamia.
Bharatwási (143), 2nd Sept.

58. The Arabs in Mesopotamia did not imagine that the British would appropriate their country after releasing them from the Turkish yoke. They opened their eyes when British troops after troops and several officers had come into their country to govern them. Then they realised that the British were out to claim the country as their own. Since then the Arabs have turned round and given no peace to their conquerors. India which is the scape-goat provides men to enable the British to establish their rule there by coercion. In England itself the opinion is gaining ground that it is not at all proper for the British to establish their rule in Mesopotamia, when the people of that country are opposed to it, especially when the expenditure involved in the undertaking will be tremendous. And it seems that the British Cabinet is now prepared to adopt a saner attitude towards Mesopotamia. According to the *Daily Express* the British Government is about to adopt a new policy with regard to that country. The British troops there will be recalled and the many Civil officers who have been drafted there will be withdrawn and the Arabs left to choose and establish what form of Government they like under the expert advice of British Officers. In view of the unrest in Ireland, in Russia and in India there is no wonder if this information is true. India has special reason to be gratified if the British troops in Mesopotamia are withdrawn, for, most of these troops belong to the Indian Army and India will be asked to pay some, if not the whole, of the cost.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Sept.

59. "The *Times* says that the first task of Sir Percy Cox will be to restore order and when that is done the administrator of Mesopotamia will think of establishing an Arab State with a few British advisers. It would be beginning at the wrong end altogether. Why is there disorder in Mesopotamia? Because nobody in Mesopotamia wants Britain to be there, because Britain has kept faith neither with the Turks nor with the Arabs. The best thing to do to restore order would be to leave Mesopotamia to the Arabs and get out of the mess as quickly as possible. With the growing feeling in India against the mad venture, it will not be possible for Britain to call upon India to maintain and enforce order in Mesopotamia..... Order will immediately follow the evacuation of Mesopotamia. As to British advisers, let Britain first wait for a request from the Arabs. If Britain really wants

to abandon the old policy of barefaced conquest, let it be done frankly and quickly. Let it not be sought to perpetuate power under a camouflage. Britain should take the first step so that she may reasonably ask the other 'not-wanteds' to leave the Turkish territories."

60. We emphatically protest against the use of Indian troops for service in Mesopotamia. It is difficult to understand why the British Government should come in the way of the people of Mesopotamia if they wish to enjoy independence in their own country. We are tired of hearing the usual plea of administering a country with a view to making its people fit for the enjoyment of the rights of *swarájya*. Have the British Government forgotten all their promises about Mesopotamia given before they won the war? But it is childish to ask such a question when we know that they have forgotten many such promises. We warn Government, however, that India does not wish her troops to be used in depriving other people of their independence and that there is bound to be discontent if her wishes in this respect are not respected.

Indu Prakásh (44), 21st Sept.

61. "The *Times* has mentioned an important rumour to the effect that the Esher Committee has made a renewed attempt to take the Indian Army completely out of the hands of the Government of India in order to put it entirely under the control of the War Office..... What does it mean? It means simply this that the militarists are riding the high horse and are determined to convert the Indian Army, whose sole business is or rather ought to be to protect India's frontiers, into an army subvened for the purposes of Britain's imperialistic adventures in the East. The Indian soldier, a mere fighting automaton, is to be charged with adding lustre to the glory of the Empire. He is to be used, as he is being used, to subjugate races and nations at the bidding of the blind force of Imperialism. Indian soldiers have no quarrel with the Arabs. They have no grievances against the Russians or enmity with the Turks. But they are hired soldiers and if they can be used as cannon-fodder in the interests rather of the imperialist Jingoes or the oil speculators, well so be it! We ask our countrymen: How long are they going to allow this iniquity to continue—an iniquity which is as prejudicial to their interests as it is damaging to their name? To take one example only, nearly seventy thousand Indian soldiers are fighting in Mesopotamia and the cry is for more in order that an Arab State may be set up and the Arabs given a taste of 'mandatory independence' in the interest of those who will benefit by the exploitation of the oil-resources of that country..... Our clear duty is to demand forthwith the recall of every Indian soldier fighting abroad and to demand that the wasteful policy of letting Indian blood flow like water at the bidding of the militarists should be put an end to without delay..... Let not the life of a single soldier be wasted on the plains of Mesopotamia or of any other country fighting for the sordid interests of the exploiters and speculators. In short let us put an end to this disgrace and bring our soldiers home."

All Indian soldiers fighting abroad should be recalled.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Sept.

62. We welcome the announcement that Egypt is being given independence. Egypt's condition under the new order of things will be a hundred times better than the slavery in which India at present is. It must not be assumed that Egypt has become independent because of her agitation. For the matter of that Ireland has agitated more than Egypt. The real cause is to be sought elsewhere. Lokamanya Tilak always said that the limited Reforms now given to India were the result not of British courtesy nor of the kindness of Mr. Montagu, but of the world situation. This will explain the present British attitude towards Egypt. The real cause is to be sought in the unrest that exists in Ireland, India and Central Asia and in the Bolshevist danger.

Comments on the grant of independence to Egypt.

Mirpurkhás Gazette (146), 9th Sept.

***63.** "The Bolshevik terror seems to be spreading in Central Asia. The Bolsheviks are reported to have penetrated into Bokhara and to have compelled the Amir there to fly from his kingdom; the Red armies are said to be pushing on towards the frontiers of Afghanistan.

Bolshevism.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 26th Sept., Eng. cols.

The merchants of Turkistan and Chinese Tartary are reported to be in panic and to be flying for safety to India and Tibet. Boleshevik secret agents are said to be insidiously spreading their propaganda among the Afghans and trying to tempt the Amir to break his faith with the English. The Afghans, however, are too shrewd to fall easily into the Bolshevik net, and the Amir would do well to drive out those spies and secret agents from his dominions. There is no doubt, however, that the Bolshevik terror is spreading and assuming really serious proportions. Had the Allies acted firmly at the very start and nipped the evil in the bud, the Bolsheviks would not now be disturbing the peace of half the world. The Russian revolution let loose violent forces of disorder which ought to have been firmly checked from the very beginning. Instead of this the Allies have kept dilly-dallying with the so-called Soviet Government, trying to enter into peace negotiations with them. But Bolshevism is opposed to peace and order. It is absurd to suppose that these murderers and regicides would observe the terms of any treaty; it is nothing but folly to put faith in their promises..... A good deal has been written about the 'unjustifiable attacks' of Poland on Soviet Russia, and the 'greed' of France in helping Poland to fight against the Soviet. The Poles were quite justified in their plucky fight against these free-booters..... Had the Allies united to uphold them in their struggle, had they also declared war against the Soviet, the Bolsheviks would have been wiped out in no time. It remains to be seen now what the League of Nations will do to restore peace and order in unhappy Russia. We are afraid it will prove but a hollow reed. One thing is clear. As long as the Bolshevik power is not crushed there will be no peace in Russia, and consequently no peace in Europe or in Central Asia."

64. It is reported that the Bolshevist menace is threatening Afghanistan and fears are expressed in certain quarters that India will soon be affected by Bolshevism. The Government of India must have taken the necessary steps to protect the Indian public against Bolshevism.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 20th Sept.

Public opinion in Cabul is reported to be against Bolshevism, but the Afghan authorities are likely to be greatly embarrassed by the present abundant crop of intrigues springing up in that country. Unfortunately, at present, there exists a political party in Afghanistan that tries to bring the Amir into conflict with the British. The Amir will be able to stem the tide of Bolshevism in his country only when he gives no countenance to the activities of these intriguers. It was the intrigues of these agitators that led the Amir into the perilous path of war with the Government of India; but it is now hoped that the experience he has gained will enable him to realise the wisdom of siding with the British Lion with a view to safeguarding the interests of his subjects. The Bolshivists seem to be inciting the people of Afghanistan to rebel against the Amir by distributing seditious literature among them, and we do not know what weight should be attached to the allegations made by the Anglo-Indian papers that the intrigues in Afghanistan are influenced by Indian anarchists in and ont of India. Be it as it may, fortunately a large number of Afghans view Bolshevism with dread, and the Amir himself must be aware that if the Bolshevists are allowed a free hand in Afghanistan and on its borders his kingdom will stand in danger of being shattered to pieces. We shall, therefore, not be surprised if the Amir adopts firm measures to stem the tide of Bolshevism in Afghanistan. It is not likely that the Bolshevists will overrun Afghanistan in a day, but their present activities on the Afghan frontier give some cause for alarm.

LEGISLATION.

65. "The report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the City of Bombay Improvement Act and the City of Bombay Municipal Act ought to serve as an object lesson to the Government of Bombay in the art of responsible government..... The Select Committee have not only completely re-drafted the preamble of the Bill, but have proceeded to tell Government that in any legislative measure that they may introduce in the future, constituting the Board which is to carry out the scheme in view, the claims of the Corporation and

The Select Committee's Report on the Bill to amend the Bombay City Improvement Act and the City of Bombay Municipal Act.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Sept.

other public bodies, vitally concerned, for due representation, cannot be ignored..... We hope Government will accept with good grace the hint conveyed by the Select Committee and modify their plans accordingly. One thing Government should reconcile themselves definitely to is that the Development Board cannot be a wholly official body and that the Municipality must be adequately represented on it..... Since the Improvement Trust is to be definitely merged into the Municipality by March next, we fail to see the advisability of giving separate representation to the Trust. We would, therefore, suggest that there should be at least four representatives of the Corporation on the Board, so as to give it a predominant voice in the deliberations of that body as it is rightfully entitled to such a voice. The industrial and commercial interests, we think, have been given representation beyond their due as will be seen from the fact that they get three representatives as against the two who are to represent the general interests of the City. The poor—and especially the working classes—who form the bulk of the population—are, as usual, absolutely ignored. This most important defect must be removed by providing for the due representation of the poor and working classes through the Labour organisations that exist in Bombay."

66. The most attractive item in the report is this, that the duty of building fifty-thousand tenements for the working classes has been laid on the shoulders of Government. But we are afraid that the allotments proposed to be made for building these tenements are so small that it will take ten years at least to finish this work. During these ten years, the population of Bombay is sure to go on increasing along with the industrial development of Bombay and the problem of housing will remain as unsatisfactory as ever. The object of the present Bill is thus in danger of being frustrated. We would, therefore, recommend it to Government that they should first provide new houses for those who who would be dishoused by the several development schemes, such as the Grant Road Terminal Station Scheme, and that they should also adopt measures to check the steady increase in the population of Bombay.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 25th Sept.

67. "If the idea of non-co-operation had not seized the imagination of the public, the considerable liberalisation which the Select Committee have effected in the Territorial Force Bill would have been properly appreciated by the public. The glaring contrast between the provisions of this Bill and those of the Auxiliary Force Bill, has been greatly reduced, and in regard to most of the points we mentioned, the former Bill is brought into line with the latter. There will be only the infantry branch, to begin with, but the Government has given the assurance to open the other arms as soon as it is found practicable. By an amendment of Mr. Sastri which was accepted by the Council, an opportunity will be afforded to the non-official members to raise the question of the necessity of such a step, the Government being put upon their defence every time. Although the final decision will naturally rest with the Government, it is clear that non-official members will, by Mr. Sastri's amendment, be enabled to give a considerable impulse in the desired direction. It is to be fervently hoped that the great opportunity opened by this measure will soon come to be realised and utilised to the utmost by our youths after the reaction has set in which is bound to follow on the non-co-operation movement."

The Territorial Forces Bill.

Servant of India (9), 23rd Sept.

68. The *Muslim Herald* publishes a manifesto over the signatures of Mr. Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchew and others deploring the delay in passing the Aligarh University Act owing to the narrow-mindedness of Government, and declaring that the belated legislation has evoked no enthusiastic reception among the Mussalmans. In view of England's unjust and contemptuous attitude, the manifesto urges the Trustees of the Aligarh College to reject Government financial assistance so long as Government is actuated by a policy inimical to Islam, and advises

The Moslem University Act.

Muslim Herald (152) 17th Sept.

Muslim scholars not only of the Aligarh College but also of other Government institutions meant for them to give up their studies, spread all over India and work for the glory of Islam when the Khilafat Committee will be responsible for their manitenance. It does not doubt that the Mussalmans of this country would assist the Aligarh College which will become more popular than ever, and being freed from outside interference will go far to regenerate the glorious past of Islam.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government :
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 1st October 1920.

*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY
For the week ending 2nd October 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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27	Káthiáwár News ...	Rájkot ...	Do. ...	Trikamji Govindji Kotak ; Hindu (Lohána); 40.	200
28	Káthiáwár Times ...	Do. ...	Bi-weekly ...	A. T. Wazirani ; Hindu (Brahmakshatriya); 27.	800
29	Pársi-Sansár ...	Karáchi ...	Weekly ...	Pherozshah Hormusji Dastur ; Pársi ; 35 ...	1,500
30	Praja Bandhu ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Chimanlal Mohanlal Modi ; Hindu (Shrimáli Bania).	2,700

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI—*concluded.*				
31	Praja Mitra and Pársi ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Meherjibhái Pálanji Mádon ; Pársi ; 60 ...	6,500
32	Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra.	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	5,700
33	Sánj Vartamán ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Rustamji N. Vátcha-gándhi ; Pársi ; 54 ...	6,000
34	Stock Exchange News ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Manchersha Sorabji Bhumgara ; Pársi ; 27 .	1,600
35	Wafádár ...	Navsári ...	Do. ...	Saiyad Mahomed Saiyadali ; Muhammadan ; 23.	400
	ANGLO-HINDI.				
36	Delhi X Press ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Yadama Vasudev Naidu ; Khshatriya ; 33...	500
	ANGLO-KANARESE.				
37	Chandrodayă ...	Dhárwár ...	Weekly ...	G. H. Honnápurmath ; Hindu (Lingáyat); 50.	700
38	Kánara Leader ...	Kumta (Kánara) ...	Do. ...	Atmarám Venkatrao Bhatkalkar ; Hindu (Saraswat Bráhmin) ; 43 ; and Ramrao Sheshgiri Nadkarni ; Hindu (Saraswat Brahmin).	900
39	Karnatak Mitra ...	Belgaum ...	Do. ...	Narayan Sharma Bhaon Joshi Hundekar ; Deshastha Bráhmin (Vaishnav) ; 30.	900
	ENGLISH, KANARESE AND MARA'THI.				
40	Kánara News ...	Kumta (Kánara) ...	Weekly ...	Krishna Keshav Shenvi ; Hindu (Goud Sáraswat Brahmin) ; 50.	400
	ANGLO-MARA'THI.				
41	Dnyánodayă ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Rev. J. F. Edwards, Englishman ...	700
42	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Poona (and Bombay).	Daily ...	Anant Vináyak Patwardhan ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 48.	3,000
43	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	4,000
44	Hindu Missionary ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya, B.A. (Páthare Prabhu) ; 51.	600
45	Indu Prakásh ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Dámodar Sávalárám Yande ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 58.	2,500
46	Jágaruk ...	Poona ..	Weekly ...	Válchand Rámchand Kothári, B.A. (Jain) ; 27.	1,700
47	Jágriti ...	Baroda ...	Do. ...	Bhagavantráo Balavantráo Pálekar ; Marátha ; 32.	700
48	Nireekshaka ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	.....	...
49	Subodh Patrika ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dwárkánáth G. Vaidya ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 44.	500
	ANGLO-PORTUGUESE.				
50	O Anglo-Lusitáno ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	W. F. Pais ; Goan ; 39 ...	700
	ANGLO-SINDHI.				
51	Frontier Gazette ...	Jacobabad ...	Weekly ...	Vishindás Pránjainmal ; Hindu (Bhátia) ; 36.	500
52	Lárkána Gazette ...	Lárkána ...	Do. ...	Tahilrám Mulchand Tavarmaláni ; Hindu (Amil) ; 31.	500
53	Sindhi ...	Sukkur ...	Bi-weekly ...	Virumal Begraj ; Hindu (Bhuráni) ; 47 ...	800
54	Sind Upkárak ...	Shikárpur ...	Monthly ...	Bhai Mohandás Ghanshámdás ; Hindu (Bhátia); 57.	300
	ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE AND CONCANIM.				
55	A Luz ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 39 .	600
56	Goa Mail ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	B. Vasco D'Gama ...	...
57	O Amigo Do Povo Goano .	Do. ...	Do. ...	Manual Anastaz Fernandes ; Goan ; 48 ...	1,000

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	GUJARA'TI.				
58	Akhbár-e-Islám ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Kázi Ismáil Kázi Muhammad Porbundari ; Muhammadan ; 50.	1,000
59	Anavil Sevak ...	Surat ...	Monthly ...	Dayálji Nanubhai Desai ; Hindu (Anavil Bráhman); 44.	3,000
60	Baroda Vartamán ...	Baroda ...	Weekly ...	Javerbhái Dádábhái Patel ; Hindu (Lewa Pátidár) ; 50.	1,500
61	Bombay Samáchár ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Kaikhusru Mánekji Minocher-homji, B.A.; Pársi ; 45.	3,200
62	Broach Mitrá ...	Broach ...	Weekly ...	Trikamlál Harináth Thákor ; Hindu (Brahmá Kshatri) ; 38.	550
63	Broach Samáchár ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Jehángirji Ardeshir Gandhi ; Pársi ; 41 ...	500
64	Chitramayá Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Shankar Narhar Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 44.	2,000
65	Deshi Mitrá ...	Surat ...	Weekly ...	Harilál Maganlál ; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 25.	2,100
66	Deshodaya ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Prabhushankar Narbhárám Vyas ; Hindu (Nagar Bráhman); 29.	450
67	Hind Vijayá ...	Baroda ...	Do. ...	Dáyábhái Kasandás ; Hindu (Shráwak Bania) ; 54.	1,000
68	Hitechhu ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Harilál Válji Thákur , Hindu (Audich Bráhman) ; 32.	100
69	Insáf ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	.....	...
70	Kaira Vartamán ...	Kaira ...	Do. ...	Somachand Panachand ; Hindu (Jain Bania) ; 44.	550
71	Loka Mitrá ...	Bombay ...	Bi-weekly ...	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minochar-Homji, Pársi ; 45.	600
72	Navjivan ...	Ahmedabad ...	Weekly ...	Mohandás Karamchand Gandhi ; Hindu (Bania) ; 50.	12,000
73	Navsári Patrika ...	Navsári ...	Do. ...	Rangildás Pránjivandás Párekh ; Hindu (Bania) ; 30.	430
74	Political Bhomiyo ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Nurkhan Amirkhan Pathan ; Muhammadan ; 63.	2,200
75	Praja Pokár ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála ; Dásálád Bania ; 43.	1,100
76	Saraswati Vijaya ...	Do. ...	Fortnightly ...	Manibhai Mohanbhaj ; Hindu (Anavil) ; 29.	300
77	Shreyassádhaka ...	Baroda ...	Weekly ...	.....	...
78	Shri Sayáji Vijayá ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Máneklál Ambárám Doctor ; Hindu (Dasha Shrimáli Bania) ; 41.	4,200
79	Surya Prakash ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Nagindas Dahyabhai ; Hindu (Nágar Bráhman); 74.	600
80	Surat Akhbár ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Pirozsháh Edalji Patel ; Pársi ; 45 ...	600
81	Vivechak ...	Ahmedabad ...	Monthly ...	Dhanshankar Hirashankar Tripathi ; Hindu (Nagar Brahmin) ; 30.	250
	GUJARA'TI AND HINDI.				
82	Jain ...	Bhávnagar ...	Weekly ...	Devchand Damji ; Hindu (Bania) ; 34 ...	1,800
	HINDI.				
83	Chitramayá Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Shankar Narhar Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 44.	1,200
84	Jain Mitra ...	Surat ...	Weekly ...	Brahmachari Sitalprasadji ...	1,250
85	Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár.	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Amrutlál Chakrawati ; (Bengali Bráhmin) ; 57.	10,000

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	KANARESE.				
86	Karnátak Vaibhav ...	Bijápur ...	Weekly ...	G. R. Mannurkar ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 53.	500
87	Karnátak Vritt and Dhananjayă.	Dhárwár ...	Do. ...	Venkatesh Rajerao Mudvedkar ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhman) ; 36.	800
88	Raj Hansa ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	M. N. Tembe (Karháda Bráhman) ; 39 ...	1,200
89	Raj Hansa ...	Do. ..	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	1,000
90	Shubhodaya ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vasudevacharya Shrinivasacharya Kerur, Pleader ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhman); 52.	1,100
91	Vijaya ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Annacharya Balacharya Hoskeri ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhmin) ; 48.	500
92	Do. ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Do. do. ...	400
	MARA'THI.				
93	Acharya ...	Poona ...	Fortnightly ...	Vishnu Waman Bapatshastri ; Hindu (Chitpavan Bráhman) ; 48.	800
94	Arya Vaibhav ...	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Weekly ...	Tulsidas Govind Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin) ; 30.	250
95	A'ryávart ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Shankar Hari Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 32.	200
96	Arya Vaidyak-bodh ...	Kalyán (Thána) ...	Do. ...	Kashinath Bhaskar Oke ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 38.	*Nil.*
97	Bakul ...	Ratnágiri ...	Do. ...	Hari Dharmaráj Gándhi ; Hindu (Bania) ; 43.	400
98	Bárámati Samáchár ...	Bárámati ...	Do. ...	Hari Anant Joshi ; Hindu (Chitpávan Bráhmin) ; 31.	300
99	Belgaum Samáchár ...	Belgaum ...	Do ...	Hari Bhikáji Sámant ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 58.	350
100	Bhárat Mátá ...	Islámpur (Sátára)...	Fortnightly ...	Vishnu Sitárám Athalye ; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) ; 34.	400
101	Chaitanya ...	Belgaum ...	Weekly ...	.....	...
102	Chikitsak ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rao Saheb Abáji Rámchandră Sávant ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 57.	600
103	Chitramayă Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Shankar Narhar Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 44.	12,000
104	Daily Reporter ..	Chopda (East Khándesh).	Weekly ...	Motilál Fattulál ; Hindu ; Gaud Brahman (Marwadi); 37.	50 to 80
105	Daivadnyaprabodhini ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Pandurang Naráyan Javeri ; Hindu (Daivadnya) ; 32.	800
106	Dharma Vichár va Modă Vritta.	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Damodar Laxman Lele ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 42.	50
107	Din Mitră	Somthána (Ahmednagar).	Do. ...	Mukund Ganpat Pátil ; Hindu (Máli) ; 33 .	1,300
108	Dnyán Ságar ...	Kolhápur ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Vithal Mantri ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 55.	600
109	Dunia ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Dattatraya Hari Gokhale ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin) ; 35.	2,000
110	Gogras ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Bapu Khanderao Joshi ; Hindu (Bráhman); 36.	2,000
111	Gorakshana ...	Thána ...	Do. ...	Anantdas Ramdasi *alias* Dattatraya Moreshvar Lohkre ; Hindu (Brahmin) ; 35.	1,000
112	Hitachintak ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Balkrishna Ganesh Abhyankar Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 25.	30
113	Kalpataru and A'nandvrit.	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	Anant Hari Wagh ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 36.	450
114	Kesari ...	Poona ...	Do, ...	Krishnaji Prabhákar Khádilkar, B.A. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 48.	30,000
115	Khándesh Vaibhav ..	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Do. ...	Yádav Bálkrishnă Bahálkar ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 54.	500

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—*continued.*				
116	Kolába Samáchár ...	Pen (Kolába) ...	Weekly ...	Vishnu Naráyan Mándlik: Hindu (Kokanastha Bráhman); 31.	500
117	Lokasangraha ...	Poona ...	Daily ...	Sadashiv Laxman Soman; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin); 40.	2,000
118	Lokasevak ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Sitaram Vishnu Lalit; Hindu (Karada Bráhmin); 45.	1,000
119	Lokashahi ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	.....	...
120	Maháráshtra Vritta ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Rámachandra Balvant Bhonsle; Hindu (Marátha); 35.	200
121	Mookanayak ...	Bombay ...	Fortnightly ...	Pandurang Narayan Bhatkar; Hindu Mahár; 33.	700
122	Mumukshu ...	Poona ...	Weekly ...	Laxman Ramchandra Pangarkar, B.A.; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin); 48.	1,200
123	Násik Vritt ...	Násik ...	Do. ...	Rangnáth Vishnu Kále; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 40.	200
124	Pancham George Vijaya...	Belgaum ...	Do. ...	.....	...
125	Pandhari Mitra ...	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	G. S. Bhidkar; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin); 56.	100
126	Prabodh Chandrika ...	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Do. ...	Náráyan Narsinh Phadnis; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 57.	300
127	Pragati and Jinvijaya ...	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Anna Babaji Lathe; Jain; 34 ...	400
128	Prakásh ...	Sátára ...	Weekly ...	Rámchandrá Ganesh Soman; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 44.	350
129	Rájakáran ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Sitaram Keshav Damle, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 45.	3,000
130	Sandesh ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 40.	8,000
131	Satyá Prakásh ...	Tasagaon (Sátára) .	Weekly ...	Narayan Ramchandra Vibhute; Hindu (Wani).	...
132	Satyá Shodhak ...	Ratnágiri ...	Do. ...	Krishnáji Hari Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 35.	1,000
133	Sholápur Samáchár ...	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	Vithal Narsáppa Jakkal; Hindu (Telgu Máli); 38.	600
134	Shri Namdeo Vritta ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	.....	...
135	Shri Sayáji Vijayá ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dámodar Sávlárám Yande; Hindu (Marátha); 58.	5,500
136	Shri Sháhu ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Ramkrishna Dhavle; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 23.	325
137	Shubh Suchak ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dattátrayá Rámchandrá Chitale; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 41.	250 to 300
138	Sudhákar ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Damodar Krishna Ketkar; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 27.	1,500
139	Swarájya ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	.....	...
140	Udyam Prakásh ...	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Vishwanath Dhondi Teli; Hindu (Teli); 32.	50
141	Vichári ...	Kárwár (Kánara) ...	Tri-monthly ...	Shaikh Adam *walad* Shaikh Abdul Karim; Muhammadan (Sunni); 46.	450
142	Vidushak ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Vishnu Shridhar Joshi; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin); 25.	2,600
143	Vijayi Marátha ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Shripat Laxman Shinde; Marátha; 36 ...	1,500
144	Vinod ...	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Dattátrayá Rámchandrá Kulkarni; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 31.	100

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—*concluded.*				
145	Vita Vritta ...	Sátára ...	Weekly ...	Narayan Laxman Jog; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 33.	60
146	Vrittasár ...	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Govind Ganesh Vaidyá; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 24.	150
147	Vyápári ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Shankar Shridhar Puranik; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 35.	500
	MARATHI AND KANARESE.				
148	Gosevak ...	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Hanmant Sadashiv Paranjpe; Hindu (Kokanastha Bráhmin); 22.	50
	SINDHI.				
149	Al-Amin ...	Hyderabad ...	Weekly ...	Sheikh Abdul Majid; Muhammadan; 32 ...	525
150	Al-Haq ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 44.	800
151	Al-Wahid ...	Karáchi ...	Daily ...	Abdul Rahman Muhamad Sidik; Muhammadan, Kazi; 26.	500
152	Bharatwasi ...	Hyderabad ...	Do. ...	Jeramdas Dowlatram; Hindu (Amil); 27 ...	1,050
153	Hindu ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Nainaram Sharma; 26 ...	850
154	Khairkháh-i-Sind ...	Lárkána ...	Weekly ...	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Khatri); 46.	250
155	Mirpurkhás Gazette ...	Mirpurkhás ...	Do. ...	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Amil); 39.	600
156	Musáfir ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Do. ...	Abdul Waháb Khán; Pathan; 55 ...	200
157	Sind Sudhár ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Khánchand Rahumal; Hindu (Amil); 53...	850
158	Sind Vasi ...	Hyderabad ...	Daily ...	Kamalsingh Pahumal; Hindu (Amil); 43 ...	350
159	Vande Mataram ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Vishnu Nainaram Sharma; Hindu; 26 ...	800
	URDU.				
160	Mufid-e-Rozgár ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Haji Munshi Mahamad Husein; Muhammadan; 49.	2,500
161	Muslim Herald ...	Do. ...	Bi-weekly ...	Sheikh Mahamed Yusuf; Muhammadan (Sunni); 41.	1,200

Notes.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or *á*) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Arunodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—*ă*.

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by the proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "The Sub-Committee appointed by the All-India Congress Committee to frame a workable programme on the lines of the resolution passed at the Special Sessions has now issued its report. It is not the sort of report we expected. In the first place, the Sub-Committee has no right to say that 'the Congress has approved of Mr. Gandhi's programme of progressive non-violent non-co-operation' and that it is 'to determine the pace for the remaining three stages, *viz.*, resignation of civil employment, military employment and suspension of payment of taxes'. The Congress has done nothing of the sort. It has accepted a definite programme and has made no reservation or implication..... The Sub-Committee recommends the creation of a National Fund. Why not a national organisation as well? A pious hope that volunteers will do the work which should be directed with the precision and scientific management of the machinery of modern administration, will not do..... All will not be well unless we create a powerful organisation. It is not as if we were groping in the dark. The British Labour movement can teach us many lessons in organisation..... Is there any reason, why, before the next Congress meets, every town and hamlet should not boast of a Council of Action formed to carry out peacefully and intelligently, and gradually the policy of non-co-operation as defined by the Congress..... We are glad to note that in spite of Mr. Patel's idea about the feasibility of the boycott of foreign goods, the Sub-Committee has definitely destroyed the fetish of the ignorant enthusiasts. The veriest tyro of an economist knows that no country can exist to-day without foreign trade, and it is an elementary axiom of economics that we live literally by taking in one another's washing. The Sub-Committee rightly condemns this part of the Congress resolution which if put into practice would bring untold misery upon the poor..... The very fact that the Congress insisted on the gradual execution of the boycott of schools and colleges and law courts enjoins the duty on everyone of us to see to it that the vital and permanent interests of the people, which depend on education and administration of justice, should not be recklessly tampered with. Our great needs are preparation, propaganda and organisation. As for propaganda we recommend Mr. Patel's suggestion as against Mr. Gandhi's for the spread of propaganda abroad. Lokamanya Tilak's idea, derived no doubt from the evidence of the splendid work done by Lala Lajpat Rai's information Bureau in New York, of creating ambassadorships in all the principal foreign countries should not be brushed aside lightly..... Let us look to the four corners of the world and build our house securely."

Comments on the Congress Sub-Committee's programme for working out the non-co-operation resolution.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Sept.

2. The report of the sub-committee appointed by the Congress to suggest the means for putting the non-co-operation resolution of the Special Congress into practice makes very disappointing reading, inasmuch as it has not struck a practical path out of the difficulties arising out of the non-co-operation resolution. The sub-committee suggests that a written guarantee should be taken from voters that they would not record their votes for the ensuing Council elections. This will lead to the easy election of those who come forward as candidates and that too without any contest. Thus the boycotting of the Councils will lead to the election of many incompetent men and consequently to the saddling of the country with vexatious legislative measures. We are, therefore, constrained to say that those who mean to boycott the Councils will be guilty of treason, inasmuch as they will, by their action, place the country in the hands of bureaucratic officials. What will be the result of boycotting Government schools and colleges? Government will advance the very same arguments that Mr. Gandhi uses in the matter of Government institutions that history is mis-taught in private and national schools and colleges and issue orders for getting them closed and the "humdrum" members of

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 1st Oct.; *Deshodaya* (66), 28th Sept.

Councils who will have been elected without opposition will help Government in doing so! Mr. Gandhi's suggestion with regard to boycotting the courts of law is equally ridiculous. Human nature being what it is, people will not be satisfied by the decisions of the private courts of arbitration and will continue to resort to the civil courts of law in spite of their being costly. [The *Deshodaya* on the other hand expresses gratification at the progress the non-co-operation movement is making and asks all voters to carry out the suggestion of the sub-committee in the matter of Council elections.]

*3. Referring to the Congress Sub-Committee's Report on non-co-operation, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—

Indian Social Reformer (7), 3rd October.

"It is remarkable for the manner in which it extends the Congress resolution in one important direction and whittles it down in two others not less important. Mr. Patel has added a note in which he takes exception to the Committee taking unwarrantable liberties with the Congress resolution, but he himself ends by suggesting another which recommends a similar stretching of its terms..... Mr. Gandhi may disclaim the ambition to set up as a dictator, but the Sub-Committee's report which, it may be presumed, reflects his views, does not bear out the disclaimer. Mr. Patel's own little contribution in the direction of managing the Congress resolution concerns the liberty of the Press. He suggests that Indian newspapapers should be ordered in all their writings to drop all references to titles, and that title-holders should be addressed or referred to as Mr. or Esquire (not even Srijut?) Surely, we are not fighting against the Risley Press Act in order to have a Patel Press Ordinance foisted upon us in the name of the Congress."

4. Non-co-operation is resorted to with a definite object in view, *viz.*, the attainment of *swarájya*. In deference to the advice given by Mahatma Gandhi, the Nationalists have decided to boycott the councils and a heavy responsibility now rests upon him to devise measures with a view to keeping away from the councils other political parties as well. The boycott of councils is a political weapon. If it does not meet with complete success, other means should be employed along with it. If political boycott and social boycott go hand in hand, the chances of success will be considerably increased. [The *Lokasangraha* generally approves of non-co-operation but says that it is incorrect to suppose that the Congress has given its assent to all the four stages of non-co-operation as is assumed by the committee appointed by it to suggest measures with a view to giving effect to its resolution on non-co-operation. The *Din Mitra*, on the other hand, exhorts non-Brahmins to keep aloof from the non-co-operation movement.]

Swarájya (139), 30th Sept.; *Lokasangraha* (117), 1st Oct.; *Din Mitra* (107), 22nd Sept.

5. "Sind must not fall behind other provinces; Sind has the opportunity to-day to vindicate herself; and we would ask the Khilafat Committees and Congress Committees throughout the province to induce Sindhi candidates in sympathy with the Congress to withdraw from the election. It is necessary also to send volunteers throughout the province to inform the voters of the Congress resolution and to tell them their duty is to give effect to it. *Sirkarwallahs* will, it is true, still enter Councils; but if the majority of voters refuse to vote, the moral victory will be the people's. And nothing can break the prestige of the Government better than the boycott of Councils by all patriotic Indians. We ask every Sindhi to rise equal to the new occasion and be ready to non-co-operate, not in any spirit of bitterness or race-hatred, but in the moral spirit of self-discipline, self-purification and self-sacrifice. We have no quarrel with any Englishman; we want to defeat the present administration in order to vindicate the nation. And the stronger we are in self-discipline and self-sacrifice, the greater and quicker will be the defeat of a Government that has sinned against the Spirit of Humanity."

Appeal to Sind to carry-out the non-co-operation resolution passed by the Congress.

New Times (9), 21st Sept.

6. Fears were entertained that the acceptance of the resolution on non-co-operation by the Congress would lead to a split in the Nationalist party. We are glad to note, however, that these fears have not been realised. The Nationalists would have committed an unpardonable sin against the nation if they had indulged in quarrels among themselves at this critical juncture. The leaders of the party in all the provinces have announced their intention of boycotting the Councils, and we heartily congratulate them on their decision. The Nationalists should now devote all their energies towards dissuading people from giving their votes to any candidate. Will not the Congress be held up to ridicule if people flock to the polling station to record their votes? This contingency must be averted, and the Nationalists should strive hard to reduce the number of voters as much as possible. We trust they will recognise their responsibility in this matter and act accordingly.

People should be dissuaded from voting for elections to the Councils.
Kolába Samáchár (116), 25th Sept.

7. "The Sikh Deputation which went out to England while the principle of non-co-operation in India was being gingerly tackled by the press and by the public, as if it were a poisonous nettle, has returned very much disillusioned and very much dissatisfied..... Mr. Ujjal Singh, the account of an interview with whom we publish elsewhere, says definitely that the faith of the Sikhs in the bureaucracy is shattered. It may well be. The question of moment for the Sikhs refers to their attitude towards the Congress resolution on non-co-operation. On this, too, we are assured by Mr. Ujjal Singh that broken pledges, and shattered faith will certainly give an added significance to the manner in which the Khalsas will look to Mr. Gandhi's movement. It is inconceivable that the Sikhs of the Punjáb should so far dishonour the name of their province as to hesitate to follow the lead given by the whole country..... The time has come for Indian leaders to commence thinking of political questions in scientific, impersonal terms and not in terms of slave psychology. One day India must rise above the communal spirit."

Sikhs and the non-co-operation resolution of the Congress.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Sept.

***8.** In the course of an article in which it discusses the attitude of the Moderates towards the Congress non-co-operation resolution, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"The Indian National Congress is an embodiment of National will in the view of the Nationalists and, therefore, they are always ready to go to the length of sacrifices demanded of them by that body. The Moderates have already broken the old idol of theirs and have set up other divinities and thus have proved faithless to their country. The Moderates are at present worshipping the fetish of individual conscience, because it is only convenient to them; but they do not look to the consequences. If once this doctrine is given a free reign, unified action would be impossible in the Nation..... The Nationalists are right in their instinct and action when they obey the Congress resolution in its effective part, and it behoves the Moderates also to follow suit if they care to build up a true National spirit. One word more in this connection to our Moderate friends. Do they or do they not wish to stand by the Indian National Congress? If they do, then they must try to mould their conduct according to the collective wisdom of the Nation. If they do not, they should wash their hands clean of the matter and leave Congressmen and their opinions to themselves and their fate. Already they have ceased to be an appreciable factor on behalf of the people and unconsciously and gradually they are ranging themselves against the people. Let them realise their position soon till there is sufficient time for due correction. Let them read the signs of the times. The Nation is making big strides towards freedom and asserting itself. The political thought-world is surcharged with new ideas and new methods. The old chains of bondage are being rent asunder. The time-spirit is impelling the nations forward to freedom and liberty. Let the Moderates realise all this and help the Nation to go forward, at least not impede its progress. We hope and trust they would rise to the occasion and discharge their duty in the right spirit."

The duty of the Moderates towards the Congress non-co-operation resolution.
Mahrátta (8), 3rd Oct.

9. "Most Nationalists will propably find their own sentiment reflected in the remark made by Mr. N. C. Kelkar that on Mr. Gandhi must now lie the responsibility of carrying the movement of non-co-operation to success. This remark was occasioned by the crushing discomfiture which the council-going Nationalists sustained in the Congress, and took on a still more strident note of disapproval of Mr. Gandhi's leadership in Mr. Baptista's mouth who burst out in a press interview that the Congress must not be placed entirely at Mr. Gandhi's disposition to make or mar as he chose. Stripped of the element of personal chagrine which largely tinctures this observation, it may be regarded as depicting truly the position as between Mr. Gandhi and the Nationalists..... The fact of the matter is that those Nationalists who have given their temporary and partial adhesion to the non-co-operation resolution are not at all actuated by the spirit which informs Mr. Gandhi's activities. He regards his non-co-operation as a process of self-disclipline and self-sacrifice; but they regard theirs as but a means of harassing to the Government and the Europeans in general..... It is immaterial whether they succeed or fail, but it is clear that the great majority of the people who will nominally follow Mr. Gandhi will be inspired by a motive as far removed as possible from that of discipline and self-sacrifice."

Extremists and non-co-operation.
Servant of India (10), 30th Sept.

***10.** "Several persons have already withdrawn their candidateship for the new Councils and a few lawyers have given up their practice. This they have done not because they whole-heartedly agree with Mr. Gandhi's views but in order to save the Congress from schism. But why should any person be required to act against the dictates of his own conscience..... It is an entirely misguided notion of public duty, indeed, to consider the safety of the Congress superior to the safety of the whole country. As time passes the votaries of non-co-operation will see what a mistake they have made in binding themselves to a certain programme in such a hurry; and we are sure that at their next meeting they will have to modify their plans to a large extent or court certain failure."

Congressmen are not bound to accept the Congress resolution on non-co-operation against their conscience.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 3rd Oct., Eng. cols.

11. The *Navjivan* publishes contribution from 'Saraswat' in the form of an appeal to teachers to join the non-co-operation movement. In the course of his communication the writer remarks:—Government have become very haughty and careless owing to their having secured victory in the war. They have ceased having any regard for considerations of justice or to care for the feelings of the people. People have lost faith in Government, and our political leaders consider it a disgrace to co-operate with them. What should we, teachers, do in these circumstances? It is very easy for teachers to resign Government service since they are rendering valuable public service for an insignificant return in the form of meagre salary. Shonld they resign Government service and open private schools to teach the same boys they are not likely to receive less remuneration. We have nothing to lose and everything to gain by ceasing to be Government servants and becoming servants of the public. Moreover, the people will respect us if we resign Government service.

Appeal to teachers in Government schools to resign Government service.
Navjivan (72), 26th Sept.

12. Writing on the subject of the withdrawal of children from Government and aided educational institutions Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"I ask myself why some see the truth of the proposition quite clearly whilst others, the accepted leaders, condemn it as an error. The answer I have been able to find is that the latter do not consider the present system of Government as an unmixed evil as the former do. In other words the opponents do not sufficiently realise the significance of the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs. They do not feel as the others do that these wrongs show conclusively that the sum total of the activity of the present Government is injurious

Why children should be withdrawn from Government and aided schools.
Young India (14), 29th Sept.

to national growth..... I feel that the nation's children suffer degradation in the Government schools. I feel that these schools and colleges are under the influence of a Government that has deliberately robbed the nation of its honour, and therefore the nation must withdraw its children from such schools. It may be that some learning even in such schools may be able to rsist the progress of degradation. But it cannot be right to countenance national humiliation going on in the schools because some have risen above their environment. In my opinion it is self-evident that the honoured leaders of the nation to-day do not realise that the Government-controlled schools are tainted in the manner described by me..... I have no hesitation in wishing that the youth of India, both boys and girls, will if they have felt personally the deep humiliation of atrocities of the Punjáb, or understood the meaning of the violation of the Khilafat pledge, without any further reflection, empty the Government-controlled schools and colleges. The moral education that they will gain in a moment when they take that step will more than make up for the temporary loss of literary education. For the day that the boys and the girls empty the Government-controlled schools will be the day that will mark a very definite advance towards the goal. It will mark a revolution in the national thought. It will mark our freedom from the hallucination of schools and colleges. Is not the nation able to take charge of its own education without any Government intervention, protection, advice or grant? Abandonment of the present schools means consciousness of our ability to educate ourselves in spite of Himalayan difficulties."

*13. "We fail to see how the boycott of educational institutions managed, aided or controlled by Government will affect or paralyse the administration. It is absolutely certain that many of the children will continue to attend the existing institutions and even supposing a goodly portion were or could be withdrawn, it will not be possible to reduce the existing staff and their salaries will continue to be a burden upon the tax-payer. The amount now spent on education does not belong to the British or Indian Government but to the tax-paying community. The Indian Government is the responsible distributing agency acting on behalf of the tax-payer, and it is difficult to understand why he should not take the fullest advantage of the taxes paid by him, simply because Government have gone hopelessly wrong in certain matters or committed inexcusable or awful blunders. By all means found as many new, useful and efficient institutions as rapidly as you can. India is sorely in need of them all. But they are not likely to succeed in achieving the object their founders have in view, or in emptying the existing Schools, Colleges and Universities, if they are to be completely divorced from the latter, in view of the circumstances in which the country is placed..... Whilst gladly welcoming all patriotic and well-directed attempts to increase educational facilities for Indian children by means of National Schools, whatever that may mean, the actual proposal embodied in the Congress Resolution, though it is meant to be carried out by degrees, is not only impracticable, but altogether ruinous to the highest interests of the rising generation..... The qualifications for admission to public services and for professional careers are laid down by Government and the heads of their great Departments and institutions, and those qualifications must be certified by Educational Institutions recognised and sanctioned by them. There lies the whole difficulty of the situation. But it is almost an insuperable obstacle in the way of the carrying out of Mr. Gandhi's programme..... It is impossible to conceive a more dangerous, mischievous and disastrous proposal than the one that has commended itself to Messrs. Gandhi aud Motilal Nehru. Are our countrymen prepared to turn out their boys into the streets so that they may grow up into ignorant vagabonds and ruin the future of the present and next generation? We ask our readers to consider carefully the facts and figures we have placed before them, and after honestly questioning their conscience let them say if they are themselves prepared to carry out what we cannot but characterise

The proposal to withdraw children from Government and aided educational institutions is dangerous, mischievous and disastrous.

Gujaráti (19), 3rd Oct., Eng. cols.

as the most injurious and ruinous proposal that has ever been placed before the country..... The Congress resolution recommended the gradual withdrawal of children of boys and girls and yet Messrs. Gandhi and Motilal Nehru advise immediate withdrawal! Even Mr. Patel cannot digest this inconsistency. He appreciates the grave financial difficulties in the way and is inclined to think that the proposed programme will not show any tangible results for a long time to come. We go further and say that the movement will, on the whole, end in a huge collapse, though a few successful attempts might be made to found a few National institutions in different parts of the country. But we feel absolutely sure that they will not succeed in depleting the existing schools and colleges."

Moslem children and their withdrawal from Government Schools under the non-co-operation programme.

Muslim Herald (161), 24th Sept.

14. One Mr. M. M. Siddique writes to the *Muslim Herald* stating that the Indian National Congress brought the Muslim League into its orbit some years ago, and that the latter has now captured the older body mainly through the exertions and influence of Mr. Gandhi. The contributor points out that innumerable children have to go without receiving any education under existing circumstances, and declares that the consequences of enforcing the non-coperation resolution in respect of withdrawing children from schools are terrible to contemplate. He accuses the rich contractors of making money by co-operating with Government, and shows their inconsistency in advising poor persons and institutions like the Anjuman-i-Islam to reject Government aid.

How *Swarajya* can be acquired in one year.

Young India (14), 22nd Sept.

15. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—" Much laughter has been indulged in at my expense for having told the Congress audience at Calcutta that if there was sufficient response to my programme of non-co-operation Swaraj would be attained in one year..... My proposition, however, is based on a mathematical calculation. And I venture to say that true Swaraj is a practical impossibility without the fulfilment of my conditions. Swaraj means a state such that we can maintain our separate existence without the presence of the English. If it is to be a partnership, it must be a partnership at will. There can be no Swaraj without our feeling and being the equals of Englishmen. To-day we feel that we are dependent upon them for our internal and external security, for an armed peace between the Hindus and the Musalmans, for our education and for the supply of daily wants, nay, even for the settlement of our religious squabbles. The Rajahs are dependent upon the British for their powers and the millionaires for their millions. The British know our helplessness, and Sir Thomas Holland cracks jokes quite legitimately at the expense of non-co-operationists. To get Swaraj, then, is to get rid of our helpnessness..... As Tolstoy used to put it, mankind often laboured under hypnotism. Under its spell continuously we feel the feeling of helplessness. The British themselves cannot be expected to help us out of it. On the contrary, they din into our ears that we shall be fit to govern ourselves only by slow educative processes..... For me the only training in Swaraj we need is the ability to defend ourselves against the whole world and to live our natural life in perfect freedom, even though it may be full of defects. Good government is no substitute for self-government. The Afghans have a bad government but it is self-government. I envey them. The Japanese learnt the art through a sea of blood. And if we to-day had the power to drive out the English by superior brute force, we would be counted their superiors, and in spite of our inexperience in debating at the Council table or in holding executive offices, we would be held fit to govern ourselves. For brute force is the only test the West has hitherto recognised..... In the end therefore India must either learn the art of war which the British will not teach her, or she must follow her own way of discipline and self-sacrifice through non-co-operation. It is as amazing as it is humiliating that less than one hundred-thousand white men should be able to rule three hundred and fifteen million Indians. They do so somewhat undoubtedly by force but more by securing our co-operation in a thousand ways and

making us more and more helpless and dependent on them as time goes forward. Let us not mistake reformed Councils, more law-courts and even governorships for real freedom or power. They are but subtler methods of emasculation. The British cannot rule us by mere force. And so they resort to all means, honourable and dishonourable, in order to retain their hold on India. They want India's billions and they want India's man-power for their imperialistic greed. If we refuse to supply them with men and money, we achieve our goal, namely, Swaraj, equality, manliness..... I do not blame the British. If we were weak in numbers as they are, we too would perhaps have resorted to the same methods as they are now employing. Terrorism and deception are weapons not of the strong but of the weak. The British are weak in numbers; we are weak in spite of our numbers. The result is that each is dragging the other down..... Training in arms for the present is out of the question. I go a step further, and believe that India has a better mission for the world. It is within her power to show that she can achieve her destiny by pure self-sacrifice, *i. e.*, self-purification. This can be done only by non-co-operation. And non-co-operation is possible only when those who commenced to co-operate begin the process of withdrawal. If we can but free ourselves from the threefold *maya* of Government-controlled schools, Government law-courts and legislative councils, and truly control our own education, regulate our disputes and be indifferent to their legislation, we are ready to govern ourselves, and we are only then ready to ask the Government servants, whether civil or military, to resign, and tax-payers to suspend payment of taxes. And is it such an impracticable proposition to expect parents to withdraw their children from schools and colleges and establish their own institutions or to ask lawyers to suspend their practice and devote their whole time and attention to national service against payment, where necessary, of their maintenance, or to ask candidates for councils not to enter councils and lend their passive or active assistance to the legislative machinery through which all control is exercised?..... But I frankly confess that, until the three conditions mentioned by me are fulfilled, there is no Swaraj..... The last though not the least important part of the *maya* still remains to be considered. That is *swadeshi*. Had we not abandoned *swadeshi*, we need not have been in the present fallen state..... All this means discipline, self-denial, self-sacrifice, organising ability, confidence and courage. If we show this in one year among the classes that to-day count, and make public opinion, we certainly gain Swaraj within one year."

16. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* ridicules Mr. Gandhi for the statement published by him in the matter of securing *swarájya* in twelve months if his programme of non-co-operation is implicitly followed and remarks :—We have great respect for Mr. Gandhi's abilities, but it must be borne in mind that in any movement the followers are always more enthusiastic and less wise than their chief and that they bring trouble upon themselves and the country by their excess of enthusiasm. We only wish that Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement does not meet with a sad failure. Mr. Gandhi has enumerated the qualifications for securing *swarájya* and has pointed out the defects and disabilities of the Indian people. These defects cannot be removed in the course of a year and so *swarájya* for India during that period is evidently an impossibility. The non-co-operation movement seems to have achieved some measure of success, but the enthusiasm of the people is bound to be short-lived. There is no doubt that the Indian public has become alive to the claims of justice and their legitimate rights, but we have serious doubts as to whether the people will be able to secure *swarájya* within a year in spite of the sage advice of Mr. Gandhi. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* endorses the views recently expressed by Lord Sinha to the effect that Indians are not yet fit for *swarájya*, and considers Mr. Gandhi's pretentions of being able to secure *swarájya* for India within a year as moonshine. It also expresses fear that Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation will do more harm than good to India.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 28th Sept.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 29th Sept.

17. Those whose mental vision is blinded with ignorance and whose minds are devoid of knowledge of Islam imagine that the movement of non-co-operation has been started in view of the political exigencies of the hour and that Muslims have adopted it without reference to the teachings of their religion under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi and then given it a religious aspect. The ignorance and want of knowledge of these men is simply pitiable. The Book of God, the Sayings of the Prophet and the history of Islam which are extant in the world, bear witness to the fact that Islam can never be and never before the present calamity has been under the control of *kufr* or non-Islam. The mission of Islam is to lead the world in accordance with the law of God and thus establish peace and justice in it. Such being the case, how can it permit the promulgation of human or satanic edicts, where God's commands are required? There are some people again who ask if Islam cannot tolerate non-Muslim control why was not the question of non-co-operation raised before. The fact is the Ulemas did advocate non-co-operation at the time but none listened to them. It is a matter of history that when the sun of Islamic rule had set in India the question arose whether it was possible for Islam to serve under or co-operate with *kufr*. A great theologian of the time has left a fatwa on record according to which it is unlawful for Mussalmans to co-operate with unbelievers whether with or without remuneration, the more so when there is war between them. It would appear from this fatwa that it is unlawful for a Mussalman to be a member of a Council and to attend durbars, etc., in this country.

The non-co-operation movement has the sanction of the sacred books of Islam.

Al-Wahid (151), 10th Sept.

18. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The statements attributed to Mr. Z. A. Khan undoubtedly constitute the crime, if they were actually made and are not true. For to state facts cannot by any stretch of the cannon of interpretation amount to an attempt to excite disaffection or to promote enmity. To speak of General Dyer's performances, of Mr. Lloyd George's breach of promises or of the Viceroy's and Mr. Montagu's defence of O'Dwyerism, would be to speak the truth; and yet it cannot but excite disaffection towards a Government that is guilty of condonation of crimes or breaches of deliberate pledges. And if it be a crime to speak the truth, it is a virtue and a duty to promote disaffection..... In Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's case there are two statements which are, so far as I am aware, unsupportable by evidence. Mecca was never set on fire. And there seems to be no warrant for the statement that virgin girls were outraged in Baghdad. I do not know whether Mr. Zafer Ali Khan made the two statements imputed to him. I should be sorry if he did..... The case against the Government based on proved facts is invulnerably strong. And public movements will gain greatly when no charge of exaggeration can be sustained against workers..... But the charges that will be and must be admitted by Mr. Khan are really from the Government's point of view far more serious, and yet of those charges I am guilty equally with Mr. Khan. For instance, the condition laid down for a hearty reception to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales would be mine as they are stated to be Mr. Khan's. It is but too true, if the conditions laid down are not fulfilled, that this Empire must perish. Hitherto the Government has taken no notice of speeches advising non-co-operation and containing such demands as are said to have been made or advice as is said to have been given by Mr. Zafar Ali Khan. And I had begun to think that the Government were adopting the healthy method of allowing such agitation to go on so long as it did not result in violence. I had thought that the Government had ceased to think of punishing a man for expressing his views, however extreme they might be, so long as they did not incite the people to violence. But the policy is evidently to be changed. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's speech must have told. He preached against recruiting in the district which provided recruits. And if such preaching is wrong the Congress itself has done wrong.

Comments on the prosecution of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the *Zamindar* of Láhore.

Young India (14), 29th Sept.

Yet surely it is the right of a citizen to warn people against accepting an occupation that is harmful to the people's self-respect or religious honour. ..... This kind of repression we must expect as non-co-oparation begins to produce its effect. It is clear that success depends entirely upon our ability to carry on our campaign in spite of repression by way of prosecution of speakers and suppression of newspapers. Such repression must simply nerve us for further effort. And the demands must be repeated not by one man but thousands. Newspaper-men need not feel concerned if their activity is stopped. Door to door propaganda, circulars written by the hand and multiplied after the snow-ball process by voluntary workers will result in more concentrated work than newspapers. When the struggle reaches the effective stage even in spite of peace reigning in the land, we must be prepared for prosecution and internments and the like. And the victory will be ours, only when the struggle survives the repressive stage and makes non-co-operation more popular than ever. For will it not be a conclusive proof of the necessity of non-co-operation with the Government that will supress even the legitimate aspirations of the people and a legitimate and truthful narrative of facts, however distasteful they may be to the Government."

Boycott of British goods necessary for redress of Punjáb wrong.
Chandrodaga (37), 27th Sept.

19. The *Chandrodaya* is of opinion that the only way to get the Punjab wrongs redressed is by boycotting British goods. Because, the paper goes on to say, the boycott movement means the collapse of the British manufacturer. And this again means that great pressure will be brought to bear on the British Ministers by the manufacturers in order to save their industries. So all the people, the paper urges, must take the *Swadeshi* vow and help in boycotting British goods.

Bombay Postmen's Strike.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Sept.

20. "We understand that the Postal officials in Bombay are labouring under the impression that it is nobody's business to end the strike. Even the Director-General imagines that it is outside his jurisdiction. All of them are evidently agreed that as the Government of India sanctioned the time-scale, which has driven the men in desperation to strike, it is the business of the Government of India to settle the strike..... It is inconceivable that such insane notions of utter irresponsibility should exist anywhere in official circles. But this evidently accounts for the attitude of *non-possumus* of which Mr. Baptista complained after his interview with Mr. Sams. The sooner sane ideas prevail the better. The public cannot endure this callousness towards men or indifference to themselves..... What is the meaning of the offer to pay the salary due to the men on strike for 19 days? We looked upon it as a return to reason and the offer of an olive branch; but our contemporary construes it as a notice of dismissal. It is better for the Postal officials to give no occasion for misconstruction by mischief-mongers. We call upon Mr. Yaughan to state plainly whether he means to dismiss the men by the notice. There is one condition imposed which appears to be uncalled for, *viz.*, the return of the uniforms in good order. These uniforms are issued twice a year. At the expiry of the first six months no uniform could possibly be in good order, as proved by the fact that a second uniform is given to the men. Besides, after six months the uniform is either useless and flung into the rags basket or becomes the property of the postman. Hitherto after six months no uniform has ever been returned. On the contrary, Mr. Murtrie had issued orders that the postmen should take their uniforms home every day in order to wash and keep them clean and after six months no post official has ere this asked for its restoration—much less restoration in good order. In the circumstance, we should like to ask Mr. Vaughan if he can demand it honestly now, having regard to the fact that the last uniform was issued not six months ago, but nearly three months ago. The new uniform ought to have been issued in June last, but it was not. We suspect this was withheld because the Postal officials anticipated strike in Bombay."

21. "The rosy and one-sided reports published in certain papers about the heroic and public-spirited efforts made to combat the strike are in reality not worth the paper on which they are printed. If the truth were to be told they are simply trifling with the business of the public and putting the latter to the greatest possible amount of inconvenience, not to speak of loss of money and thorough dislocation of business. Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and all sorts of birds, and of all sorts of colours, together with other feminine auxiliaries, in spite of all their praiseworthy efforts are in reality trifling with public business. It is absurd and ridiculous to think—as it is made laboriously in interested quarters—that all these helpers with the training and experience of five or six days could master the work of men who have devoted their whole lives in their business. From reports published, it is made to appear that the authorities, with the voluntary help that they have received, are successfully tackling with their present difficulties. They are doing nothing of the kind. Our Anglo-Indian contemporaries are obsessed with the belief that Fort makes up the whole of Bombay, and that as long as Fort and European houses of business are well served, everything is all right in the best of all possible worlds. But in reality the state of affairs is far worse, and the parts of Bombay that really suffer are the parts that are situated farther away from Fort..... At the temporary postal centres mountains of letters are lying, and anybody and everybody has the fullest liberty to dip his hands into the huge heap and try to find out his letter—as well he might try to search for a needle in a haystack. Merchants who are carrying on business by means of *hundis* are already clamouring at the great loss that they are suffering and the consequent damage to their business. And in the meantime, the public are befooled with rosy accounts of successful efforts made to meet with the existing difficulty. But when things are so bad, and they are sure to get worse if matters are allowed to drift in the present fashion, the attitude taken up by the authorities is, perhaps, the most disappointing and an arbitrary one. They seem to run away with the belief that the postmen are in the wrong, and having pronounced this *obiter dictum* they think, in a sort of pontifical way, that the men must suffer for having dared to defy the mighty powers that be. We were both surprised and pained to read, the other day, one of the high Bombay officials pompously declaring that the authorities were so busy in coping with their present difficulties that they had no time to think of the postmen, which means that the latter were completely ignored, which, in its turn, means that the difficulty of the postmen which has caused the other difficulty is to be neglected, or the result is to be tackled but the cause that brought about the result is to be left unheeded! We have seen in the past many examples of stupidity and bungling, but, for certainty, the present example takes the cake. And now we ask how long is the present state of things to last? It seems that the Director-General is still at Simla and that he does not intend to move from his Olympian heights. From his secure perch, like Father Jupiter, he has hurled his thunderbolt that the demands of the postmen were unjust, and that seeing that the latter had a 'substantial' increment lately they were unjustified in striking! We have already shown the folly of taking shelter behind the term 'substantial'..... But the present state of affairs cannot last for ever, and the intervention of a third party, both influential and impartial, is now imperatively demanded. Such a party is no less than Sir George Lloyd. He ought to convene a meeting of the high postal officials—say, five in number and an equal number representing the postmen. Let them lay their case before him and he to pronounce his decision which should be binding for both the contending parties."

Sánj Vartamán (30), 1st Oct., Eng. cols.

22. "When postmen and telegraph men strike work it is the public that suffers the greatest inconvenience, for the work of the Government is carried on somehow. The peculiar feature of the present strike is that the public so far has made no complaint although the inconvenience, due to the delay and difficulty in receiving letters, is being keenly felt. The reason is that the public is not

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 27th Sept., Eng. cols.

satisfied that the strike is justified or that the strikers have exhausted all legitimate resources before resorting to this extreme step. Up to the present neither the strikers nor the postal authorities have made any attempt of approaching one another. The authorities are ignoring the strike, the public is co-operating with the authorities in the distribution of letters and telegrams, while Boy Scouts and Girl Guides are helping cheerfully and zealously..... The congestion, however, is so great that although repeatedly called for at the distributing centres letters are not often received for two or three days, and the business of the city has been greatly dislocated. But, as I have said, the absence of complaints is the most remarkable feature of the strike, though impatience on the part of the crowds waiting for their letters is inevitable."

*23. "Granting that there has been an abnormal rise in prices since the termination of the war, and although we have every sympathy with the postmen and with the labouring class as a whole in these rather hard times, still we cannot help saying that the demands put forward by the postmen and their supporters appear to be rather unreasonable. The following figures speak for themselves..... From the above figures it can be seen that while the demands of the men are somewhat immoderate, there is at the same time some room for improvement in the scale recommended by the Postal Committee. According to the present scale of promotion a postman earning Rs. 27 will have to work for 21 years in the Department before he can reach the maximum limit of Rs. 45. The proviso that no promotion should be given for the first three years ought to be cancelled. The condition that no person is to receive more than 50 per cent. is bound to create dissatisfaction. The rent allowance of Rs. 7 is certainly a great boon to the postal servants, but the Postal authorities might show still greater generosity by increasing this allowance, considering that house rents have gone up as high as two hundred per cent. in this city and that the poorer classes are the greatest sufferers. We hope that the Post-Master General will not turn a deaf ear to the many appeals that have already gone forth from the public to effect a compromise."

Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 3rd Oct., Eng. cols.

24. The *Kesari* condemns very strongly the employment of Boy Scouts in Postal work, and says:—Have Government no idea of the loss suffered by the trade—a loss which would probably be never made up? If they did they would not have kept the postmen discontented by their indifferent attitude. The public should consider without delay the measures necessary to create in the minds of officials a sense of duty. [The *Indu Prakásh* also condemns the attitude of the authorities towards the Postal strike, and declares that even if they succeed to-day in breaking up the strike the question of higher wages will not thereby be permanently settled, inasmuch as the high prices will not fail to affect the new hands also. It, therefore, asks the authorities to show their wisdom now by agreeing to the demands of the strikers.]

Kesari (114), 28th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (45), 1st Oct.

25. *Apropos* the postmen's strike in Bombay, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The employees of the Postal Department laid it before the Postal Committee that Rs. 52 was the minimum required for the simplest kind of living in these days of high prices. This figure was never challenged either by the witnesses for Government or by experts. Any coolie in the Street earns Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 per month in these days. A postal clerk is to receive Rs. 73 at least. Now, the postman holds a position which is midway between the clerk and the coolie. The postman demands only what is his just due and nothing more. The hardships which are being suffered by the public are, to say the least, a disgrace to the Posts and Telegraph Department, however boastful they might be of their arrangements to meet the situation, and however contemptuously their organ—the *Times of India*—might speak of the postmen. In fine, we

Sánj Vartamán (33), 27th, 29th and 30th Sept.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 28th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 1st Oct; *Hindusthán* (24), 28th Sept. and 1st Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 30th Sept.; *Gujaráti* (19), 26th Sept.

request His Excellency Sir G. Lloyd to take steps calculated to bring the strike to an end, and thus relieve the public of the hardships that they are put to on account of the strike and also to earn the blessings of the poor postmen and their families. [A correspondent in the course of a letter to another issue of the same paper remarks that the withholding of a living wage is, in effect, tantamount to inviting Bolshevism. In a subsequent issue the paper dwells at length upon the hardships experienced by the public on account of the continuance of the strike and strongly protests against the statement of the postal authorities and of the *Times of India* that the temporary arrangements made to meet the situation are satisfactory. The paper remarks that the demand of the Postmaster-General for the returning of uniforms will add fuel to the fire and adds that it would be better if the Postmaster-General frankly declared that the postmen were, for all practical purposes, dismissed from service. The *Bombay Samáchár* complains that the hardships of the public on account of the strike are many and adds that the authorities are hardly justified in allowing the strike to continue. The paper concludes with the hope that the dispute will soon be referred to arbitration and that the strike will thus be brought to an end. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also dwells at length upon the hardships of the people on account of the strike and calls upon the authorities to sympathetically consider the demand of the postmen so that the strike may come to an end. The *Hindusthán* remarks that the demands of the postmen are quite reasonable and adds that the substitutes employed by the Department can never cope with the situation. The paper concludes by calling upon the authorities to give up the plea of prestige and meet the demands of the postmen sympathetically so that the strike may come to an end. In a subsequent issue the paper remarks that the invitation for the returning of the uniforms is a vain attempt at threatening the strikers. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that if postmen from other parts of the country are brought to Bombay under compulsion, a general strike of postmen throughout India may well be apprehended. The paper concludes with a comparison of the increases given to the higher officials from time to time with those given to the lower staff and challenges the authorities to explain if they are justified in their unbending attitude towards the postmen. The *Gujaráti* dwells upon the duties of the postmen saying that they are arduous and exhausting as well as responsible duties. The paper remarks that nobody ever thinks of economising the exprenses of the Military Department while these poor postmen are being starved. The paper strongly protests against the statements made by the *Times of India* and the *Advocate of India* that the public are not greatly inconvenienced on account of the strike.]

Government should prevent strikes of its servants.
Lokasangraha (117), 26th Sept.

26. In the opinion of the *Lokasangraha* it is quite natural that workmen should strike when they find that their employers of the capitalist class do not give them even a living wage. It is much to be regretted, however, it remarks, that of late even Government servants are driven to have recourse to strikes. It tells the bureaucracy that it certainly does not redound to their credit that even educated persons should despair of getting the relief that is due to them, and that they should resort to such desperate methods. It refers to the projected strike of the school masters in the Sátára District, and warns Government that unless they meet their legitimate demands the strike fever will extend to the other classes of Government servants also.

Comments on the acquittal of Private Chilcott in the Kacha Garhi Muhajarin case.
New Times (9), 5th Sept.

27. "Private Chilcott was charged with murdering Habibullah, the Muhajirin. He has been acquitted! His case was not tried by the regular courts but was sent to a Court Martial, for reasons only too palpatile! And the judgment was a foregone conclusion!..... The judgment now delivered is a commentary on 'British' justice as we have it in India. Three persons were accused of having murdered the

Muhajirin; but only one of them—Private Chilcott—was sent up for trial. The trial has proved a farce. Some witnesses gave the names of some persons who fired on poor Habibullah; but they were not put on their trial! Habibullah's murder has caused the greatest indignation throughout the country; and the only man put on trial has been acquitted—in the name of justice! Yet there are 'patriotic' politicians at Hyderabad who continue to talk against 'non-co-operation', and they continue to abuse the Muslim and the Muhajirin!"

*28. Commenting on the acquittal of Private Chilcott in the Kachagarhi Muhajarin murder case, the *Mahrátta* writes:—

Mahrátta (8), 3rd Oct.

"British justice has now long been proved to be nothing but a big sham; but lest Indians forget the fact, British authorities seem to be at special pains to repeat acts of gross injustice..... In the first instance, there was no earthly reason why the case should have been tried by a Court Martial and not by an ordinary law Court. But so the fiat went and a court martial was instituted. That the Muhajir died from a shot is indisputably true; that the shot must have come from the soldiers who bore arms and who were kept to maintain order at the Railway Station is also equally true. Does it not then go without saying that the accused must be one of those soldiers? If it was not Private Chilcott it must be some other pet Tommy. Such a farce of a trial can hardly satisfy Indians whose hearts are already dangerously sore over the Punjáb wrongs and the Draconic (?) punishments given to the Satanic offenders. The Government is at liberty to learn nothing and forget nothing; but let them be fully cognisant of the fact that the measure of their faults is being daily filled up."

29. Everyone knows that British love of justice is now bankrupt. As if not to let the people forget this fact typical instances of such unalloyed justice are now and then taking place at the hands of officials. Private Chilcott was tried by a farce of Court Martial, though there was no objection to have him tried in the ordinary way, and he was acquitted in connection with the Kachagarhi incident. If he was to be acquitted in any case, why should there have been all this bother of arrest and court martial, etc.? It is unquestionable that Habibullah was shot down by soldiers on guard at the station. Was it impossible for Government to find out the offender from among the few whites on guard at the station whose sportive doings cost Habibullah his life? If not, we do not know what they meant to gain by arresting any person and acquitting him. Indians will not be satisfied by this make-believe. The days of deceiving the people by jugglery are gone. The decision will still more inflame the minds of the people, resentful on account of the Punjáb question. It is the duty of Government to find out the guilty party and have him punished. Otherwise, non-co-operation will have one more cause for its support.

Kesari (114), 28th Sept.

30. In almost all places Mohurrum and Ganapati processions were held without any hitch, but there were small disturbances in Pilbhit and Agra. But as the principles of Hindu-Muhammadan entente and non-co-operation with Government as far as possible are firmly rooted in the minds of the people, the differences were soon settled. Molana Ajmalkhan, Asaf Ali and Shanker Lal went to Agra and settled the differences within an hour and the very evening a joint meeting and street procession were held. Afterwards Sir H. Butler arrived at Agra and he found Hindus and Muhammadans honouring one another with garlands and not breaking the heads of one another. Well-grounded complaints were placed before him of the careless attitude of the local officials and police. On the whole the joint festival was instrumental in further cementing the Hindu-Muhammadan entente and there are hopes that the entente will last as a permanent factor.

Hindu-Moslem unity during the Muharram and Ganpati festivals.

Kesari (114), 28th Sept.

*31. "The Commerce Department of the Government of India has prohibited the entry of the *Moslem Outlook* published in London into India. The reason why the Government boggles at the paper is as easy to find as the way of the Parish Church. The paper is a forcible exponent of the Turkish side and never hesitates to bring into light the ins and outs of the

Comments on the prohibition of the entry of the *Moslem Outlook* into India.

Mahrátta (8), 3rd Oct.

European diplomats and statesmen. The ban laid on the paper may for the time being only serve to keep India in the dark regarding the questions of the Turkish treaty and Islam. But truth cannot be long suppressed; and the more it is sought to be put down so much higher does it rebound. The attempt will be no more fruitful than that of a simple child wishing to cover the sun by lifting up its little finger against Him."

Comments on the stoppage of the sale of Reverse Councils.
Mahrátta (8), 3rd Oct.

*32. "We hasten to congratulate the Government of India on having recovered their senses at last. The sale of Reverse Councils is stopped for the time being at least and the 'organised loot' is consequently temporarily over. In the Communique the Government have made almost herculean efforts to justify their mad policy of bleeding India white in spite of the timely and the most vehement protests of Indian economists; but they have hopelessly failed, and Government have nothing to point to except that the material contraction of note circulation from 185 crores to 158 crores has to a large extent been rendered possible by the maintenance of the weekly offer to sell sterling drafts on London. What a paltry gain, if gain at all, and at what a tremendously great cost? The fact cannot be disputed that the Government by their policy encouraged speculation in the money market and favoured European firms to export money by keeping a margin between the market rate of exchange and the Government rate. This has put India to an irreparable loss; and now have the Government shut the stable-door when the horse is already stolen away. However, we have the poor consolation that future impoverishment is averted till Government renew their wild goose chase."

India at the International Financial Conference at Brussels.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Sept.

33. "A brief Reuter telegram published in our yesterday's issue outlines the financial situation of India for the consideration of the International Financial Conference at Brussels. The Indian Delegation consider the situation in this country to be similar in kind, though dissimilar in degree, to the world situation. But amongst the points selected for special mention by the Indian Delegation we note with surprise the absence of any reference to the exchange problem. It is possible, indeed, that Reuter's summary is too brief and perfunctory to contain even a bare mention of all the important points raised by the Delegation; but we think the evil of unstable exchange is greater than that of 'inflated currency', which has been specifically referred to, and the two combined make the great currency grievance of India, which will not be redressed by the temporary expedients so far adopted. It is imperative that the International Financial Conference should be acquainted with the Indian views on this matter, and not merely that the echoes of Whitehall or Wall Street financiers be reproduced there..... The Brussels Conference will be a failure if it cannot allay the suspicions India entertains about a world conspiracy to prevent her from getting her share of the world's supply of gold."

Comments on Government's reply to the interpellation about the teaching of vernaculars in Colleges.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Sept.

34. "The Honourable Gulam Jilani Bijlikhan enquired of Government as to what arrangements they had made to provide for the teaching of the Indian vernaculars which have now been given a place in the B. A. curriculum. The reply tendered was that the matter was 'under consideration.' What are Government considering about? What serious and complicated questions are involved in this simple matter, necessitating delay? The Bombay University has sanctioned the inclusion of the vernaculars in the B. A. curriculum and Government should make due arrangements in their colleges for teaching the Indian vernaculars. It cannot be said that qualified men cannot be had or that there are any difficulties in the way of recruitment. Government are not called upon to maintain chairs in all the vernaculars at all the colleges under them. Marathi may be taught in the Deccan College and arrangements made for Gujarati and Kanarese in Ahmedabad and Dhárwár respectively. Government must now conclude the process of consideration and come to some decision."

35. The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola deserves to be congratulated on the readiness he showed at the last sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council in willingly recognising that a strong case was made out in support of the primary school teachers' claims for a revision of their salaries, and in suggesting that a committee consisting of official and non-official members be appointed to go into the whole question. [The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses hope that the Committee will submit an early report and help to relieve the distress of the miserably ill-paid primary teachers of the Presidency.]

Comments on the proposed appointment of a committee to inquire into the question of revising the salaries of primary school teachers in the Bombay Presidency.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 2nd Oct.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 2nd Oct.

***36.** "We fail to understand why bullocks and cows bred at Government farms should be sold to foreigners, when they can be usefully sold to agriculturists at a reasonable price or even at a loss. The discussion showed that there was an overwhelming consensus of opinion in favour of the resolution. The Honourable Mr. Macnaughten called upon wealthy gentlemen to take up the question of improving the breed of cattle, just as they did in Europe. The Honourable Mr. Lawrence quoted figures from a Statistical Annual published by an Institute in Rome, showing that during 1907 to 1916 the cattle population of India had actually increased by 50 per cent.! It is a far cry from Rome and it does not reflect much credit upon the Indian and Provincial Government, their Agricultural Departments and their Statistical Bureau that it should be found necessary to quote from an Italian compilation figures for silencing adverse criticism, when these figures cannot be checked or verified in the light of statistics that ought to be found in their own archives. For our own part we are not inclined to accept the Italian estimate. Even the official census of cattle in India is far from reliable and we do not know on what data the Italian estimate is based. The Honourable Mr. Lawrence seems to be a firm believer in the unchecked export of cattle..... Our own view of the matter is that the needs of the agricultural community and the rest of the population should be met first before cattle of the best breed are allowed to be exported without let or hindrance. The question is not one of provincial importance but affects the whole country, and if a non-official Committee is appointed, as suggested in the resolution, it will be possible to adopt comprehensive measures for the preservation and improvement of cattle. What the people really feel is that for some reason or other Government are not prepared to handle the question in a whole-hearted manner, and we hope the Indian Government will now approach consideration of the subject free from western bias and predilections and unhampered by considerations of military requirements. These will doubtless be taken into account by the proposed Committee."

Comments on the resolution regarding appointment of a committee to consider the question of cattle preservation.
Gujaráti (19), 3rd Oct., Eng. cols.

37. The Bombay Legislative Council have done a wise thing in passing a resolution asking the Government of India to appoint a Committeee to suggest means to prevent the slaughter and export of milch cattle. Let us hope that the Government of India will accept the demands made by the resolution. We feel sure that the appointment of a mixed Committee of officials and non-officials will have far-reaching and beneficial results. [The *Bombay Samáchár* writes in a similar strain, and appeals to the people to set about devising well-organised schemes for rearing cattle and for establishing dairies to provide milk and ghee to the people in sufficiently large quantities to meet their requirements.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 2nd Oct.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 1st Oct.

38. We are living in the midst of high prices and famine is at present staring us in the face. Government and the people, therefore, should act very economically and place all possible checks on expenditure. We have no objection to the increase in the salaries of ill paid men in the subordinate services of Government but resent the creation of new posts carrying high salaries. The Government of Bombay have created a new post of the Director of Information with a salary of Rs. 2,000 per

Comments on the creation of the post of Director of Information, Bombay.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 30th Sept.

mensem and have given him a staff which involves an additional expenditure of Rs. 1,000 every month. Was there any necessity of creating this special post? Looking to the information supplied by the office of the Director of Information during the last four months, we do not think that there was any special necessity of creating an expensive machinery for the purpose. The heads of various departments could easily have supplied information of the kind published by the Director of Information without incurring any additional expenditure. It is reported that it is the Government of India that are responsible for the appointment of the Director of Information. Be it as it may, the Government that has taken the initiative in making the appointment have saddled the Presidency with needless expenditure of thousands of rupees. Those who have studied the literature put forth by the Director of Information will agree with us that the public has not received any substantial return for the money spent on the Director of Information.

Director of Information should not be allowed to take part in propaganda.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Oct.

39. "The Director of Information will cost the public a considerable amount of money..... It is doubtful whether the benefit the public will derive will be in proportion to the money spent on the new establishment. If the Director of Information confines himself to his legitimate duties, there is no need to create such a large establishment. If, however, the Director of Information tries his hand at propaganda, as he has already done in some cases, public interests will suffer. Government tried the subsidised press for a time; the attempt proved a total failure. The moment the subsidy was withdrawn, the artificially maintained paper also expired. Direct propaganda also will fail; it will go against Government. They should in their own interests confine the Director to giving information and prohibit him from taking part in any propaganda work."

A Royal Viceroy for India.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 3rd Oct.

***40.** Commenting on the suggestion to send out a member of the Royal Family as Viceroy of India the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"If, say, twenty years ago a Royal Viceroy was deemed an experiment fraught with constitutional risk, it certainly cannot be deemed to be less so today. It has also to be pointed out that the Indian people's long-time faith in the Royal Family's influence being steadily and consistantly exerted on behalf of policies involving increasing confidence in them and sympathy with their aspirations, was rather rudely disturbed by the fact, revealed in Lord Morley's 'Recollections,' that His Majesty the late King Edward only reluctantly and under protest acquiesced in the decision of a unanimous Cabinet to appoint an Indian member to the Executive Council of the Governor-General. For these reasons we are unable to regard the suggestion of a Royal Viceroy as a particularly thoughtful one at this juncture, although, of course, if the person chosen be otherwise competent for the position, his being related to the Sovereign should not come in his way. India will judge the new Viceroy not by his lineage but by his achievements."

Indians now don't care for the bestowal of even the highest appointments under Government on their fellow countrymen.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 29th Sept. Eng. cols.

41. Referring to the very little sensation caused by the arrival of Lord Sinha in India to take charge of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Behár and Orissa, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—"To-day Lord Sinha's appointment to be the Governor of a province has scarcely aroused any sentiments of gratification or of gratitude. The spirit of the times is such that to-morrow the announcement that an Indian is appointed Viceroy would create as little enthusiasm. The reason is not merely the soreness caused by the Punjáb and the Khilafat questions but the essential unsoundness and illusory character of these 'concessions', from the democratic or the people's standpoint. The quarrel in these democratic days is against bureaucracy as such. People everywhere do not want privileged classes and high placed individuals. The freedom and progress of a country are not to be secured by these means. The question now is not who is appointed Governor or Viceroy in India, but who makes the appointment. The people do not care to have a native bureaucracy set up in place of the white bureaucracy. They want self-deter-

mination and self-government. They want decisive control of their own affairs. They want their officers and administrators appointed by themselves and accountable to themselves. That is the essence of democracy. The people all over the world, would rather misgovern themselves than be well-governed by others. There is no patience with beneficent despotisms with parental autocracies. The spirit in which the Indian people have taken the phenomenal elevation of Lord Sinha shows the extent to which the democratic spirit has permeated the mass of the nation. All the old world superstitions and venerations are being fast given up. The country has become clamorous for rights for power for freedom; and the clamour is no longer to be appeased by special treatment of individuals. There is no more eloquent sign of the times than the manner in which India has taken Lord Sinha's appointment."

Comments on Lord Lytton's appointment as Under Secretary of State for India.

Hindusthán (24), 29th Sept., Eng. cols.

42. "Lord Lytton has been appointed Under Secretary of State for India in place of Lord Sinha. This news will not be welcomed in India by Indians, for they expected that another Indian would be appointed in place of Lord Sinha. There are enough able Indians who could have been appointed to the place. People like Sir Sankaran Nair or Sir Ali Imam would have filled the place just as well as Lord Lytton, whose only qualification for the post is that he was born in India and is the son of a former Viceroy of the same name. We only hope that this appointment does not mean that no more Indians are to be appointed Under Secretaries of State. That would be unjust. India must be represented in the British Cabinet by Indians. For it is these Indian Ministers who will give a correct idea to the British people of what India thinks and feels about certain subjects."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 27th Sept.

43. Under the present conditions, the appointment of Lord Lytton as Under Secretary of State for India is an unfortunate one. In the first place, his political views are not known to be liberal. Again, he is an admirer of the policy adumbrated by his father as Viceroy of India. The late Lord Lytton was during the period of his regime, very unpopular among the people of India. He was an advocate of Imperialism and it was he who, within twenty-four hours, passed the law the object of which was to keep the Indian press under repression. The most unfortunate thing is that this post has not been reserved for Indians. It is difficult to understand why the example set by the appointment of Lord Sinha should not be followed up.

Comments on the appointment of Sir W. Meyer as High Commissioner.

Kesari (114), 28th Sept.

44. Referring to the appointment of the High Commissioner, the *Kesari* says:—The Indian Deputation to England often stated that the High Commissioner should be appointed by the Government of India in consultation with the Legislative Council and that if the appointment could not be made in such a manner no such post was needed. Responsible work is to be entrusted to the High Commissioner and he should, therefore, be one enjoying the confidence of Indians and Indian representatives should be consulted before making his appointment. But the Secretary of State has appointed a white Civilian to the post. Sir W. Meyer is more than 60 years of age, and as he is a pensioner he will be under the thumb of the Secretary of State. He is not in any way to be controlled by Sir Sankaran Nair or Bhupendra Nath Basu of the India Council. Is the appointment to be taken as a sign of progressive democracy or the close grip of the bureaucracy? The coming Councils in India should have the post cancelled or see that the appointment is not made without their consent. So long many favourites of the India Council used to feed themselves at the expense of India; now the favourites of the High Commissioner will have the chance.

Necessity of increasing the salaries of primary school teachers.

Kesari (114), 28th Sept.

45. The *Kesari* discusses at length the case of the primary School teachers, and says that nobody need be surprised that the teachers though naturally well-mannered and innocent should be inclined to think of a strike. It suggests that Government should attend to the question in order to prevent any such undesirable develop-

ment and remove immediately the causes of any complaint. It is better, in its eyes, that there should be no conflict and that things are settled in a spirit of compromise.

Necessity of raising the pay of the Talatis.
Dnyán Prakásh (42), 29th Sept.

46. There are no signs of the prices of the necessaries going down; on the contrary they have risen in some cases. This being so, Government should have taken early steps to increase the salaries of their low-paid employés. Government have never up till now devoted a thought to the condition of their servants unless they agitated for an adequate renumeration. Their present policy appears to be to give relief only to those classes of Government servants whose demands become insistent. It is difficult to fathom the motive of Government in waiting until an agitation is set afoot. The fat-salaried officials were the first to get increases and if Government had been equally considerate towards their other employés, the present discontent would surely have been obviated. The Talatis have been vainly appealing to Government for help during the last three years or more. Delays such as these have been the cause of strikes in other departments and the Talatis deserve to be cengratulated on their unshakable faith in petitions and representations. The work of the Talatis is of a more responsible character than that of the clerks and, therefore, they should be paid as much as, if not more than, the latter.

What India has gained under the Morley-Minto reforms.
Mahrátta (8), 3rd Oct.

***47.** "The era ushered in by the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 and hailed at the time by people with open arms as though it were the advent of the millennium is over and that of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms is yet to set in. But the ten long years that have elapsed since have lifted up the veil, and all people in India have come to see, to their bitter disillusionment, that what they acclaimed as a great and beneficent gift, the highest on earth possibly, was nothing but a Trojan horse. Looking back over the decennial period, Indians view that the whole beach of the Legislative Councils is strewn with hideous skulls and carcasses at which no reasonable man can bear to look. And what has the Government done during these years for the benefit of the governed? The Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, the Défence of India Act and last, though not the least, the Rowlatt Act with its horrible outcome and what not! What a splendid record, indeed, for any government to look on with pride! Suffice it to say that had such ultra-bureaucratic and highly Tsarist acts been foisted upon the people in England they would have been driven to nothing less than a revolution and Government would have been thrown overboard in no time. Again, the material and moral progress of the governed is the crucial test of any Government. Can the brass-bound and copper-bottomed Indian bureaucracy lay claim to anything on that score? The present economic situation of the people speaks volumes in that connection. Deep discontent is stalking through the length and breadth of the country. Everywhere there are strikes and rumours of strikes, and the strikes in India are not political like those of England but purely economic. Pays and pensions of higher services have been increased beyond bounds and the lower services are left to shiver in the cold, so much so that even the educated classes, as distinguished from manual labourers, are driven to desperation. The economic drain on Indian resources goes on merrily in the teeth of strong public opposition and indignation. Repression and coercion also are keeping pace with the trend of Government activity. To-day one editor of a newspaper is arrested; to-morrow another speaker is gagged and prosecuted. In a thousand and one ways the leaders are insulted and humiliated. Under the evil and noxious atmosphere created by the bureaucracy the moral stamina of the people also is every day deteriorating. To be brief, in every nook and corner profound disgust and deep-seated dissatisfaction prevail. Such has been, to put it in a nutshell, the glorious (?) old order. Its characteristic feature was dormant discontent rankling in people's hearts. But in the new order that has dawned what was so long dormant and passive has come out in an active and aggressive form in the shape of non-co-operation. No doubt, Indians are by nature reputedly

submissive and patient; but there is a limit even to virtues, and when that limit is once reached or transgressed even the best of them are inflamed and their virtues put on the deadliest complexion. This has materialized to-day and for this the bureaucracy has to thank itself,..... Who will succeed? That is the question of the hour. In a unique fight like this providence is on the side of justice, righteousness and truth, and the side representing injustice, unrighteousness and untruth is bound to go to the wall..... The days of the bureaucracy are numbered, and the future will be in the keeping of the people only if they strive mightily, courageously and perseveringly in the combat that is now on."

Government of India's order removing the disability for Council elections of certain persons in the Punjáb.

Kesari (114), 28th Sept.; *Lokashahi* (119), 27th Sept.

48. Referring to the removal of the disabilities of the Punjáb leaders, the *Kesari* says:—The boycott of the Councils has had a desirable effect on Government, and they are ready now to give whatever concessions were demanded. But the Punjáb leaders do not want the favour of Government permission and no important leader will be tempted. The days of deceiving leaders are gone and it would be well if Government were to give up the pastime of baiting the fish. [The *Lokashahi* says that it is non-co-operation which has influenced the bureaucracy to throw open the Councils to the Punjáb leaders. It remarks that there is no hope of anyone being tempted into the Councils even if all the political prisoners rotting in the various jails and in the Andamans are declared to be innocent and released.]

The Bombay Development Loan.

Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 3rd Oct., Eng. cols.

*49. "As we have pointed out before, the success of the Development scheme depends upon the support which this loan receives, and it is the duty as well as the interest of every worthy citizen of Bombay to contribute his share towards the successful execution of a scheme which, it is hoped, will vastly improve the future of this island..... The fact that local banks are thus competing with each other in offering favourable terms to intending investors shows that they consider the Loan a good and sound investment, and we hope that the facilities offered by them will be taken full advantage of by an intelligent public."

Hindi Punch (22), 26th Sept., Eng. cols.

50. 'Corporator Faineant' writes as follows about the Bombay Development Loan in the *Hindi Punch*:—"I hope the citizens of Bombay will subscribe large sums to it, as it will go a great way in enhancing their welfare as well as of generations to come. Its terms are very attractive. While the landlords in Bombay are bitterly complaining that they hardly realise even six per cent. out of their investments in properties, here is a loan which offers you six and a half per cent. tax-free interest. It is the safest, soundest and the best investment for all *bonâ fide* investors. I would particularly draw the attention of the trustees of several Parsi Funds and of other communal funds to seize the present opportunity and invest the money which may be lying on their hands in the Bombay Development Loan."

Bombay Samáchár (61), 27th and 29th Sept.; *Akhbar-e-Islám* (58), 1st Oct.

51. The leading citizens of Bombay played a prominent part in making the various War Loans successful. They can similarly make the Development Loan a complete success. Their present task is not so arduous as it was in the days of the war. The Development Loan presents quite novel attractions. In the first place, the rate of interest offered is higher than that offered by any of the previous loans. Secondly, the object of the loan, *viz.*, the providing of houses and the development of the suburbs, is also a subject in which people are interested. Hence there is every likelihood of the loan being fully subscribed. We, therefore, recommend it to those citizens and others who are responsible for the success of the loan that they should carry on a vigorous advertising propaganda in such a way as to make the people fully conversant with the benefits accruing to them through investment in the

loan. [In a subsequent issue, the paper dwells upon the necessity of giving publicity to the housing programme so that the people might be tempted to subscribe to the loan more liberally. The *Akhbar-e-Islám* invites the public to subscribe to the loan to the best of their ability saying that the object of the loan is as laudable as the rate of interest offered is tempting. The paper concludes by adding that there is no other security which offers to the people such a sound investment on such favourable terms.]

Comments on the Bombay Government's statement regarding the Grant Road Terminal Station Scheme.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 2nd Oct.

52. Commenting upon the statement issued by the Government of Bombay of their plans regarding the development of Bombay as they affect the B. B. & C. I. Railway Line, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—The statement gives a satisfactory reply to all the objections urged against the acquisition of property round about the Grant Road Station, and the people of the locality will have a sigh of relief on learning that they will not have to vacate immediately but that they will have ample time to find out suitable accommodation elsewhere. The number of people that will be dishoused is no doubt much smaller than was thought to be the case. However, the difficulties these people will experience in securing accommodation cannot be overlooked, and we are gratified to note that Government have undertaken to provide for their needs. The assurance given by Government with respect to erecting new tenements for the occupants of the Murzban Chawls and the Jain Boarding-house is really very satisfactory, and we must thank the Government of Sir George Lloyd for the same. The main objections against the acquisition of properties near the Grant Road Station have been effectively met, and no grounds can now be urged for asking Government to change the site of the proposed Grant Road Terminal Station.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 3rd Oct.

***53.** "The Government of Bombay issued last week a statement in justification of their decision to adhere to the site which they had proposed for the long-distance terminus of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway at present situated at Colaba. That this site has certain definite advantages over the alternative site north of the overbridge is plain enough, but the reasons given for thinking that these advantages are such as should override the disadvantages which the choice of the south site involves to inhabitants of the locality, are far from convincing..... The fact that those displaced will be only a little over 3,500 does certainly weaken the force of one of the objections urged against the Government's choice. But, in our opinion, the demolition of even a single habitable tenement in these days of intolerable congestion, has to be justified on far stronger grounds than those adduced by Government..... Where is ths urgency of this scheme? No reasons are given to show that it cannot wait till the housing scheme is well on its way to completion."

Comments on the report of the Esher Committee.

Indu Prakásh (45), 2nd Oct.

54. The Report shows the clear impress of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's membership of the Committee. The extraordinary discovery made by the Report that the Punjabi students who had received military training rose against Government during the Punjáb disturbances doubtless owes its origin to Sir Michael. The Committee's suggestion for the exercise of caution, in the matter of the raising of the Territorial Force, clearly indicates the narrow and suspicious attitude entertained by Government in military matters. The Committee has suggested all possible means to hinder the advance of Indians in the army. The only positive gain which appears to result from the report is that Indians will now be given commissions in the Veterinary Department; otherwise all other doors must be still regarded as remaining closed. The Report attributes want of education as the reason why Indians have been unable to rise beyond Subhedar majorships and Risaldar-majorships, and yet it opposes the establishment of a military college! It recommends additions to the military expenditure of poverty-stricken India,

and the Indian Army is to be under the control of neither the Government of India nor the Secretary of State but of the British War office. All this means that the responsible Government which is going to be established under the Reform Act will have absolutely no voice in the management of the Indian Army.

Government of India's reply as to the non-enforcement of the Cotton Cloth Act unconvincing.

Raj Hansa (88), 28th Sept.

55. The reply given by the Government of India to the Honourable Sir Mahindra Chandra Nundy as to the non-enforcement of the Cotton Cloth Act is far from convincing. At the time of passing the Act, the necessity for it was made clear in the discussion that took place. This being the case, the Government's reply that the Provincial Governments did not report to them the necessity for putting the law into force in the various provinces and that consequently they thought the Act to be unnecessary shows the indifference of the Government of India to the interests of the poor. Still more blameworthy is the action of the Provincial Governments in not intimating to the Government of India the necessity of putting the law into practice. However, it is not at all surprising to find the bureaucrat so eager to guard the interests of his countrymen—the capitalists of Manchester. So long as the foreign bureaucracy is dominant this state of things must last. Therefore we must learn to stand on our own legs. And the only way to do that is to boycott foreign goods and bring the principle of non-co-operation with Government into practice in all its aspects.

Protest against the disallowance of Mr. Sastri's resolution about the Punjáb.

Chaitanya (101), 20th Sept.

56. The Hunter Committee's report, the resolution of the Government of India thereon, and the subsequent debate in Parliament, all these only served to increase the dissatisfaction felt at the official excesses in the Punjáb. The Honourable Mr. Sastri proposed to bring forward a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council with the avowed object of allaying the discontent produced by these causes. The Viceroy, however, disallowed it on the flimsiest of grounds. It is evident that his motive in this was to hide the misdeeds both of himself and his subordinates. Mr. Sastri rightly protested and withdrew his other resolutions, and his action and that of his colleagues who followed his example is deserving of commendation.

Comments on the report of the Bombay Police Commissioner on the City Police for 1919.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Oct.

57. "The main cause of the increase of crime under the Penal Code is stated by the Commissioner to be that, while supervision over the professional criminal in other parts of India grows stricter each succeeding year, the conditions prevailing in Bombay make it easy for him to batten on the city. The Commissioner, therefore, advocates an active campaign of deportation against foreign criminals and has asked for the application to the City of the Criminal Tribes Act..... There may be some truth in this statement, but we do not think the additional powers—which the Commissioner asks for and with which the Government contemplate to arm him—are desirable or necessary to rid the city of a large number of these people..... There is a considerable lack of efficiency in the prevention and detection of crime. And the real cause of the lack of efficiency is that the best brains of the police force are devoted to 'political' work and their attention is also concentrated on extra police duties..... That only 19 out of 62 cases of murder and attempted murder should have resulted in conviction—nine of the rest ending in acquittal, 30 remaining undetected (including 16 infanticide cases) and four being declared to be mistaken—does not reflect credit on the Department..... The small percentage of property recovered in theft cases also does not redound to the detective skill of the local police..... A rather alarming feature of the Commissioner's report is the heavy increase in the number of casualties in street accidents during the year..... As pointed out by the Commissioner, the number of persons killed or injured in connection with motor accidents is out of all proportion

to the increase in the number of cars on the streets. We fully endorse his remark that the only remedy is a steady prosecution of offenders against the rules of the road. The criminal recklessness with which a large number of owners and chauffeurs—among whom we especially include drivers of motor lorries—are to be found driving their vehicles even through crowded and narrow streets, requires effective curbing. ..... We have a word to say regarding the regulation of traffic by the average policeman in Bombay stationed at street junctions. Apparently he is under the impression that his whole duty lies in regulating vehicular traffic and even if he sees women and children, as also men, running straight into the vortex of the traffic, getting non-plussed and incurring the risk of being run over every moment, he moves not a finger, though he can easily do so, to warn them against the grave danger and to point out to them the more circuitous but less risky route they ought to take."

Comments on the Government Press Note on forest policy in Kánara.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th and 29th Sept.

58. "It was stated the other day that Government were engaged in seriously considering the forest question and it was expected that they would take an early opportunity of making an authoritative statement, largely modifying the present forest policy which has almost ruined agriculture and has benefited the forests in no real sense of the term. We wish for more reasons than one that Government had spoken to the people direct on such an important question instead of leaving it to the Director of Information to discuss their new forest policy..... It is an admitted fact that the forest policy relentlessly pursued by Government in Kánara has almost ruined the district, that the population has decreased, that villages are being deserted, that 40 per cent. of the occupied land lies permanently fallow, that forests are absorbing villages after villages, that game laws are very strict, that forest privileges have been withdrawn one after the other and that forest rules and regulations are being rigorously enforced. But the Director of Information does not agree that the forest policy is responsible for the reduction of population and ruin of agriculture..... It is difficult to make out whether he speaks for himself or for Government. Are these the considered views of Government? Do they really believe that the causes enumerated by the Director of Information are responsible for the decrease in population and that their forest policy is above reproach? Why did *kumrivallas* leave Kánara in disgust? Do not Government know yet that the latter were welcomed in Mysore?..... It is true that the Forest Department requires population at hand for forest labour, but it never entertained any higher ideas of its duties than mere preservation and it never paid any importance to the supply of adequate forest labour..... While the theory of the Director of Information is wrong and his defence considerably weak and unsatisfactory, the announcement of concessions which he makes is in a way to be welcomed..... Betta lands will henceforth be under the Revenue Department and changes are to be made in the condition of their leases also. It would be better still if the proprietary principle were introduced in the management of the Bettas. Ample grazing grounds should be supplied to the villages. The question of wild animals constitutes a peculiar problem of Kánara and it has been complicated by the Game Laws and Arms Act rules. It is no use talking merely of wild pigs. Chital and sambhar do as much damage to crops as pigs, but the game laws come in the way of their destruction. At present, one cannot pursue the wild animals and hunt them in the forest. The conveniences of *Sahib log* are, however, no longer to be the paramount consideration and the game laws should be radically changed in order that crops in Kánara may be effectively protected..... The destruction of wild animals is the only course left, and gun licenses should be issued freely to the villagers in Kánara..... A long list of forest grievances remains still unredressed and Government do not seem to have paid any attention to the question of forest prosecutions, forced labour, communal punishments and compensation which works out practically as enforced contributions. On the slightest pretext, grazing fees are heavily increased. Whole villages are prosecuted whenever there is a case of forest fire, and forest prosecutions have become very oppressive, as the local magistracy, for certain unknown reasons, looks upon them as

State prosecutions, calling for convictions and heavy punishments..... The whole question of forest prosecutions requires a thorough consideration at the hands of Government, and it is absolutely necessary that only responsible Forest official should have power of initiating prosecutions. Criminal prosecutions should be instituted in serious cases only and where compensation is demanded by the Forest officials themselves, a prosecution would be an anomaly. It is essential that the Forest service, specially in its lower ranks, should be overhauled." [In the next issue the paper writes :—"We regret that, owing to inadvertence, the statement of policy was wrongly referred to in our leading article yesterday as having been made through the medium of the Director of Information."]

Forest prosecution in the Dhárwár district.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Oct.

59. "A fire broke out in the forest of the Kalghatgi village the other day and 183 persons were roped in and prosecuted. Subsequently the prosecution was withdrawn and it was felt that Government had given up the vexatious and provocative method of wholesale prosecutious. But Government have no such idea. It was only as a matter of clemency that they withdrew the prosecutions, as they informed Mr. Belvi in the Council. No change in policy is contemplated, and so long as Government leave the Forest officials to themselves, there will not be any. Though the prosecution was withdrawn, the Forest officials have been kind enough to ask for the enhancement of grazing fees. Do Government still want to be enlightened as to why Forest administration is extremely unpopular ?"

Racial hostility towards Indians in the Colonies.
Bharatwási (152), 11th Sept.

60. Practically the whole of Asia is under European domination, whether direct or indirect. While Europeans have freely encroached upon Asia, they in their turn have not tolerated Asiatics in their own countries, even if the latter went there for the purpose of trade. Just see what is going on all over the world. We know what is the lot of the Indian in South Africa and in Fiji. We also know what is being done in civilised America with a view to the exclusion of the Asiatic from that country. It is certainly unfair that the Asiatic should be asked to make room for the European even in his own country, while he is being driven out of the countries occupied by white people. What is stranger still is that even in East Africa, the country which owes its present prosperity to the Indian pioneers there, the Indian is not tolerated. And it must be noted that East Africa is not a self-governing country like South Africa and other British colonies. It is under the direct control of the British Government. Yet here, too, attempts are being made by the white settlers there to treat the Indian in a humiliating manner. The East African question is a great question for India. If Indians fail to obtain equal rights with Europeans in that country, they will assuredly be driven out from wherever they may go.

Comments on the scheme of voluntary repatriation of South African Indians.
**Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 3rd Oct., Eng. cols.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 28th Sept.

61. "A communique has been issued by the Government of India stating that the Union Government assures the Indian Government that the officers placed in charge of the work of voluntary repatriation have been instructed not to use any compulsion upon the Indians in order to make them return to their own country. This assurance is quite needless. We take it for what it is worth, and that is nothing. Granting that no direct compulsion will be used to force Indian settlers to leave the Colony, it will be quite possible for the Colonials to make their lives so unbearable in different ways that they would have no other course left open to them except to avail themselves of the offer of repatriation. This voluntary repatriation scheme is nothing but a clear hint to the Indian settlers to avail themselves of the opportunity to leave a country where they are most unwelcome and where they cannot stay any longer without dragging along a miserable existence." [Elsewhere the paper writes asfollows with regard to the South African Indians who have already returned

to India:—There is no reason to doubt the statement that the men have brought more than £ 25 with them. £ 25 is not a very large sum after all. When a man exiles himself to a foreign country for a long number of years, he does so with the hope of some pecuniary advantage. If he returns to his native land with about four or five hundred rupees, he certainly cannot be said to have amassed a fortune in these days. There is no doubt that the lives of these poor Indians were miserable in the Colony, and it is well that they have returned to their own country, though in order to do so they have had to give up all future right of entrance into the Colony. Writing in a similar strain, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that this policy of the Colonists has caused great pain to the Indians. The paper adds:—If the Colonists think that their interests will remain secure after the Indians have left the shores of South Africa under the scheme of voluntary repatriation, we would say that they are committing a mistake. The Indians will not easily allow their right of going to any country under the British flag to be snatched away in this fashion.]

The Co-operative Conference.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Sept.

62. In the course of its comments on the Co-operative Conference the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"The procedure for the conduct of the work left much to be desired. Delegates were distributed among different sub-committees without previous consultation, a member was supplied with papers and notes pertaining only to the subjects referring to his particular sub-committee, and even on the day of the Conference all papers were not supplied to the delegates so as to enable them to follow, and actively participate in the discussions in open Conference on the reports of sub-committees other than their own. And the grouping of subjects was defective; for instance, a note mainly relating to finance was included among the papers laid before the sub-committee on propaganda and organization, and it was not surprising that the sub-committee was compelled to refer it back to the Registrar as the suggestions dealt mainly with financing the organization! The time allotted for discussion both in the committees and in the Conference was very short. And the anxiety to rush through the work was so keen that a set of resolutions for the important subject of housing had simply to be recorded without discussion. Mr. Rothfeld's own speech was of more than passing interest. He held forth before the Conference the ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the profiteer and the capitalist will have no place, but in which the social and industrial system will be so organized that consumers will control co-operatively all means of exchange or production, and production will in turn be carried on by groups of persons combining to exercise their calling in common for their common advantage. These are noble ideals, which new India will certainly make her own, for in this task of reconstruction, non-co-operators —against whom Mr. Rothfeld railed irrelevantly—will be no less keen than professed co-operators."

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 27th Sept.; *Gujarát Mitra* (20), 26th Sept.

63. Reviewing the proceedings of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference held at Poona, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—His Excellency the President was justified in saying that the Conference was a sort of a Co-operative Parliament inasmuch as delegates from all parts of the presidency were represented at the Conference. The important suggestions made by His Excellency well deserve to be borne in mind by the leaders of the co-operative movement. The regrettable thing about the co-operative movement is the increase from 5½ to 8 lakhs in the amount of over-due debts. This is, of course, partly due to the bad season. But this increase in the amount of over-due debts leads us to the conclusion that a large number of the members of the co-operative societies is lacking in the genuine spirit of co-operation as well as in keen enthusiasm for discharging mutual responsibilities. The leaders of the co-operative movement will, therefore, do well to adopt measures calculated to make the public conversant with the principles governing the movement. Such a course of action will greatly assist in the progress of the various societies. The comparatively small number of non-Credit Agricultural Societies *viz.* 102, in an agricultural presidency like ours is

also a matter for disappointment. We are glad to note that His Excellency has promised to assist in the progress of these societies. Although the progress of the co-operative movement in the presidency is, on the whole, satisfactory, there is much that remains to be done by the societies. Banking facilities are practically non-existent in the villages and the co-operative societies can do much in this direction. Though the number of building societies rose to 21 at the end of March, they cannot do much on account of the high prices of building material. It, therefore, behoves Government to extend their helping hand to these, for without substantial aid from Government they cannot do much by themselves. [The *Gujarát Mitra* dwells upon the necessity of extending banking facilities in the villages, saying that the the various societies are always found to be handicapped for want of money in the absence of "co-operative banks." The paper concludes by adding that it is to be regretted that the Conference totally lost sight of the problem of cattle-breeding.]

Failure of crops in Sind and need of prompt remissions.
New Times (9), 5th Sept.

64. "The failure of crops in Sind is so general as to cause serious apprehension. The situation threatens to affect at once the zamindars and the cultivators. And they need special relief in the matter of the remission of Land Revenue. The present remission rules are far too cumbrous to afford the necessary relief. They contemplate the grant of remission on each survey number in the case of settled areas and on each field of unsettled tracts. The Mukhtiarkar, who is the inspecting officer, waits, as a rule, till the period for presentation of claims expires, the object being that he should not go over the same village more than once. And, in many cases, the poor cultivator cannot afford to wait, till his turn of the inspection of crops arrives. If, indeed, delay in inspection of the crops were the only evil, early inspection of the fields would improve matters. But, in the present circumstances, the loss threatens to be so general as to make special relief necessary. Something could be done if the Assistant or Deputy Collector in charge of a Taluka or Talukas went to inspect each Deh with the assistance of the Mukhtiarkar of the Taluka and a couple of reliable Zamindar experts..... If this suggestion be acted upon, the remission work will be greatly simplified. In any case, the burden of the agriculturist in Sind must not be enhanced by resort to the present elaborate remission rules which have formed the subject of repeated criticism in and outside the press."

Comments on the grant of independence to Egypt.
Sindvasi (158), 8th Sept.

65. India has been pleased at the grant of independence to Egypt. Those who know what great sacrifices Egypt has made for her independence will acknowledge that Egypt has paid a heavy price for it. It must be noted that the grant of independence to Egypt is not a free-will offering on the part of the British Government. In fact that Government tried its best to suppress the movement for independence by giving it a bad name. It was alleged that the movement was the result of German, Turkish and Bolshevist instigation. It was further given out as in the case of India that the demand for independence was confined to a small minority of educated men. To meet all this opposition Egypt entered on a programme of non-co-operation which has now resulted in the grant of independence to her. Advocates of non-co-operation in this country quote the instance of Egypt as having obtained independence through their method. They forget that the conditions of India are different from the conditions of Egypt. Let alone other differences, the people of Egypt were united in what they did. Is such unity possible in this country of castes and creeds? If it is not possible, how can non-co-operation be a success here?

Turkish Government and the Allies.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Oct.

66. "The news that the Constantinople Government has submitted a note to the Allied High Commissioners setting forth its policy in relation to the Turkish patriots and its programme of judicial and financial reforms, with the report that it has asked the Allies to 'assist it financially' in the work of pacifying Anatolia,

leaves much to be desired as news. It tells us nothing of the nature of the newly announced policy towards the Nationalists..... So long as Greek troops are in occupatin of a square mile of its territory, so long as the Khalifah is held in tutelage—'in chancery', as Mr. Lloyd George elegantly put it in the House of Commons, with appropriate gesture—so long will there be war in Asia Minor. If only the Allies would face the truth at once, and give up urging Ferid Pasha and his cabinet to take measures utterly beyond their strength the world would be much nearer to a lasting peace..... To give the Greeks command of Turkish territory, inhabited by Muslim Turks, was sheer barbarity. It is the sense of cruel wrong which animates the Turkish patriots, and we believe that they will prove to be indomitable. ..... Surely, their attitude deserves the sympathy of every generous man. But high finance has neither heart nor soul to be the seat of generosity, and high finance, the incubus of modern Europe, had a colossal finger in the making of the Turkish Treaty..... The Asiatic world is deeply moved—more deeply than perhaps is realised by European Governments and the financial magnates. Even the Hejjazi Arabs now are saying: We should never have taken arms against our Muslim brothers if we had known the fate that England had in store for Turkey. The only way to peace in Anatolia, the only way to peace in Asia generally, lies through revision of the Turkish treaty."

67. While discussing the situation in Mesopotamia, the *Lokasangraha* says that the British pursued a crooked policy in making the Muhammadans fight with their own co-religionists during the late war, as has been demonstrated by the broken pledges of responsible Ministers. This policy may appear to be successful for some time, it remarks, but will not fail to produce disastrous results in the end. The paper complains that the English employ Indian troops to fight for them in any part of the world and that they do not expect Australia, Canada and the other Colonies to help them in their minor wars although they form part of the same Empire to which India belongs.

Indian troops should be withdrawn from Mesopotamia.

Lokasangraha (117), 26th Sept.

LEGISLATION.

68. It is gratifying to note that the Bill to provide for the extension of primary education in the City of Bombay has passed through the Bombay Legislative Council. The Select Committee made some welcome changes iu the matter of making the Schools Committee a rspresentative one and in providing for two lady members on it. Government have, moreover, accepted the recommendation of the Select Committee to give the Bombay Corporation a grant-in-id on the same scale as is given to other Municipalities of the Presidency. Let us hope that the Bombay Municipality will take full advantage of the Act now passed and will make suitable provision for the education of the labouring population of Bombay.

Comments on the passing of the City of Bombay Primary Education Bill.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 30th Sept.

EDUCATION.

69. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The following circular has been issued by the Educational Department: 'Teachers and Educational officers of this Presidency should be asked to co-operate in bringing about a right understanding of the meaning of the Empire and in dispelling the idea that the Empire is based on force and militarism, by encouraging the parties concerned to look upon each other as brethren in advancement of the liberal aims and mutual friendship and sympathy particularly in India where the contrary feeling is gaining ground'..... The circular in my opinion is a triumph of non-co-operation. We have been often told authoritatively that

Comments on a circular of the Educational Department enjoining the encouragement of the idea that the British Empire is not based on force.

Young India (14), 29th Sept.

the Empire is based finally on force. When an attempt is being made to isolate this force, and to show by not meeting it by force that it is utterly useless when it is not backed by the co-operation, conscious or unconscious, to the people, we have a circular calling upon the teachers to co-operate in showing that the Empire is based not on force or militarism but that it is based on mutual friendship. This I consider a triumph of non-co-operation because force recedes into the background. Sir Michael O'Dwyer flaunted his brute force in the face of the nation, and terrorism reigned supreme for a time. It did not answer. Now it is to be covered under soft-sounding phrases. It too must fail. The circular is hypocritical. To talk of friendship and sympathy between terrorists and their victims is to add deception to tyranny. The way out is through non-co-operation. It is a vain attempt to secure friendship by false pretentions. The best and only way to secure the friendship of the people and to prove to them that the Empire is not based on force and militarism, is to withdraw superfluous military force even at a risk of losing the Empire, to trust the people, and for Englishmen in general to regard us in every way their equals in thoughts and deeds. This presupposes righting the Khilafat wrong in accordance with the Mussalman sentiment and to give full reparation regarding the Punjáb. But this seems impossible for the general body of Englishmen to do. They have been brought up to look upon us as mere chattels..... Thousands of Englishmen cannot bear the idea of an Indian claiming or living on terms of equality with them. White superiority, as Mr. Andrews has shown, has become a religion. President Kruger used to say that God has ordained Asiatics to be white men's slaves..... It is not possible to blame anybody but our selves for this badge of inferiority and we alone can remove it by supreme effort."

70. "How long is India to wait even for the elementary rights allowed in other civilised countries? Why should Indian boys and girls attending the missionary institutions, which invariably receive public grants, be compelled to attend the Bible Classes? It is time for these bodies to note the trend of public opinion and abstain from resorting to any compulsion, direct and indirect, in the matter. Government should in no case give any grant to bodies which compel attendance during the Bible period. What applies to the missionary bodies applies to other institutions as well; we are against any compulsory religious education. Strange to say, Protestant bodies seem to be more illiberal than Catholic institutions in this respect. It is the duty of the Bombay University to see to it that no affiliated institution compels attendance during the Bible hour."

Protest against compulsory attendance at Bible Classes of non-Christian students in aided Missionary Schools.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Oct.

NATIVE STATES.

71. The *Kesari* refers to the prohibition of a dinner to the poor in honour of Mr. Tilak in Akalkot State and cases proposed to be instituted under Chapter VIII of the Criminal Procedure Code against the leaders of the movement, and says:—We have only to tell these lawless officials that their doings will not in the least lessen the glory of Mr. Tilak but would only render them ridiculous in the eyes of the world. They will save their honour if they control their desire for exhibiting their childishness. Otherwise they can please themselves.

Protest against the steps taken in the Akalkot State against doing honour to the late Mr. Tilak's memory.
Kesari (114), 28th Sept.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 9th October 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

*1. "India is now in a state in which she is to choose between her own Respect and the Reforms. Her life and liberty have been foully outraged by the blood-thirsty Dyers and O'Dwyers; her self-respect has been murdered at the Jallianwala Bagh; and the manhood of her sons and the womanhood of her daughters has been degraded in the Punjáb. Her Moslem sons and daughters are betrayed in the solution of the Khilafat question. To right these wrongs, and to avenge these crimes, prayers, petitions and protests were made, but to no purpose. The murderers of the Punjáb are not adequately punished by our rulers, and our grievances, therefore, have remained unredressed. The outrages, insults and humiliations are rankling in our hearts, and the wounded sense of self-respect is revolting in our minds. And mild measures having failed, some sterner but peaceful measures had to be chosen. Independent and armed nations, in such circumstances, sever their relations with the wrong-doing nation, even wage war with it, and fight it to the bitterest end possible. Unarmed India, however, cannot wage war with England and does not wish to take that step even if it were possible for her to do so. She has, therefore, halted at the next preceding step, *viz.*, of severing the relations with the wrong-doers as far as possible, and till the wrong is righted. Anybody who impartially follows this train of events, can easily grasp this cold logic of facts, and will surely be convinced of the necessity of this manly course of action. It is, therefore, that non-co-operation was readily accepted in principle by almost all the educated men in the country. Their country's honour was challenged and, therefore, they willingly undertook the risk of non-co-operation to save it. But in all times and in all climes some men are always found willing to compromise their nation's honour for a few crumbs of loaves and fishes from the official table. And in India also we are seeing the same spectacle. Here, among the species called Liberals or Moderates, there are some who are not ashamed to advise us to shake the blood-stained hands of our country's murderers and the men of their ilk! Their conduct thus shows that no outrage is too foul, no insult too shocking, and no humiliation too degrading to dissuade them from co-operating with the wrong-doers! The reforms have proved too atractive a bait for them to value their self-respect. ..... The Nationalists, who represent the overwhelming majority of their countrymen, have taken the only course consistent with their self-respect, and the honour of their nation. The Moderates have not done so. They have thus, we have constrained to say, degraded the nation. They are lowering human nature by their line of conduct! They are purchasing reforms at the price of their nation's honour. But will they continue to do it? We are sure, if they clearly grasp the present situation, if they fully realise that the present struggle is between Honour and Power, between Right and Might, between Spirit and Matter, that will see their way to change their line of action..... Our rulers, whose duty was to court our co-operation and do everything necessary to secure it, have behaved themselves in such a shameless manner that it is impossible for us, as men of honour and as true patriots, to offer it. It is yet with them to change their policy by severely punishing the wrong-doers. It is still open to them to pacify the Indian Moslems. But the present rulers are such a hopelessly incompetent pack of men that it would be sheer madness on our part to expect the righting of our wrongs from them. Let us, therefore, leave them out of account and behave ourselves as men of sterner stuff, as men true to their Motherland, and true to their honour. Reforms may wait. None is going to snatch them away from us. And even if they are taken away, let us not mind them much..... Let us, therefore, with one mind accept the principle of non-co-operation for the time-being. Let then those who are talking of co-operation in and out of season stop it. Let none croak and cry for it. In non-co-operation lies thus not only our duty but our honour, and in co-operation our shame and our disgrace. Will then the Moderates continue to degrade their nation?"

Justification for the non-co-operation movement.

Mahrátta (8), 10th Oct.

2. We are of the opinion that in the present condition of politics in this country one would be doing his duty by resorting to non-co-operation against the officials and against the present administrative system of Government. The resolution of the Special Congress may have been rightly or wrongly arrived at, but the whole of India should make up its mind to put the resolution into practice. Other nations will respect India only if the non-co-operation resolution is carried out by the Indian people. Religion teaches us that God is not pleased until his devotee makes sacrifices and suffers hardships. People are, therefore, convinced that they will not be able to secure *swarájya* without contending against the official classes for some years and carrying on political agitation on legitimate and peaceful lines. People are aware that they will have to make sacrifices and to go to jail for securing *swarájya*. We feel sure that people in Gujarát will not allow themselves to be influenced and will remain firm in boycotting the Councils. The official classes have rendered the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms useless and they have stimulated the desire of the public for getting *swarájya* by giving a ridiculous decision in the matter of the Punjáb atrocities. There should be no abatement in the non-co-operation movement until we receive substantial guarantee to the effect that nothing will be done derogatory to the self-respect of Indians in or out of India, that their lives and property will be respected, and that justice will be meted out to them. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, on the other hand, writes:—The manifesto issued by the Honourable Mr. Khaparde makes it clear that the Nationalists are committing a serious blunder in considering the non-co-operation resolution of the Special Congress as a mandate. The leaders of the Nationalist party should make it clear to their followers that the resolution is merely advisory and that it is not binding upon them. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms are the result of the political agitation conducted by the National Congress, and it is the height of folly to boycott the Councils. It is, therefore, hoped that the Nationalist party will dissociate itself from the pernicious movement. We have yet to secure justice in the Punjáb affairs, but we shall not be able to secure the sympathy of the British public by taking to the non-co-operation movement.]

Gujarátí (19), 3rd Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 8th Oct.

3. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"There can be no doubt that successful non-co-operation depends as much on Hindu-Muslim Unity as on non-violence. Greatest strain will be put upon both in the course of the struggle, and if it survives that strain, victory is a certainty. A severe strain was put upon it in Agra, and it has been stated that when either party went to the authorities they were referred to Maulana Shaukat Ali and me..... Why was there any appeal made to the authorities at all at Agra? If we are to work out non-co-operation with any degree of success, we must be able to dispense with the protection of the Government when we quarrel among ourselves. The whole scheme of non-co-operation must break to pieces, if our final reliance is to be upon British intervention for the adjustment of our quarrels or the punishment of the guilty ones. In every village and hamlet there must be at least one Hindu and one Muslim whose primary business must be to prevent quarrels between the two..... The union that we want is not a patched up thing but a union of hearts based upon a definite recognition of the indubitable proposition that *swarájya* for Indians must be an impossible dream without an indissoluble union between the Hindu and the Muslims of India..... I would frankly despair of reaching such union if there was anything in the holy Quran enjoining upon the followers of Islam to treat Hindus as their natural enemies or if there was anything in Hinduism to warrant a belief in the eternal enmity between the two..... We would ill learn our history if we conclude that because we have quarrelled in the past we are destined so to continue unless some such strong power like the British keep us by force of arms from flying at each other's throats. But I am convinced that there is no warrant in Islam or Hinduism for any such belief."

Importance of Hindu-Moslem unity for the success of non-co-operation.

Young India (14), 6th Oct.

4. In the course of an article in which it complains of alleged Anglo-Indian attempts to run down the non-co-operation movement, the *New Times* remarks:—"It is useless belittling the movement. The message of non-co-operation is spreading fast. The Indian people are thoroughly sick of the present Administration. They have rejected the Reforms: the Montagu Reform Bill, as *India* says, is a sham. They understand that mendicancy will not secure them *swaraj*. They realise that 'nations are by themselves made'. They know that the wrong to the Punjáb has not been redressed. They understand that British promises to preserve the integrity of the Khilafat, no less than Muslim religious sentiments, have been most ruthlessly trampled upon by the Turkish Treaty..... In the present situation created by these circumstances, is it possible for any self-respecting Muslim or Hindu to give the hand of fellowship to Government? Non-co-operation is the nation's demand for justice and freedom. The demand will grow in strength every week, every month. India's masses have begun to understand the meaning of non-co-operation; and the classes are bound to feel the overwhelming pressure of public opinion and escape the forces bred and fostered by a bureaucracy that believes in imperalism and the cult of power."

Attempts to run down non-co-operation will have no effect.
New Times (9), 29th Sept.

5. Many say that Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation is not practical, but it does not mean that his remedy is wrong. In Mr. Gandhi there is complete concord between profession and practice. Inconsistencies in Mr. Gandhi can be pointed out, but in that case no man in politics would be free from that blame. The present question is, so far as the real attitude of the people towards Government is concerned, is the attitude for co-operation or for non-co-operation? Are people angry with Government or in love with them? If the feeling is one of anger and if Mahatma Gandhi is useful in intensifying it and perhaps in making it fruitful, we need not pay attention to his inconsistencies or unsteady conduct. If we go into details, the Gandhi programme may not be practical. Though it is unpractical it contains the seed of future hopes. It may not be statesmanlike but it is prophetic, for the question of *swarájya*, if at all it is to be solved, will be settled through non-co-operation only. When a self-sacrificing and daring man like Gandhi comes forward to guide the people, it will not be proper to disrespect him, counting up his minor faults. Gandhi compels or expects nobody to do the impossible, but his programme is based on the principle that a thing becomes more and more practical, the more attempts are made to bring it into practice.

Mr. Gandhi's programme may not be practical but it contains seeds of hope.
Kesari (114), 5th Oct.

6. "The Gujarát Political Conference that was held in our midst shortly before the Special Congress met at Calcutta had already appointed a Committee to devise measures for the diffusion of National Education independently of Government aid or control. Recently that Committee has also appointed Sub-Committees for (1) approaching and advising the managers of private schools to give up their connection with Government and the University, and the teachers and students of such schools as well as Government schools to give up their connection with their schools, (2) for suggesting a plan for the intended National University in Gujarát, and (3) for starting a National School and College in Ahmedabad. Moreover, in order to carry out the most important part of the programme of Non-Co-operation—the Boycott of the New Councils—Mr. Gandhi has issued to the voters for their signature a circular letter stating that 'they do not wish to be represented in the new Councils, and that, therefore, if any candidate contrary to their wishes stands for election, he will not be regarded as their representative'. Thus Mr. Gandhi has afforded to the wondering

Success of the non-co-operation movement in Gujarát.
Praja Bandhu (30), 3rd Oct., Eng. cols.; *Deshi Mitra* (65), 7th Oct.; *Hind Vijaya* (67), 27th Sept.; *Kaira Vartamán* (70), 6th Oct.; *Jain Mitra* (84), 7th Oct.

world one more proof positive of his intention to mean business by what he professes and preaches to the four winds, and we trust the tangible fruits of his arduous toils will soon dispel the illusions of his critics, who in season and out of season proclaim him to be an impractical visionary. Little do they, however, think that in times of crisis the destinies of nations are moulded and carried to the haven of safety by 'impractical visionaries', by those whose vision penetrates the limitations of time and space and grasps with singular clarity the eternal verities of human affairs." [The *Deshi Mitra* also dwells on the enthusiam with which Gujarát has supported and promoted Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement. It warns the people not to indulge in violence in practising non-co-operation. The *Hind Vijaya* exhorts the people to resort to non-co-operation. The *Kaira Vartamán* praises a pleader who has given up his practice and exhorts other pleaders to follow in his footsteps. The *Jain Mitra* exhorts the Jains to support Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement.]

Kánara and the Council elections.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Oct.

7. "These self-satisfied gentlemen, who in spite of the verdict of the country and against the declared or easily ascertainable views of their constituencies, are disposed to stand for Council elections, would do well to ponder over the dignified letter which Mr. V. V. Wagh, the most influentially supported candidate in Kánara District, has addressed to his supporters and which we reproduce elsewhere to-day. Though owing to the withdrawal of his candidature, already announced, by Mr. Ritti, the only rival of Mr. Wagh in the field, it would have been a mere walk-over for the latter to secure admission to the Council, Mr. Wagh has the manliness and the sense of honour to acknowledge that if he entered the Council taking advantage of the technical rule he would not be there as the representative of Kánara at all, but as one who sought honour in defiance of the wishes of his constituency. Would that other aspirants to Council honours took the same honourable view of their responsibilities! We have no doubt, in deference to public opinion, Mr. Wagh will withdraw his candidature, and we hope no other Kanarite will seek to tarnish the fair record which the district is establishing for itself."

Harmful effects of non-co-operation.

Chaitanya (101), 4th Oct.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (42), 2nd Oct.; *Indu Prakásh* (4[illegible]), 8th Oct.; *Lokasangraha* (117), 4th Oct.

8. Commenting upon the non-co-operation movement, the *Chaitanya* writes:—For want of funds people are unable to take full advantage of the measure which Mr. Patel succeeded in getting passed in 1918 enabling the Municipalities to introduce, when they so desired it, compulsory primary education. When people are unable to bear the expenditure on primary education with the help of Government, how can they be expected to meet the expenditure on national schools and colleges? It is very easy to talk of patriotism and self-sacrifice but it is very difficult to collect funds. This boycott movement, therefore, if persisted in, will only increase illiteracy in this unfortunate country. It is childish to suppose that the boycott of Government schools and colleges will lead us to our goal of *Swarajya* in a very short time; nay, it will only serve to retard our progress. We urge our people, therefore, to abstain from such a movement. [Elsewhere the paper twits the Extremists with boycotting the Councils simply because this does not touch their pockets. In the opinion of the *Dnyán Prakásh*, it is the country's misfortune that measures which are really impracticable should be considered to be practicable by capable men. The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—It can be proved from Mr. Gandhi's writings that he must not be loyal at this moment. By changing the constitution of the Home Rule League and by omitting therefrom any mention of the British connection he has only displayed his disloyalty. The *Lokasangraha*, on the other hand, comments with satisfaction on the article published by the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the non-co-operation movement, a gist of which was cabled by Reuter a few days, and says that the movement has now begun to produce the desired effect.]

9. Discussing the threatened danger of foreign invasion of India the *Bharatwasi* traces the recent developments in Russia and remarks:—It would seem that the goal of the Russians and Turks is India and that they depend among other things on disturbances in the Indian Army for the realisation of their dream..... The Afghan attitude towards the British has no doubt now changed in view of the treatment given by the Russians and Turks to the Amir of Bokhara, but the danger is not yet over. There are two parties in Afghanistan, one is the pro-Amir and the other the pro-Anvar party. Should the Amir's party at any time get weak and the Amir meet with the fate which has overtaken the ruler of Bokhara, the situation will be critical. The question, therefore, is when such large preparations are being made by the Russians and Turks to invade this country, whether it is the part of wisdom for us to encourage non-co-operation and thus create trouble in the army? It must be remembered that Bolshevism is no longer the creed for the amelioration of mankind that it once pretended to be. Nor are Kamal Pasha, Anvar Pasha and the Moulvis of Afghanistan such great lovers of humanity that they may be expected to give freedom to India. Their activity is inspired by political considerations, considerations of the well-being of their own country and this should not be lost sight of by us.

Bharatwasi (152), 23rd Sept.

10. Adverting to Lord Willingdon's reference to non-co-operation in his closing speech at the Madras Legislative Council, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—We, for our part, have already declared that Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement is more harmful than beneficial. All the same, the interpretation given by Lord Willingdon of the scheme, indeed, transgresses the bounds of prudence. We do not understand how the movement is either disloyal or unconstitutional as Lord Willingdon has sought to characterize it. Again, the words "my fellow countrymen have every reason to feel deeply too" which he uttered in his reference to the Punjáb tragedy are calculated to add insult to injury. By uttering these words Lord Willingdon has openly treated the Punjáb affairs on racial lines and given the people cause for being grieved all the more. In order that the people of India may be reassured and in order that peace may be restored among them—conditions so very necessary for the strengthening of the British authority—it would be better if both Lord Chelmsford and Lord Willingdon were to leave India with the least possible delay. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, on the other hand, endorses the views expressed by His Excellency Lord Willingdon on the non-co-operation movement and hopes Indian Muhammadans will carefully consider them.]

Comments on Lord Willingdon's views on non-co-operation.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 9th Oct.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 7th Oct.

11. "To continue to keep children in Government schools after all that the Government has done seems to Mr. Gandhi as bad as keeping terms with Anti-Christ. This is no doubt a high line to take; but even his sensitive conscience does not prevent him from participating in some other advantages due to British rule, *e. g.*, he makes full use of the post and telegraph services, railways, coinage. No doubt he does it because to eschew the Government in these matters will entail upon him much too serious disabilities, but this is after all a utilitarian view to take. In that view of the matter it is open to other people, who cannot bring themselves to treat the intellectual destitution of children so lightly as Mr. Gandhi, to make use of the Government schools. It is notorious how little value Mr. Gandhi sets on the furniture of the mind, and the difference which is discernible between Mr. Gandhi and most other leaders in India on the question of the boycott of schools is solely due to their differing valuation of education."

Mr. Gandhi and the withdrawal of children from schools.

Servant of India (10), 7th Oct.

12. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* publishes a long article pointing out how the precepts of the Khilafat Committee, and particularly of Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Ahmed Siddique Khattri, differ from their practice in respect of boycott of European goods. It criticises their use of motor-cars, English clothes and language, etc., and holds up to admiration the example of Mr. Gandhi who wears hand-woven clothes and practises what he

Moslem leaders of the non-co-operation movement do not practise what they preach.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (160), Oct.

preaches. It also points out the bankruptcy of a community which has chosen a non-Moslem like Mr. Gandhi as its leader. [Elsewhere it declares that non-co-operation and renunciation of titles may be resorted to provided the holy places of Islam may be recovered and the Khilafat be rehabilitated thereby.]

13. We cannot but regret that Mr. Bhurgri is seeking election to the Council of State. Those who have experience of the ways of the Bureaucracy realise that Indian members of Councils can be of no use to the country except under a full responsible Government. Mr. Bhurgri forgets that the country can well do without the service which he hopes to render to it from his place in the Council and is not prepared to accept the decisions of the Councils in which it is represented by men who can hardly be called its representatives. In this connection we would also remind Mr. Bhurgri of what earthly use even members like Mr. Sastri are. Their views are ignored as useless and their motions rejected. Their presence in Councils simply reveals an undesirable greed on their part. Mr. Bhurgri resigned his seat on the Bombay Council as a protest against the Turkish terms. Have these terms been so modified as to give no cause for complaint to Mr. Bhurgri? In view of all this we are constrained to say that Mr. Bhurgri's conscience is not a reliable instrument. Is it not his duty as a good Mussalman to accept the resolution of non-co-operation which the Ulemas of his faith have passed in pursuance of the teachings of the Quran and the Hadis? Is it not his duty also to bow to the decision of the Congress and Moslem League for which he has entertained a high regard? Mr. Bhurgri must remember that if he turns his back on them he will have to repent all his life.

Comments on Mr. Bhurgri's candidature for Council election.
Al-Wahid (151), 23rd Sept.

14. "There is not the slightest inclination on the part of voters, who have any sense of responsibility, to go to the poll. Indeed, many of the voters have told us they would not vote if only because the best men in India with one or two exceptions refuse to stand as candidates for the Councils. Some of the gentlemen now standing as candidates will, we earnestly hope, listen to the call of their countrymen and withdraw from the election. Among the Non-Muslim candidates are the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai, Mr. Wadhumal, Mr. Jamshed, Mr. Murlidhar, Mr. Bhojsing, Mr. Dipchand T. Ojha, Mr. Gopaldas Jhamatmal, Mukhi Jethanand, Mr. Hirdram, Mr. Tulsidas. Then we have a number of Muslim candidates, including Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, who resigned his seat on the Bombay Council only recently as a protest against the Turkish Peace Terms. We again appeal to all these gentlemen—they are all Congressmen—to withdraw from the election."

Appeal to Sind candidates for election to the Councils to withdraw from their candidature.
New Times (9), 4th Oct.

15. Our readers must be tired of reading of the woes of the *Muhajirins* who have returned from Afghanistan relieved of all their possessions. We consider it to be our duty, however, to make them acquainted with stories that still reach us in this connection. Our object in this is that they should warn, whenever possible, would-be emigrants of the risk they run and thus save them from a catastrophe which would otherwise overtake them. [The paper then refers to the experiences of one Syed Fazle Haq Shah, who effected his escape to this country after undergoing many hardships in Afghanistan.] While the Afghans are treating their own co-religionists in this fashion, the Indian Muhammadans profess greater love for the Amir than they do for the English! What a suicidal and blind faith is this!!

Hardships of *Muhajirins* should be a lesson to Indian Muhammadans.
Indu Prakásh (45), 6th Oct.

16. The *Kesari* is of opinion that Mr. Gandhi should not have pressed his personal views so much in the Sub-Committee's report in view of the support given by the Nationalists to the Congress resolution, though they were against it on principle. It says that as he could not overcome the temptation, Mr. Patel had to write a note of dissent and that Lala Lajpat Rai had to express an adverse criticism. It adds:—The publication of the Sub-Committee's report before the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee's was a great mistake. The one good result was that the All-India Congress Committee was more careful and it adopted only

Congress Sub-Committee's report on non-co-operation.
Kesari (114), 5th Oct.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (42), 7th Oct.

the suggestions for practical work, contained in the report. The first important suggestion is that there is nothing to prevent anybody working openly against elections and taking the signatures of voters on the manifesto that they do not desire to exercise the right of franchise and that if anybody still comes in, he is not their representative. As legal experts like Messrs. Das and Nehru have answered the objections raised we suggest that the Nationalists should preach and practise in all cities and villages abstention from Council elections. Another important suggestion is about raising the *swarájya* fund in aid of non-co-operation. We hope the raising of this fund will soon be taken in hand. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that Mr. Gandhi won a success in the All-India Congress Committee and accuses his opponents in the Committee of trying to put him on a side-track, while parading themselves as supporters of non-co-operation. Would it not be better, it asks, to say rather that the movement itself is harmful and unpractical ?]

Strikes are got up by agitators.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 9th Oct.

17. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the various strikes, and particularly to those of the gas operatives and tramway men in the city of Bombay, and writes:—We do not think that Government will look with indifference towards the inconvenience to which the people are being subjected. It is the duty of Government to break the strikes with the help of the people. The leaders should at this juncture come forward to help Government with their advice. It must be admitted that distress due to high prices has become very acute. We, therefore, sympathise with the lot of honest hard-working labouring classes and would be glad if they are given some increase in their daily wages to enable them to cope with the high prices. We, however, consider it our duty to warn the public against the harmful 'spirit' that at present prevails among the illiterate masses and which seems to be on the increase. The last strike has made it clear that the labouring classes fall an easy prey to agitators. Many of the present strikes, with rare exceptions, are due to the instigation of certain agitators who are bent upon weakening authority by some means or other. These agitators are playing the roll of bitter enemies of society. If the evil 'spirit' that at present pervades the labouring classes continues to dominate them, it will not take long to bring about a conflagration. The evil plight to which Russia has been reduced by the scourge of Bolshevism is self-evident. The strikes in Bombay lead us to the conclusion that they are introducing, though on a small scale, Bolshevism in our midst. It is now high time that Government should enact legislation to put down strikes with a firm hand. [The paper then refers to the inconvenience suffered by the Bombay public owing to the postal and telegraph strike, and asks Government to refer the matter to arbitration, as has been done by the G. I. P. Railway in the matter of the threatened strike of their employees.]

Strikes and Government's duty to stop them.
Gujaráti (19), 10th Oct., Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 10th Oct., Eng. cols.

***18.** "We do not think the authorities at Delhi and Simla, far removed from the scenes of economic disturbance and from the hardships suffered by the people, adequately realise the true import of the strikes that have been occurring with such frequency in the country. Their action in removing the embargo on the export of wheat shows clearly that they are absolutely out of touch with the economic stringency prevailing throughout India. The official statistics relating to prices and wages especially in the moffussil are absolutely misleading and untrustworthy and can never be treated as the basis of any reliable conclusion. Hence the need of a full and impartial investigation on the spot cannot be too strongly emphasised." The monsoon this year has been very erratic and normal crops are not expected. We should like to know if Government intend taking any steps in advance to provide for the grave contingencies that are looming on the horizon. On the contrary their action in permitting the exports of wheat to foreign countries indicate that they are living in the region of rosy optimism which is not at all justified by the general economic outlook. Even if the present strikes were to come to an end, the general

situation in the country is not of an assuring character. But we cannot help saying that it is not very creditable to Government and their great Departments that their servants should have been driven to go on strike and that the strikes have been allowed to continue for such length of time..... What the public want to see is that the men are adequately paid to enable them to meet their normal domestic requirements in a city like Bombay. Are they being remunerated according to that standard? If not, why not? We cannot say what truth there is in the report that the amount voted by the Government of India for bettering the lot of the postal staff has been absorbed in granting increments of salary to the higher staff. Whether the report is well or ill-founded, the strikers must be remunerated for the hard work they have to do with due regard to the general level of prices ruling in the market and their prospects regulated in a liberal-minded spirit." [Discussing the causes of the frequency of strikes the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"This economic distress is due partly to world-causes, which are beyond the control of any one body. But there are other local causes which could be removed by Government. Firstly there is the export of food-stuffs to foreign countries, which ought to be stopped. Secondly, defective methods of distribution and the lack of efficient means of transport are responsible for a good deal of unnecessary waste and suffering. Thirdly, there is the evil of profiteering. There is no doubt that profiteering, greedy and sinful profiteering, is a great if not the chief cause of the high prices prevalent everywhere..... There is a cry on all sides that Government should take some legislative action in order to prevent such heartless profiteering."]

19. *Apropos* the postmen's strike in Bombay, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes:—Strikes are a source of many a hardship to the public. Unfortunately the postal authorities are stubborn. The commercial public have to suffer the most on account of the strike. But unfortunately strikes are encouraged by certain extremist Hindus. We would not wonder if we hear of a number of further strikes on account of such encouragement. Government would do well to pass a law calculated to check any direct or indirect encouragement of strikes. Such a course of action will save public from the trouble and loss arising out of strikes. Government should also see that the just grievances of workmen are redressed. [The *Hindusthán* refers to the arrival in Bombay of the Director General and preceeds:—The hope that the arrival of the Director General would soon bring the strike to an end has not been realized. The officials of the Postal Department do not seem to have any consideration for the hardships that the public have to suffer and go on spending money recklessly for the sake of preserving their prestige. All the efforts made by them to meet the situation have proved a complete failure. In spite of this, it is inexplicable why the authorities are loth to accede to the reasonable prayer of the postman. The Postal Department, it is said, makes a profit of thirty lakhs, and it is but proper that these low-paid employees of the Department should receive some benefit out of this profit. The strike must soon come to an end in the interests of all concerned, and if the authorities are unable to end it by themselves, a representative board should be appointed for the purpose. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—If, as the authorities contend, the pay of the postmen is adequate, a fresh staff of postmen would already have been raised. But no recruits seem to be forthcoming. This shows that the plea of the authorities is very weak. The threat that sympathising with the postmen will make the postal rates more costly is meaningless. No such threat was held out to the public when the salaries of the higher officials were liberally enhanced. We would say that the public will readily acquiesce in higher rates of postage in order to enable the postman to receive adequate remuneration for his hard work. The *Arya Prakásh* dwells at length upon the hardships caused to the public of Bombay as well as to the people in the mofussil on account of the strike, and complains that it, owing to it, could not publish one of its issues in time, and was, in consequence, obliged to publish two issues together.]

The Bombay Postmen's strike.

Akhbár-e-Islám (58), 4th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (24), 5th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 5th Oct.; *Arya Prakásh* (15), 26th Sept.

20. The tenacity of the Bombay postmen is admirable; the obduracy of the Postal authorities is still more so. One need not go out of the way to punish the guilty; but a man must be unusually hard-hearted to twist the necks of the innocent. Viewed from this standpoint, we must credit the Postal authorities with uncommon courage in endeavouring to starve out the strikers. Government should bear in mind that they exist not to crush the people but to protect them. So long as the people are convinced that the demands of the strikers are just, they will not hesitate to extend to them moral and material support. [The *Mahratta* writes:—"The postmen and the telegraph peons, who struck work a fortnight before, are still holding on..... It is argued that the Government is refusing the demands of the postmen as true guardians of the public purse. But this argument cannot hold water because the people themselves are in sympathy with the strikers and prefer to pay them more. Mr. Baptista, the president of the Postal Union, has made out an unanswerable case, and it behoves all to render all possible help to him and his Union to achieve success."]

Lokashdhi (119), 4th Oct.; **Mahratta* (8), 10th Oct.

21. "The All-India Home Rule League has changed its name and constitution..... We do not think the League has been well advised in changing its constitution in a hurry..... The main change refers to the demand for complete *swaraj*. According to the existing constitution of the Indian National Congress, *swaraj* means full self-government as a member of the British Commonwealth. There is, however, another possible interpretation—namely, complete independence. It is uselsss to disguise the fact that there is a growing volume of opinion in the country which has begun to demand complete independence. The question, therefore, naturally arises whether the *swaraj* Sabha stands for complete independence..... If the *swaraj* Sabha elects to voice the wishes of those who demand complete independence before the Congress has pronounced its opinion on the question, the proper course for it is at once to disaffiliate itself from the Congress." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"The position, however, is not irretrievable and, therefore, however much we may deplore it, we equally deplore the decision to which Mr. Jinnah and his co-signatories have come. They have, with great sorrow, resigned their membership of the League..... What the situation demands is unity of action, above all, on the part of all who are working under the Congress—the national—flag,..... We are strongly of opinion that unfortunate as is the majority decision of the All-India Home Rule League, it is a decision that is not only capable of being easily rectified, but is of a character that does not fully justify the drastic step taken by Mr. Jinnah and his co-signatories..... It is true that clause 2 (*1*) does not make a reference to British connection and that clause 2 (2) only mentions 'peaceful and effective' methods. But section (*1*) of clause 2 does not stand alone. The most relevant section is section (*3*) which definitely lays down that 'the interpretation of the word *Swaraj* (mentioned in section *1*) shall not be extended beyond Article 1 of the Congress constitution'. Now Article 1 of the Congress constitution clearly defines the form of *Swaraj* and the methods to be adopted to secure it—and this definition, we think, effectively disposes of the objection in regard to the omission of a direct reference to British connection—and it is, after all, best for Britain as well as ourselves that our loyalty to the British connection should be taken for granted rather than proclaimed to the world—as well as the fear of the signatories that 'peaceful and effective' methods may include 'unconstitutional and illegal activities'. Thus the new constitution of the League as it stands is unexceptionable..... It is true that certain public utterances and writings of Mr. Gandhi and some of his supporters have created the impression that what they are aiming at is complete independeuce. But we refuse to believe that Mr. Gandhi is capable of a subterfuge that is responsible for the addition of section (3) to clause 2. We feel strongly that Mr. Gandhi is anxious to see that the Sabha follows Article 1 of the Congress constitution in spirit as well as in letter in its propagandist and other activities".

Comments on the change of the constitution of the All-India Home Rule League.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th and 7th Oct.

22. "The question at issue between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah at the meeting of the Swaraj Sabha is a little obscure. If the meaning of the word *Swaraj* used in defining its objects is not to be extended beyond the creed of the Congress, the expression 'to secure complete *Swaraj* for India according to the wishes of the Indian people' need really have no terror for Mr. Jinnah..... The proposed change, however, is distinctly for the worse, inasmuch as the phraseology which has been adopted will only help to obscure the true meaning of the object which the Sabha has placed before itself."

Servant of India (10), 7th Oct.

23. We are afraid that the hasty step taken by the All-India Home Rule League will not fail to give rise to misunderstandings. There has been undue haste in the change of its name to "Swarajya Sabha" and we do not think it will evoke public approval. The present name is likely to prove attractive, but the way in which business was transacted in spite of protest at the recent meeting has displeased many people. The way in which business was transacted at this meeting leads us to think that the object of the Swarajya Sabha will not be the achievement of self-government on colonial lines but of complete independence. We owe an explanation from Mr. Gandhi in this matter. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—The Swarajya Sabha may be within its rights in fixing complete self-government as its goal, but are the people ready for it? The people have not yet passed through the test of the new reforms and it is preposterous on the part of the Sabha to lay claim to securing complete self-government all of a sudden. The object of the Sabha has not yet been accepted by the Congress and so the Sabha should be disaffiliated from that body. We are constrained to say that we cannot support the illegitimate agitation inaugurated uy the Sabha avowedly in the interests of the country. The claim to secure independence for India without the British connection is untenable. India still needs British protection and it cannot make any progress without it. The *Hindusthán* deplores the haste in changing the name and constitution of the Home Rule League and expresses fear that the difference of opinion which has arisen on the question will give rise to misunderstanding and disunion. It expresses dissatisfaction with the object of the Sabha as amended as vague and indefinite. In the subsequent issue the paper changes front and opines that there is no cause for the apprehension in the amended constitution of the Home Rule League and declares the change as quite appropriate.]

Sánj Vartamán (33), 5th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 7th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (24), 7th and 8th Oct.

24. The changes that Mahatma Gandhi has brought about in the constitution of the Home Rule League, which he now terms 'The Swarajya Sabha', will revolutionize political agitation in this country. Up to this time the aim of this body was to attain *swarájya* within the Empire. According to the revised constitution, its aim will be to attain such *swarájya* as will prove acceptable to the people. The change in the constitution was brought about with such haste that people had absolutely no time to pronounce a considered opinion upon it. It is proposed to bring about a similar undesirable change in the constitution of the Congress also when it meets at Nagpur. [The *Dnyan Prakásh* points out that as the scope of *swarájya* under the new Swarajya Sabha does not extend beyond the first clause of the Congress constitution, it is clear that its object is self-government within the British Empire. It, therefore, fails to understand why Mr. Jinnah resigned his membership in such haste. At the same time it is glad that he has escaped from Mr. Gandhi's clutches.]

Indu Prakásh (45), 6th Oct.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (42), 7th Oct.

***25.** "The Congress creed is not sacrosanct or binding for all time. It admits of modification in the light of events and, in our opinion, the time has come to modify it..... The conditions which made it necessary for our leaders to place the Colonial model as a more or less distant goal, no longer exist. Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, laughed at the Colonial goal as asking for the moon. The Canadian fur-coat, he declared, will not do for the tropical

Necessity of changing the Congress creed.
Indian Social Reformer, (7), 10th Oct.

heat of India. Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State to-day, no longer holds by Lord Morley's creed. The British Government has definitely pronounced that responsible Government is the end of Indian constitutional reforms, and the British Parliament has adopted a measure intended as a step to that end. We are to have the moon and the fur-coat in time after all. It is on the face of it absurd, when responsible government has thus become a part of practical politics, for the National Congress to go on cherishing it as a distant goal. The Congress cannot continue to lisp the babyisms of 1908, when Parliament invites India to join the Commonwealth and the League of Nations as an original, full and equal partner. The creed of the Congress should be modified so as to substitute full responsible Government as the object of early achievement, instead of the Colonial model as one of pious and distant contemplation."

Protest against the proposed memorial to Lord Chelmsford.

Lokasangraha (117), 5th Oct.

26. Suggestions are being made in Anglo-Indian newspapers for erecting a memorial to Lord Chelmsford, who does not possess even the ordinary virtues of Englishmen, whose faults are many, whose recall all Indians are demanding, and who has shamelessly stuck to his post in spite of the clamour for his recall. Lord Chelmsford's countrymen are apparently of opinion that he has not yet been sufficiently brought into disrepute and that he requires to be still more disgraced! Impotent Indian Chiefs and those who are under the obligation of Lord Chelmsford are perfectly at liberty to erect a memorial to a man who is directly or indirectly responsible for the passing of the Rowlatt Law, for the terrible atrocities in the Punjáb, for the destruction of the Khilafat and for the inhuman treatment that is being meted out to Indians in East Africa. They must not forget, however, that their movement will earn for them the hatred and contempt of the people. If the desire of Lord Chelmsford's devotees is to perpetuate his memory, then we can tell them that it will be satisfied. History records the names of many wicked men, and we assure Lord Chelmsford's admirers that his name will figure among them as a man who has persecuted Indians.

Comments on the Viceroy's report to Mr. Montagu with regard to Mrs. Naidu's complaint about the ill-treatment of women in the Punjáb.

Young India (14), 6th Oct.

27. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The reader will find reproduced elsewhere the Viceroy's cablegram to Mr. Montagu in refutation of Shrimati Sarojini Naidu's allegations regarding the ill-treatment of women in the Punjáb during the Martial Law period, as also Shrimati Sarojini's spirited reply. It seems that every responsible statement made by His Excellency only strengthens the opinion of the public that he is totally unfit for the great trust which has been reposed in him. I do not wish to add one word to what Shrimati Sarojini has said in condemnation of the Viceroy's attitude; but I would draw the reader's attention to the ignoring of some very material allegations that were made by the Shrimati. Even assuming the propriety of rejecting the evidence of prostitutes because they are engaged in the unfortunate traffic, what has His Excellency to say regarding the evidence of the many women of Manianwalla against whom, in so far as I am aware, not a word of reproach has been whispered. I give below in full the statement of Guredevi, the widow of Mangal Jat. That statement was corroborated by several other women..... He repeatedly called us she-asses, bitches, flies and swines and said: 'You were in the same beds with your husbands; why did you not prevent them from going out to do mischief? Now your skirts will be looked into by the Police Constables.'..... If the facts set forth are true can anything be more brutal or more loathsome? And yet the prepetrator of the crime will probably receive a pension from the Government treasury..... Mr. Montagu had his attention drawn to these statements when he hastily rebuked Shrimati Sarojini for her so-called recklessness of speech. And it was due to this that Mr. Montagu pompously ordered an inquiry. The Viceroy seems quietly to have ignored the instructions issued to him, and has held no inquiry. He has laid down a new cannon of evidence, hitherto unknown, and the law upon it that the evidence of prostitutes is not

to be trusted. In other words, the legitimate corrollary to be drawn from the viceregal pronouncement is that prostitutes may not get jnstice done to them, unless their complaint is supported by other evidence. Any way Mr. Montagu has evidently accepted the Viceroy's explanation, and has thus strengthened the cause of non-co-operation. Can India for one moment associate herself with a Government that condones offences of a most barbarous nature committed against her own folk by its officers?"

28. News from Ireland is interesting though tragic. The Irish people have revolted against Government, but Government have not yet taken strong measures to put down the rebellion. It seems the Ministers are lacking in officials who possess the necessary qualifications to cope with the situation in Ireland. We are of the opinion that if Sir Michael O'Dwyer of Punjáb fame is sent to Ireland he will adopt such a policy of frightfulness in that country that for years to come the Irish people will not think of raising their heads against Britain. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford has rendered very valuable (!) services to India and he will, we feel sure, have no objection to forego his Viceroyalty to rule Ireland. Should no requisition for his services he made by the Ministers we would ask Lord Chelmsford to resign his post in India and offer his services for re-establishing peace in Ireland.

The services of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford should be utilised to quell rebellion in Ireland.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 4th Oct.

29. It has been announced that a deputation of British merchants will visit this country in October for the purpose of investigating on the spot how much cotton from India can be made available for Lancashire. In other words, the deputation will visit this country with a view to ensure that cotton from this country is exported to England in the largest quantity possible. The necessity for a deputation of this kind to visit India at this time is enhanced by the growth of the *Swadeshi* movement in the country. Already this movement has caused some depression in the mills in Lancashire, as will be seen from the telegrams received in this connection. If more mills spring up in this country and absorb all Indian cotton, British robbers will realise that they can no longer exploit India. Let alone British merchants who try to fleece India, even British officials, our paid servants, instead of encouraging indigenous enterprise in the country, make common cause with them. The Trade Commissioner for India has promised to give every help to the deputation referred to above. What is more, these merchant robbers are to get a grant of £3,000 from the Indiau revenues towards their expenses.

Deputation of English merchants to India to study the Cotton question.
Al-Wahid (151), 16th Sept.

30. Commenting upon the report of the discussion held by the Finance Member with the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The Bombay Chamber of Commerce has congratulated the Finance Member on his carrying the currency legislation through the Imperial Legislative Council. We have already pointed out how this legislation and the sale of Reverse Councils have contributed towards dragging India into ruin. The flourishing export trade of India has been interfered with, with the result that the balance of trade has gone against India. But the situation is not quite hopeless. Fortunately at present there is a great slump in the manufacturing activities of England and Japan. At such a time, if the merchants of India take up a determined attitude and if the manufacturers of India become bold, it is quite possible to baffle England and Japan. If our merchants and industrialists, with firm determination boycott them, and manage to supply from other foreign countries those wants of India which cannot be supplied from India's products, the results will be wonderful. Particularly, British merchants and manufactures will cool down and will realize the necessity of a modification of this legislation, which does injustice to India and which they have by their influence got passed. Such a plan is quite feasible and it is the only plan to be adopted for the prosperity of the country.

What should be done to force Government to change their financial policy.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 6th Oct.

31. "The Government of India has announced that the weekly sales of reverse councils will now close and has given the public the assurance that they will be resumed in the future whenever the need therefor makes itself felt. What has the Government accomplished by selling these sterling drafts on London for such a length of time in the teeth of public protests?..... The chief function of reverse councils is to raise exchange by correcting the trade balance and that Government did not succeed in doing and no credit can be claimed for the Indian currency system as it has been recently worked for any incidental effects that may have flowed from the sales of reverse drafts."

The stoppage of the sale of Reverse Councils.
Servant of India (10), 7th Oct.

32. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the permission given by Government to export wheat from Karáchi and remarks:—The failure of the monsoon will result in famine in many of the provinces of this country. It is, therefore to be regretted that Government have tried to be liberal towards foreign nations without giving a thought to the conditions that prevail in this country. India, at present, is not in a position to export its food grains. Its condition has become worse than what it was during the war, and those nations that received help from it during the war should now be made to realise the duty they owe towards it of showing their gratitude in the hour of its need.

Comments on the permission to export wheat out of India.
Bombay Samáchár (61), 6th Oct.

33. Adverting to the present system of education a contributor writes in the *Al-Wahid*:—The Indian learner is made to feel that there is no salvation for India except with the help of foreigners. Surely, those who are fed on such thoughts from their infancy cannot be expected to do any good work for their country. It is certainly better to remain illiterate than to acquire such false knowledge. The present-day educated man is a coward and he is afraid even to speak truth. His illiterate brother, because he is not afraid of death, is better than him. The educated man while he has several wrong notions of worldly ambition is absolutely wanting in self-sacrifice for the country, and as perfectly innocent of religion. The education now imparted to us makes sycophants and cowards of us all, with the result that several of us have turned traitors to our country and to our religion. It would be better if we had no such education at all. I hope that my Hindu and Mussalman brethren will listen to my advice and keep their children away from the kind of education that is now being imparted in our institutions.

The character of the present-day Education.
Al-Wahid (151), 18th Sept.

34. Commenting upon the movement started by some of the students of the Wilson College against the compulsory attendance of non-Christian students in the Bible classes, the *Kesari* writes:—The complaint of the students is in every way just and Government should duly consider it. We have a good idea of how roughly Government would be awakened if a European is compelled to study the Gita in a college conducted by Hindus. Just as Englishmen do not like compulsion in religious teaching, so also Indians do not. [The *Lokashahi* wishes success to the agitation of the students and hopes that if the College authorities do not give in, all the students will leave it.]

Protest against Bible teaching in the Wilson College.
Kesari (114), 5th Oct.; *Lokashahi* (119), 4th Oct.

*35. "Why the Government of India have grown panicky over the *Daily Herald* passes our comprehension. The *Daily Herald* is being published in England and millions of its issues are being sold like hot cakes and devoured by the British public. If it is digested by them in England so easily what is there that our benign Government is afraid of in India?..... The *Herald* is a champion of truth, an advocate of equality and liberty, and a fearless exponent of official misdeeds. It argues weakness all round when one is afraid of such an opponent! 'The Blockade of Truth' cannot and does not ultimately pay, and it will do so much less in India. If the British

Comments on the banning of the *Daily Herald* by the Government of India.
Mahrátta (8), 10th Oct.

Government wants to keep Bolshevism at an arm's length let it face its propaganda boldly and rest assured that India knows her interests much better."

36. "We are informed in a brief wire from Simla that the *Sinn Feiner* and *Soviet Russia* of New York and the *Daily Herald* of London have been proscribed under the Indian Sea Customs Act. We have seen copies of the *Sinn Feiner* and we believe that it is a sheet which can be easily disregarded. We have seen copies of *Soviet Russia* and we contend that it is a weekly which is doing most useful work in enlightening the world as to the true conditions prevailing in what was the Great Empire of the Romanoffs. But these two apart, what has the *Daily Herald* done to deserve the autoratic censure of the wise men of Simla who are so careful that we should know the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth—so long as it filters through the pure channels of Publicity Bureaux? The wise men have taken fright. First the *Moslem Outlook*, now the *Daily Herald*—next? Well, we do not know! But we do know that the wise men are determined to ring down the curtain of darkness and keep out, if they can, the light of truth. Every reader of the *Daily Herald* knows that it is a fearless champion of workers' rights the world over..... Every trick was tried to bring this newspaper into disrepute—propaganda, proscription and petty persecution. But the *Daily Herald* is not edited by idiots—and it survived the storm..... The Olympians of Simla have displayed rank recklessness in taking action against the *Daily Herald*. We assure them that the *Morning Post* is much more dangerous for the purposes of propaganda. We do not mean that the *Morning Post* should also be proscribed. But we do mean that we believe in the creed of tolerance..... How long shall we continue to be made the laughing-stock of the whole world for the folly of a few nerveless irresponsibles and intolerant irreconcilables—how long?"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Oct.

37. "The original method devised by the Simla authorities for the issue of the Esher Committee's Report to the press, was designed to cause the maximum of inconvenience and annoyance. Only one copy of the Report was made available for the newspaper offices in Bombay and circulated among them in turn. If the Report was printed in this country, it is a scandal that such a thing should have been allowed to happen. The Report raises some of the gravest issues of constitutional and financial importance..... Before, however, we say anything at all about even the most prominent features of the Report, we think it necessary to draw attention to the exceedingly improper procedure adopted by the Government of India. We cannot believe that the latter are unaware of the highly controversial character of some of the recommendations made by the Committee. Recognising this fact as they must have done, we cannot understand why the Government of India should have shown such a complete disregard of Indian public opinion as to have committed themselves by offering their own comments on the Report before the country had had an opportunity of pronouncing on its recommendations. The British Cabinet will now find it easy to adopt and give effect to the conclusions, which are so obviously in the interests of England, however much injurious they may be to India. For, they well might say they have acted on the opinion of the Government of India. We must also express our surprise at the attitude of the two Indian members of the Government of India, who have allowed such proposals to pass without protest or dissent, and connived at this flagrant contempt shown to Indian public opinion..... It was the duty of the two Indian members to have insisted on proper consultation of public opinion before the views of the Government of India were finally despatched to the Secretary of State..... We must enter our most emphatic protest against the suggested centralisation of the control and administration of the Indian Army in the military authorities of the United Kingdom under the pretence of the needs of imperial defence..... The transfer of the direction and control of the Indian army from the Government of India to the Committee of Imperial Defence, on which presumably

Comments on the Esher Committee's Report.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th and 8th Oct.

Indian interests will not be represented, or, if at all represented the representation will be perfunctory and illusory is opposed to the letter as well as the spirit of the declared policy of bringing India to the position and status of a self-governing unit of the Commonwealth..... And there is the further serious objection to the proposals now reviewed that they abolish all trace of civil control of the army in India..... It would be a great constitutional evil, likely to result in the most serious financial embarrassments on occasion, to mention no other aspect of the situation, if the army in India is placed under the autocratic control of the Commander-in-Chief. And it would be appalling in the interests of India if this autocratic Chief is himself ruled like a puppet by a distant body like the Imperial General Staff, to whom he will be bound by every conceivable tie of gratitude and professional sympathy. ..... It has been the refrain of every budget criticism in India for the last 50 years or more that the military expenditure of the Government of India was disproportionately large, whether considered from the standpoint of the resources of India or the immediate military needs of its defence. The exigencies of the war had temporarily silenced this annual protest. But if the recommendations of this Committee are allowed to materialise, the expenditure, already swollen in all conscience, owing to the legacies left by the war, will become unbearable..... 'Our proposals,' its members say, 'well further increase the annual cost of the army in India.' Like members of all other committees of this type they comfort themselves with the reflection: 'But although the immediate effect of adopting them will be to set up a higher standard of normal expenditure, we do not contemplate the probability of this standard being increased, at least for some years to come, above what can be met from the normal growth of Indian revenues.' We have had too long, too disquieting an experience in the past about the manner in which these consolations have proved futile and fruitless, if not fraudulent. And now we demand that India shall not be called upon to meet a military expenditure greater than her relative wealth will permit. We demand that the contribution of a military character for the purposes of the defence of the Empire, beyond the frontiers of India, shall not be required without the free consent of the people of India. And, above all, we demand that the control of Army finance and, consequently, of the Indian military policy, shall be vested in the Indian Government and made responsible to the Indian Legislature as the most effective, the most convincing, the most decisive evidence of the boasted intentions of the British Government to place India on a footing of equality with the self-governing dominions." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—" We find the Esher Committee obsessed with the apprehension of Bolshevik intrigues which prevent it from taking a sane view of the situation in any of its aspects. We must, however, protest against this insane exploitation of a bogey. We have never yet found a single case of Bolshevist intrigues brought to daylight..... With Japan and Persia as our allies, with the Afghans occupied by their own internal troubles, there is no fear of any aggression which India cannot ward off with her strong natural frontiers, and her normal military strength..... If the Government of India desire to give an earnest of their intentions to respect in future the wishes of the people of India on questions which affect them so vitally, we demand that they lodge their emphatic protest against those portions of the Esher Report which seem to be based on a radical misconception of the political situation on or beyond the frontiers of India—and, which, as the startling revelations of the *Times* show, were written before the Committee arrived in India and before a single Indian was able to attend any meetings. But the portion of the Report, which seems to us most objectionable, is that concerning the use of the army for the maintenance of internal security. The chapters dealing with the *liaison* with the civil authorities and with the Territorial Force breathe a spirit of suspicion and distrust which may have had a justification for a Committee reporting in 1860, but which is an unmitigated effront to the Indian people after their services and sacrifices for British Empire during the late war. The committee has found in Sir Umar Hayat Khan a tool to voice a sentiment which the English members were too astute to enunciate in such naked effrontery, and which would not save the Indian member, merely because of his race from the most severe displeasure

of his countrymen. He argues for the stiffening of the Indian army by the presence of the British units irrespective of cost. He casts a slur on the spirit of the Indian soldier fighting for the British Empire, which is as mean as it is undeserved, as much a treason against the people of India as it is rank toadiness in respect of the powers-that-be. Sir Krishna Gupta mildly remonstrates,—he is unduly careful not to describe his remarks as a dissent,—against this spirit, the unhappy legacy of a period would all forget. We deny that there is any need for the alleged 'stiffening'. We deny that there is any need to maintain any fixed proportion in the Indian Army between the European soldiers and the Indian. If the Army in India is to cease to be an engine of terrorism, it must be popularised. If it is to afford adequate proportion at a low cost, it must become a national institution, open to all citizens in all its ranks and branches. The Government of India have too long tried to turn mercenaries into patriots; let them now try the magic of the call of patriotism for national service."]

*38. Without beating about the bush, let it be said, once for all, that the report of the Esher Committee, appointed to make recommendations about the reorganization of the Army in India which has recently seen the light of day, nails us down, if we may be permitted the use of the term, in the procrustean bed of the Empire. The Secretary of State for India may declare, and even with a substantial amount of truth in it, that he has not yet finally ratified the report, but those who know the reports of the Hunter Committee and the Babington-Smith Committee and the action taken thereon by Government will not allow themselves to be hoodwinked by the glossy and innocent looking words of Mr. Montagu. Past experience confirms the view that the policy of Government regarding such Committees and Commissions is not much different from that of the monkey in the old parable who made use of the cat's paw to draw out the nuts from the fire..... Behind the stalking-horse of the Rowlatt Committee the Government iniquitously deprived Indians of the most elementary rights and liberties and denied to them even the most elementary justice..... The general impression that is left on the minds of a careful and patriotic Indian reader of the report in question cannot be better summed up than the special correspondent of the *Hindu* has done. O'Dwyer is writ large upon the Indian Army Report which is just out. His vendetta against the Reforms is visible in every main proposal. He could have employed no better method than this to scuttle the Reform Act..... The effective maintenance of the British supremacy in the near and Middle East is the keynote of the whole report. When that is the case it goes without saying that the report cannot but be altogether inconsistent with Indian aspirations, and so it is beyond the shadow of a doubt. Awakened India will have none of the report which goes directly counter to or altogether ignores her cherished ideal for the attainment of which she has struggled with might and main during the last five and thirty years..... First and foremost our fundamental objection to the recommendations of the Committee is about the increase of expenditure involved in them. Of course, what exact amount will be saddled on the much-too-burdened Indian treasury is not yet known; but towards the close of the report the members of the Committee have, again and again, harped on the increase in a way which leaves no doubt in our mind as to the amount of additional cost to India. A survey of the Army expenditure during the last thirty years or so and the proportion it bears to the total revenue is sufficient to make the blood of every Indian boil up, be he Moderate or Extremist, young or old, prince or peasant..... More than half of the total revenue is eaten up by the Military, and this state of affairs is to be stereotyped and even changed for the worse by the loftily reactionary recommendations of the Committee. We do not know how to charactrise a report which only looks to the protection of Imperial interests in Asia and throws its responsibility upon India without taking count of other and far more important departments of Government which are in a hopeless state of starvation and stagnation..... The fact is that India is being dragged at the chariot-wheels of the Empire and that the report of the Committee is the echo of the policy of the Curzon—Milner—Churchill school of aggressive imperialists. It is up to India that she would

Mahrátta (8), 10th Oct.

make it quite clear that she would wash her hands clean of the Empire if her status within it is not on a level with the other units of the Empire. The load of the military expenditure is already unbearable and an additional pie even would be the last straw on the camel's back. The solution of the question of internal security and protection from external aggression does not call for such a tremendously disproportionate expenditure; nor are imperial interests in mid-Asia and Near and Middle East identical with those of India. It is not too much to hope that India should, with one voice, resolutely refuse to be so exploited in the interests of the Empire. Another objection which we have to take against the recommendations is the supremacy of the military over the civil administration which is sought to be established in matters military. There are many other detailed recommendations regarding the organisation of the army in India, its recruitment, equipment and personal, the creation of the Military Supply Department, of the Defence Committee and the Military Council, the great increase in the salary of British officers, all of which loudly call for severe criticism and still severer condemnation..... The report must be condemned as highly reactionary and thoroughly inconsistent with Indian thoughts, hopes and aspirations."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 7th and 8th Oct.

39. The fears entertained at the time of the appointment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Umer Hayat Khan on the Esher Committee have now come true. We were surprised at the support given to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms by Lords Curzon and Milner, but the Report of the Esher Committee has exposed the motives underlying their advocacy of these reforms. The new reforms do not give any control to the Councils over the military policy and military expenditure and the whole authority in the matter has been vested in Government. The Report of the Esher Committee explains as to why the reforms have been so framed. The authorities kept the minds of the people engaged in the consideration of political reforms and have planned a cunning device for saddling India with enormous military expenditure with a view to relieving England of some of its burdens. The recommendations of the Esher Committee if carried into effect will revive the Imperialism of Lord Dalhousie and Lord Lytton. Their policy was adopted by Lord Curzon, but he did not succeed in carrying it out. It seems, however, that Lord Curzon still continues to adhere to his old policy and means to carry it out as an assistant to Mr. Balfour, the Minister for Foreign affairs, who is too old to act in an independent manner. Some of the recommendations of the Esher Committee seem to be the echo of Lord Curzon's policy. It is a matter for gratification that the *Times* and other British journals have recognised the dangers underlying the recommendations of the Esher Committee in the matter of keeping Indian troops in large numbers at India's expense in the neighbouring countries, and we must express our gratitude to them for educating public opinion in England in the matter. India should protest against the recommendations of the Esher Committee, and the Indian National Congress and the Moderate Conference should both raise their voice against them in their ensuing sessions. [In the subsequent issue the paper expresses disapproval of the statement issued by the Secretary of State in the matter of the criticism appearing in the *Times* on the recommendations of the Esher Committee, and opines that it will in no way despel the fears entertained with respect to India being unnecessarily burdened with needless military expenditure.]

Kesari (114), 5th Oct.; *Prakásh* (128), 6th Oct.

40. The *Kesari* says that the policy suggested by the Esher Committee is in every way destructive of the rights and demand of India for *swarájya* and that, therefore, the nation must condemn it strongly. If its suggestions are carried out, it continues, the Indian rayat will have to bear the military expenditure, the Government of India will have the power over the army only so far as the suppression of internal disturbances are concerned, and all other control will pass into the hands of the British Government. Militarism, it says, will be driven out of Europe only to establish itself in India. Will India, it asks, quietly submit to this? It adds :—Why should India bear the increased expenditure amounting to crores necessitated by the recommendations. India

will never tolerate the injustice of maintaining troops for the Empire and paying for them. India is ready to guard the frontier and maintain peace within its borders; but the work will not entail an expenditure of 60 crores. Even the Territorial forces can look after internal order. But the Esher Committee has wickedly advised that the devil of territorial forces should not be encouraged and they have quoted the Punjáb disorders as a ground for their suggestion. All the suggestions of the Committee are in every way objectionable. [The *Prakásh* makes similar remarks and declares that it is tired of such farcical commissions and committees, which only waste Indian money without conferring any benefit on India.]

Servant of India (10), 7th Oct.

41. "The Army Committee's report will be received with the greatest indignation by Indians. It takes no account of Indian aspirations in this branch and is practically silent on most of the questions on which the Indians are keen. The Committee makes no recommendations in regard to the appointment of Indians to commissioned ranks, limits the size of the Territorial Force to 12 units and the employment of Indians to infantry units, retains the I.M.S. as a monopoly for Englishmen, etc., etc. The report is founded on utter distrust and re-enunciates the doctrine that India is held by the sword. The Government seems determined to keep India in a chronic state of discontent."

Young India (14), 6th Oct.

42. After summarising the recommendations in the Esher Committee's Report, *Young India* concludes:—"We have related on a previous occasion, in connection with another subject, the history of the military expenditure in India and we need not repeat it here. Suffice it to say that it has been without a break a record of foreign aggression and exploitation to satisfy the Imperialistic greed of the British policy in Asia at the cost of the poor Indian tax-payer, thereby also making it safer and surer for the Imperialists to bleed India and 'bleed her white.' And the sum total of the recommendations of the Army Committee which we have summarised above is to tighten further this hold on India by a more scientific, organised and therefore expensive display of the brute force. Verily the sins of this Imperialism are multiplying so as to bring about and accelerate its own destruction."

Lokashdhi (119), 4th Oct.

43. The *Lakashdhi* says that Indians never expect any good from the committees which Government appoint from time to time and that the Esher Committee has not proved an exception in this respect. In its opinion the committee's decision not to recommend the opening of a Military College in India to impart military instruction to Indian youths was only to be expected. It remarks that the presence of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, a man of fiendish mentality, on the committee is responsible for the calumny levelled against the Indian members of the Indian Defence Force. The paper expresses its conviction that if the recommendations of the committee are given effect to and if the Empire unfortunately happens to be engaged in another great war, Indians will be found to be incapable of taking an effective part in it.

Comments on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's speech at the Deccan College.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 9th Oct.

44. Reviewing His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's speech at the Deccan College anniversary, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—His Excellency's statement that the Public Works Department has already undertaken the extension of the College premises and the students' quarters is a welcome statement. His Excellency's advice to the students deserves to be borne in mind. What His Excellency meant to say was this, that students should keep their eyes fixed on the simplicity combined with acquisition of high knowledge for which the College has acquired a high reputation and to see that this reputation is not injured in any way. This is quite a sound piece of advice, which every student should treasure in his mind. Every school, every teacher and every student should see to it that it is actually put into practice.

45. Commenting upon the disallowing of certain resolutions in the Bombay Legislative Council because the movers were absent, the *Kesari* pleads that the members were only in the lobby and says:—It is but natural that His Excellency who slaughtered the innocents without transgressing the word of the law should be called energetic and skilful by his admirers. Gentlemanly judges send for even humble pleaders' karkuns and do not strike off cases. But we are amused to find that Honourable Members of Councils are not respected even to that extent. We say amused because the days are gone when we would have said, we regret. The other day, Mr. Shastri and others withdrew their resolutions in anger and so in a way advocated non-co-operation. The same advice, though in another way, was, so to say, given by His Excellency when he disallowed the resolutions on the ground of the absence of members. On the whole it was non co-operation that was preached!

Comments on the disallowance of certain resolutions in the Bombay Legislative Council because the movers were not in their seats.
Kesari (114), 5th Oct.

46. "At the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council the Honourable Rao Saheb Harilal Desai asked for certain information about Khan Bahadur Husseinkhan Dhanekhan..... Of course, Government are too busy and they have no time to collect the detailed information asked for by the Honourable member. Yet they have no reason to believe that Khan Bahadur Husseinkhan is otherwise than efficient in the discharge of his magisterial duties. People are not willing to take on credit what Government say, simply because Government say it, unless it is supported by facts. Since Government are not disposed to give the information, Mr. Desai himself may enlighten the public on the matter. The publication of similar information regarding all Honorary Magistrates would form an interesting record and would throw a flood of light on the ways and methods followed by Government in appointing Honorary Magistrates."

Comments on Government's reply to question about Khan Bahadur Husseinkhan, Honorary Magistrate.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Oct.

47. "The Honourable Rao Bahadur V. S. Naik had an interesting question on the grant of gun licenses in Kánara revealing the strange methods followed by the local officials in defeating the good intentions of Government. Mr. Naik asked whether licenses granted for crop protection were cancelled in 1919 and 1920 on the ground that the required number of pigs' tails were not produced by the licensees, and very naturally he wanted to know under what law this condition precedent had been imposed. The licensees have no special kindness for pigs. They are not likely to spare them, and if anything comes in the way of their destruction, it is the game laws of Government prohibiting the people to hunt in the reserved forest. Latterly, it is said, unrestricted pig hunting has been allowed in the forests lying to the west of a fanciful line drawn by the forest officials. It is rightly objected that the area thrown open has no cover, and that it is not the haunt of wild pigs. The concession is worse than useless, and so long as people are not allowed to hunt in the forests proper and so long as game is held sacred to be shot down only by Europeans, the restriction of pigs' tails, if enforced, will mean that crops will be left without protection. So far from any license being cancelled, they should be very liberally issued, specially to those belonging to castes and tribes accustomed to hunting, and shikar parties should be organised and a regular campaign should be carried on. The first and foremost thing is the cancellation of game laws."

Comments on the withdrawal of gun licenses in Kánara.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Oct.

48. "The Honourable Mr. Pathan inquired when and where the five additional High Schools, for which a lakh of rupees had been ear-marked in the Budget, would be started. Government were ready with their stereotyped reply that the matter was 'under consideration'. ..... It is ominous that Government are not more definite in their reply. They do not allude to new High Schools at all. Is any change of policy intended?

Comments on Government's reply about the establishment of the proposed new High Schools.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Oct.

When exactly was the announcement made that High Schools would be started in the rural areas? What has the Director been doing all the while? How long do Government require to come to a decision about the rival merits of places selected for the location of new High Schools? And by the time they come to a decision, where will they be? They will be nowhere and the Minister will take charge of the Department. It makes the delay of Government all the more inexcusable."

49. Writing on the subject of the pay of primary school teachers, the *Gujarát Mitra* remarks:—"The adoption ultimately by the Council on the recommendation of the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla to refer the subject to a committee indicated a desire on the part of Government which was genuine to give much needed relief to a patient and long neglected class of men who were entrusted with the education of their children. It has been admitted very generally by all in this presidency that as a class these vernacular school teachers received at present salaries which were not only inadequate and out of all proportion to the work they were called upon to do, but also wholly insufficient to provide them with a decent living in these hard days..... In the circumstances mentioned by the Honourable Sir Ibrahim the Council's acceptance of the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla's recommendation to refer the subject to a joint committee of official and non-official members was proper and the only right course to adopt, and we make no doubt that it will serve to satisfy both school teachers and the public. The personnel of the Committee that was formed was one that will inspire confidence generally, and we look to it to thresh out the whole subject expeditiously and in a manner that would provide a satisfactory solution of what had become to-day a really anxious problem."

Comments on the resolution regarding appointment of a committee to consider the grievances of primary school teachers in the Bombay Presidency.
Gujarát Mitra (20), 3rd Oct., Eng. cols.

50. The Government of Bombay were recently interrogated by Mr. Belvi regarding the order passed by the Educational Department prohibiting teachers from subscribing to the *Prathamik Shikshak*. The reply of Government was a characteristic one—that they did not think it desirable that public money should be spent on a magazine like that. This action of Government was recently criticised in the Karnatak Conference as unwarranted and high-handed. As far as our information goes, the subscription of the magazine was paid from the salaries of the teachers and not charged to contingencies. This being the case, we wonder how Government could interfere in this matter. But the real answer is not far to seek. Our bureaucracy always fights shy of public criticism, and it was a few articles recently published by the magazine severely criticising the vagaries of some of the officers of the Department that led to its boycott.

Comments on Government's reply about prohibiting teachers from subscribing to the *Prathamik Shikshak*.
Raj Hansa (88), 2nd Oct.

51. Commenting upon the cost of the Director of Information's establishment, the *Prakásh* writes:—If an increase in the primary teachers' pay is asked for, the excuse of want of funds is put forth. But no such difficulty arises when it is a question of creating a new department and providing for a big European official. Government are experts in running the administration on the principle of "divide and rule" and in accordance with it they patronise the Moderates and always kick the Nationalists. The policy was not officially declared, but it appears from some of the leaflets published by the Director of Information that Nationalists are severely attacked and Moderates supported. It is not the business of Government to play such games; it is necessary and desirable that Government should observe a neutral attitude. We have to condemn the action of Government, when they abandon the neutral for a partisan policy and spend public money for it.

Director of Information's establishment.
Prakásh (128), 6th Oct.

52. We are at a loss to know why a Director of Information should have been necessary at all. His work may be summarised as follows:—To whitewash the offences and mistakes of Government and to sing eternal praises of the good done by them to the people, to hold the people and their leaders responsible for every kind of mischief, to pervert facts and to raise a wail that the people are ungrateful. In short, to plead the cause of Government under all sorts of conditions. Is this not misuse of public money?

Raj Hansa (88), 2nd Oct.

53. "It is with mixed feelings of regret and pleasure that we approach the subject of the Bombay Development Loan. The grave shortage of business, and the heartless profiteering by landlords, only temporarily checked by the Rent Act, have roused the civic conscience of this great city and no two opinions are entertained as regards the urgent necessity of a big loan to develop Bombay..... This loan has already been announced, but it has not attracted that amount of attention which it deserves. Unfortunately our attention is focussed on the Postal strike, on the general depressing conditions of trade, and on the stirring events which follow one another in Europe. But it is time for us to consider the Bombay Development Loan, to urge upon Government, both provincial and imperial, the necessity of granting facilities to make this loan an unprecedented success, and to launch a well-conceived campaign to popularise it. The first and unexpected difficulty in the way of a rapid success of the loan is the curious attitude of the Finance Member in systematically reducing, almost in an arithmetical progression, the Government balances at the Presidency Bank..... Already the Bombay money market was tight, whereas Calcutta had considerable funds to invest in Bombay. It is to be earnestly hoped that Government will keep liberal balances in Bombay, so that effective help may be offered by the Banks to all those who would like to invest in this important way. ..... A few Banks have already given a magnificent lead, and it is to be hoped that other banks will not remain behind. Their prosperity depends so much on the general prosperity of Bombay that it will not be a great sacrifice on their part if they invest some of their own funds in the Bombay Development Loan. Even the Government of India can afford to be liberal towards Bombay, which has always rendered such signal financial assistance to it. And the best way of assisting would be to allow the Finance Member to allot to Bombay considerable spare balances of the Imperial Government. We are somewhat dissatisfied at the way the Bombay Government has floated the loan. It is a timid and very unbusinesslike way. The advertisement of the loan appearing in the papers appeal only to a limited circle of people, and some more realistic and impressive advertisement methods should be adopted..... We require popular lectures, pictures showing the present day housing conditions, and the future conditions, maps, and other things..... We know that just at present the city is passing not through a crisis but a sort of a commercial depression. The export trade is paralysed, the money market is unsatisfactory, there is a partial failure of monsoon. But in spite of all these drawbacks the people of Bombay have to make the loan a success."

The Bombay Development Loan.

Indian Commercial Mercury (13), 4th Oct.

54. Adverting to the Bombay Development Loan, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—We would recommend it to all classes of the people that they should subscribe to this loan as largely as they can because investment in this loan is beneficial in more than one way. In the first place, His Excellency has declared that the housing programme will cover all sorts of buildings, including those required by men of moderate means also. Thus the middle-class people also will be benefited by the Housing Scheme. Again, His Excellency Sir G. Lloyd is determined to see that the stability of the loan is maintained so that it might compare favourably with any other loan issued by Government in this country. This assurance should dispel all doubts as to the security of investment in the loan. [In a subsequent issue the paper invites the people to subscribe to the loan, saying that the money raised by

Bombay Samáchár (61), 4th, 6th and 8th Oct.

the loan will be used for purposes of housing only, and that preference will be given to the housing of the working classes and middle-class people and reiterates that the stability of the loan is assured. In a further issue, the paper examines the scheme of the Central Bank of India, Limited, for giving facilities to intending investors in the loan, and advises the Bank to reduce its rate of interest on withdrawals.]

Comments on the Bombay Government's statement with regard to the Grant Road Terminal Station Scheme.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 5th Oct., Eng. cols.

55. Commenting on the Bombay Government's statement with regard to the Grant Road Terminal Station Scheme, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—"Government also seem to seek an excuse for the course on which they are determined, in the consideration that the number of people likely to be rendered homeless by the scheme would be not 10,000, as loosely estimated, but about 3,500. Even taking it at that figure, it is surely a formidable number. Three thousand five hundred is a large number to be thrown overboard for developing the city. It is further urged that proceedings under the Land Acquisition Act ordinarily take a period of over two years, and that there was no possibility of most of the residents in the area being required to vacate their homes before the close of the monsoon of 1922. But what is the period of two years? It will have run over in the twinkling of an eye..... The position with regard to housing at the end of 1922 would be worse than in 1920..... It is satisfactory to find that Government is after all alive to its obligations and responsibilities. It is obligatory on Government to develop the city to meet the requirements of its growing trade and population. It is still more obligatory to provide accommodation and compensation for those who have to be jettisoned to improve the general conditions of the city. The first is a moral obligation: the second is both moral and legal. To have proceeded with the scheme in callous disregard of the rights and comforts of the inhabitants affected, would have been an act of spoliation..... If reasonable facilities to those dispossessed by the operations of the scheme are afforded by Government, they would have the patriotism to put up with such inconvenience as they may be put to. It would not be fair to demand more. We trust Government having given this assurance will fully and faithfully discharge their obligations in a manner involving the minimum of hardships and inconvenience to the inhabitants of the area."

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 5th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 4th Oct.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 3rd Oct.

56. This statement will, to a large extent, remove the misunderstanding prevailing among the people in connection with the scheme. It would have been better if Government had given publicity to it earlier so that the excitement and the bitterness created by the announcement of the scheme would have calmed down long since. Now it is for Government to look after the re-housing of the tenants residing in the locality affected by the scheme. It will hardly be fair to remove the poorer among them to the suburbs. These maintain themselves and their families by doing menial work. The tenants of the Murzban chawls fall within this class of residents. All of these must be provided with houses somewhere in the vicinity of the centres of their employment. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* regrets that the original scheme is not modified and proceeds:—We have no other alternative but to accept the scheme and its consequences. The only thing now to do is to shape the steps necessary for the re-housing of the residents of the locality affected by the scheme. In our opinion, the sacrifice that these people are called upon to make towards the development of Bombay is very heavy, and we would urge Government to see to it that they obtain proper accommodation at moderate rates of rent. The *Kaiser-i-Hind*, on the other hand, protests against the statement and proceeds:—We might accept the dictum that a few must make a sacrifice for the many. But why should not the well-to-do classes be called upon to make such a sacrifice? We know very well that it is all a matter of favouritism. Why should not the poorer classes who must live in the metropolis in order to be able to earn their living be allowed accommodation on the sites which are to be set free by the removal

of the railway? Why should these be driven to Matunga and Sewri? We are not opposed to the Development Scheme, but what we desire is that the well-to-do should be called upon to make sacrifices. This is the main point and the residents of the locality affected by the present scheme should, therefore, demand preferential treatment in the Development Scheme.]

57. "The terms in which the latest epistle from the Secretary to the Government of Bombay to the Bombay Corporation on the subject of development of the city and its suburbs is couched must make even the most sober-minded and optimistic citizen despair of seeing any real change in the angle of vision of the demigods of the local official heirarchy. If the letter is not actually contemptuous of the rights of the Corporation, it is brusque to the point of rudeness. In spite of the strong protests made by representatives of the Corporation in the Council and in their own Chamber against the autocratic manner in which the Government hurried through the Council a piece of legislation directly affecting the Municipality without even so much as a reference to the Corporation, the former have now the hardihood to say that the Municipality is not immediately concerned in the matter of the constitution of the authority which is to take over the entire control of the housing and development operations within and without the city! On the basis of this presposterous plea, they withhold even the essential details of their programme from the knowledge of the Corporation. The Corporation is told that it is concerned with only the financial arrangements, that it must rest content with the sop of three-sevenths of the receipts of the tax on cotton, which it will be graciously empowered by Government to levy..... The Corporation should vigorously resist this unwarranted encroachment on its ligitimate right and must give the latest exponents of official autocratism clearly to understand that the public of this City will not stand any such *zubberdustism.* We are glad to note that there was not in the Corporation a single apologist of Government, and that the Corporation was unanimous in its protest against the high-handed policy..... The official letter deliberately ignores the recommendation of the Select Committee which was appointed to consider the Bill to amend the Municipal and Improvement Trust Acts that the Corporation ought to be represented on the 'advisory body' which should be set up in connection with the housing operations within the city. Are we to take it, from the tone of the official letter, that the 'advisory body,' even if set up, will be a merely consultative or ornamental body with no effective control over the official schemes?"

Protest against the tone of the Bombay Government's letter to the Corporation on the Bombay Development Scheme.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Oct.

58. Criticising the new forest policy of the Government of Bombay, the *Kánára Leader* remarks:—The talk of concessions and measures for the improvement of sanitation and grazing areas would prove useless unless there is a radical change in the administration. And this is impossible in the absence of real co-operation between the authorities and the people; and as long as the former insist on co-operation on their own terms, no satisfactory settlement can be reached. The present one leaves matters where they were.

Comments on the new forest policy of Government in Kánára.
Kánára Leader, (38), 5th Oct.

59. The *Kánara News* states that the Government fuel depôt at Honávar is absolutely without fuel. The people are greatly inconvenienced both as regards kitchen fuel and fuel for funerals. The paper strongly criticises the indifference of the Divisional Forest Officer who, it says, has done nothing to meet the situation though he is perfectly conversant with it and though the people of the locality approached him for relief.

A forest complaint from Honávar (Kánara).
Kánara News (40), 30th Sept.

60. "It seems to be generally recognised that it will spell disaster for the amicable relations between India and Great Britain if the choice of the next Viceroy is wrongly made. In some quarters it has been suggested that the selection should be made from the Royal Family and that such an appointment would disarm the hostility of even the extreme nationalist. But such an appointment would always prove a double-edged weapon and on that account, if on no other, it should be ruled out of consideration—at least till the constitutional position of the Viceroy is reduced to that of a nominal head of the State, as in Canada. Lord Haig has been mentioned as being in the running, but his appointment, as also that of Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Churchill or even of Lord Islington, will be one which will be distinctly 'wrong' at this critical juncture. Besides Lord Hardinge, who is unfortunately, wanted in Paris, we know of only one personality, that of Lord Haldane, which would capture the imagination of India at this hour. Will Britain have the courage to send out such an ambassador to the Indian people?"

Who should be the next Viceroy.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Oct.

61. "Bombay and his wife remained wholly indifferent to the presence of the first Indian Governor in their midst. It is a tragic and significant incident showing how far India has moved from her old moorings. We have been fighting since 1858 for having equal rights and privileges with the European community. An Indian is now placed in charge of an Indian Province as Governor and yet her feelings are not moved. Who is responsible for this deadening of feelings, this killing of all enthusiasm and eradicating sentiments of spontaneous loyalty? People who bungled the Punjáb question and the Khilafat and peeple who are so devoid of statesmanship as to alienate the feelings of the people and to wound their unsuceptibilities by all their actions. Whither are we drifting? Does the Government realise the gulf which is now yawning between them and the people? Do they have any intention of building a bridge on it?"

Why the presence of the first Indian Governor in Bombay did not cause the least stir among the people.
Hindusthán (24), 3rd Oct., Eng. cols.

62. Commenting upon the appointment of Lord Lytton as Under Secretary of State for India, the *Gujarâti Punch* remarks:—"The appointment indeed savours of the good old custom of pitchforking any available Englishman into responsible posts, and it is a thousand pities that the game is not yet abandoned. India is to-day passing through a critical period in her history, and the task of her rulers would have been made easier if an Indian of recognised standing had been selected to succeed Lord Sinha. India needs to-day at the helm of her affairs a man of large sympathies and first-hand acquaintance with her problems, and the selection of dark-horses is sure to prove a bad game in the end. The creation of another Indian peerage would not have been the end of the British Empire in India; on the contrary, it would have strengthened the hands of those who to-day are striving under most adverse circumstances to keep away people having recourse to desperate cures for the stupidity of officials in this country. Nothing, however, can save us from our own folly, and it is high time that British Administrators realized the truth of that statement."

Comments on the appointment of Lord Lytton as Under Secretary of State for India.
Gujarâti Punch (21), 3rd Oct., Eng. cols.

63. The working of the Bombay Educational Department is hard-hearted beyond description. They expect Univsrsity graduates to serve on Rs. 50 per month, without in the least caring whether this salary would be sufficient for their maintenance in these days of high prices. The condition of the primary teachers is indeed heartrending. A vernacular shool final man gets a start of Rs. 12 or 15, while a third-year trained teacher gets Rs. 25 only. That this salary is quite inadequate everybody will admit. Nobody seems to listen to their grievances; and if leaders like the Honourable Mr. Kamat in

Duty of Government to increase the salaries of low-paid teachers.
Raj Hansa (88), 5th Oct.

the Legislative Council try to interest Government in these matters, they are silenced by curt and indifferent replies such as, 'This is not the time or place for these things'. Government often plead want of funds whenever questions are forced upon their attention. But the hollowness of this argument is patent from the fact that they could increase by Rs. 500 each the already fat salaries of five European Professors, while they have no money to give promotions of a few rupees to these poor primary teachers. Besides, Government are wasting thousands of rupees on the unnecessary post of Director of Information as well as on the Military and Forest Departments. That these teachers deserve sympathetic treatment nobody will dispute. They have no scope for supplementing their income by illegal means. How can we expect our children to be properly taught by these half-starved creatures? This desperate condition has driven some of them to threaten the closing of their schools, while others have refused to receive their salaries unless they are given an increase. In these circumstances, we earnestly hope that Government will give up their present indifferent attitude and extend a sympathetic hearing to the grievances of these poor teachers.

64. Writing about the grievances of Indians and other Asiatics in New Zealand, *Young India* remarks:—"The drapers' unions, the chemists' unions, the grocers' unions, the bottle-gatherers' unions, in fact every union of traders, shopkeepers and labourers have passed resolutions asking for Asiatic exclusion, and many of them have sent deputations to Parliament to urge legislation excluding the Asiatics..... The general allegations against the Indians are that they invaded the Dominion whilst the soldiers had gone to the front, and that having thus ousted them they were starving out not only the returned soldiers who have to be without employment, but the existing shopkeepers and traders by underselling them..... There is, however, no truth in the allegations about the economic menace. The Indians and Asiatics are few and far between, and they have not affected the lot of the returned soldiers. Much of the agitation is due to the insistence of the Whitemen on the principle of a 'White New Zealand' more than on anything else..... And it is the desire—burning desire—to keep the country white that is at the back of the Lynch law that is now in operation against the unfortunate Indians and Chinese in New Zealand. They are refused all employment, all association, and even permission to rent houses. As a result hundreds of Hindus in Auckland and Wellington are without homes and work, and on account of great shipping difficulties they are unable to return to India."

Grievances of Indians and other Asiatics in New Zealand.

Young India (14), 6th Oct.

65. Adverting to the failure of the monsoon, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—The failure of the monsoon will considerably add to the sufferings of the people who are already suffering from the pinch of the high prices prevailing at present. The leaders towards whom the people would turn for sympathy and help are busy with politics. The people would, therefore, turn their eyes towards Government for help and sympathy. In these circumstances, it is only Government who ought to take care of them. There is a great deal of disaffection at present to be observed among the people. What is the cause of the disaffection? Why are strikes so very numerous and frequent? No increase in wages will materially alleviate the sufferings of the people. To our mind, it is the pinch of high prices alone that is responsible for the strikes and the consequent disturbances. Every attempt at remedying these evils will be fruitless unless and until the root cause, *viz.*, the high prices, is vigorously dealt with. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Gujarátí* remarks:—Starvation is inevitable and crimes will consequently flourish. Government must therefore take prompt measures to avert such a situation. Will they call for reports from the various districts and examine the situation thoroughly before it is too late. It will be of no use to import grain from the other parts of the country because the people have hardly got the money with which to buy such grain. Agri-

The impending famine and Government's duty with regard to it.

Jam-e-Jámshed (25), 5th Oct.; *Gujarátí* (19), 3rd Oct.

cultural labourers will be in great straits because it will not be possible for them to find employment. Government should not make delay in realising the situation, as they did in the past, and they should begin to adopt the measures necessary for meeting it.]

Complaint about the existence of bucket-shops in Bombay.
Kaiser-I-Hind (26), 10th Oct., Eng. cols.

*66. "A case recently came up before the Police Court in which two men got a sentence of six months with hard labour for cheating a certain bucket-shopkeeper. This reminds us that the evil of these bucket-shops is not stamped out as yet. Last year a bill was passed prohibiting gambling in bucket-shops, but it does not seem to have succeeded in putting the check that it was intended to put upon them. On the contrary, these bucket-shops are still doing a roaring business, though under the changed guise of 'sporting clubs.' The effect of these sporting clubs on the public is generally demoralizing, because they offer temptation to servants, students and labourers to throw away petty sums of money with the hope of making profit. We hope the police authorities will take some measures to put a stop to this growing evil."

Comments on the selection of the Presidents of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State.
Indian Social Reformer (7) 10th Oct.

*67. "Mr. Alexander Whyte, who was a member of Parliament for some years, has been appointed President of the Indian Legislative Assembly. The London correspondent of the *Times of India* gives some not very interesting particulars of Mr. Whyte, who, it is understood, will spend every summer in his native land. Summer is not a 'close time' in India. On the other hand, it is the time when things happen, such as the Indian Mutiny, Afghan wars and Amritsar atrocities. We hope that the Government of India will avail themselves of the assistance of their Parliament in such crises more than in the past, in which case the country will have to get on as best as it can without Mr. Whyte during eventful summers! Mr. A. P. Muddiman, the Secretary of the defunct Indian Legislative Council, has been chosen to preside over the Council of State. The appointment of a Secretary to Government to preside over the Indian Second Chamber at its inauguration does not somehow seem to be in the fitness of things. It recalls the promotion of Lord Chelmsford from regimental duties in the vicinity of Simla to Viceregal Lodge. The selection of a distinguished and experienced Indian to preside over the Imperial Senate would have impressed the country better in more ways than one. It would not have been difficult to find such an Indian."

The removal of the residential restriction in mofussil elections.
Lokasangraha (117), 5th Oct.

68. The restriction, that a candidate who resided in the principal town of a district was not eligible to stand for election for that district, applied only to the Presidency of Bombay, and Government have now announced, by means of a Press Note, that they have removed this restriction. Complaints were made that this restriction would have the effect of excluding capable men from the Councils, but Government took no notice of them. They declared that the condition was imposed by Parliament and that they had no hand in the matter. It was difficult to understand why Parliament should have made an exception only in the case of the Bombay Presidency; similarly people ought to be told under what authority Government have now removed a restriction that was imposed by Parliament. Government may or may not admit it, but these signs betoken a change of attitude induced by the non-co-operation movement! People, however, will continue to resort to non-co-operation until they get *swarajya*. Government should bear well in mind that inadequate concessions will no longer satisfy the people.

The Bolshevik menace.
Mahratta (8), 10th Oct.

*69. "Russia with her militant Bolshevism is the storm-centre and from it radiate all sorts of unrest. England is ready to placate the situation by entering into trade negotiations with Russia; but these proposals are yet to materialise. On the other hand, the Bolsheviks go on merrily in

their campaign. They have captured Bokhara and their agents are already in Afghanistan to negotiate a treaty with that country. Djamal Pasha is already in Kabul and Enver Pasha is reported to have taken the command of the forces with India as his objective."

70. "Pharos" writes in the *Hindusthán*:—"Bokhara has been taken by the Bolsheviks, and its Khan, we are told, has fled to Kabul. We do not know why the Reds took such a step, which is likely to make all Muhammadans their enemies. It is likely that the Khan was a traitor, and was accepting bribes from the enemies of the Bolsheviks. Otherwise why should the Reds call a Pan-Asiatic Conference at Baku, and at the same time dethrone the Khan of Bokhara?..... We do not know what the Afghans will do? It is said that the Amir is in favour of an Anglo-Afghan agreement. Well, if he had been, why the agreement was not signed when the Afghan Mission arrived here? Nadir Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan Army, is said to be anti-British. That means that there is no harmony between the Amir and the Chief of his army? Is the Amir then a puppet? We cannot say."

Hindusthán (24), 6th Oct., Eng. cols.

71. The *Raj Hansa* strongly criticises the policy of the Government of India in using the Indian Army for Imperial purposes. After stating that the army is at present fighting the Arabs in Mesopotamia and Palestine, the paper sarcastically remarks that, of course, it is our duty to fight for British Imperialism and help the British in making slaves of free peoples. It then goes on to say that the only benefit accruing to India out of this whole business is that thousands of people are wasting their time and lives in safeguarding the interests of the British oil-merchants, and as if this were not enough, India has got in addition the Rowlatt Act and the Punjáb massacre.

Protest against using Indian Army for Imperial purposes.
Raj Hansa (88), 4th Oct.

72. "The situation in Mesopotamia seems to be growing from bad to worse and there is no knowing as to when, if at all, there will again be peace and quiet in that unsettled country. It is time that the Home Government reconsidered its policy regarding the control over Mesopotamia, which has already cost the Empire terrible loss in money as well as man power. How long is the Government prepared to continue making terrible sacrifices both of blood and treasure? ..... The one silver lining in the dark cloud is the country's untapped oil deposits which will undoubtedly give considerable financial results in time; but for the moment Mesopotamia and the Border States that run with, it does not appear very tempting requisitions, nor could they be very easily held against a determined attack or internal disturbance."

Comments on the situation in Mesopotamia.
Sind Observer (12), 18th Sept.

73. "The Constantinople Government has asked the Allies for a loan of 4½ millions sterling in order to raise and equip a force of 40,000 men against the Turkish patriots..... We dare to hope that the Allies will not accede to a request or encourage in any way an effort which can only aggravate the present troubles and may bring on Armageddon, considering the seething state of Central Asia. The present condition of affairs seems ignominious, but it would be better policy to wink at it, while quietly removing grounds of grievance to the Turkish patriots, than to exacerbate their grievance by attack. The men are honest and, if they saw a tendency in France and England to treat their country more benevolently, they might not be irreconcilable."

Comments on the assistance asked for by the Turkish Government to deal with the Turkish nationalists.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Oct.

LEGISLATION.

74. The University which Muslims are going to have under the Moslem University Act is not the University to which they have all these years looked forward eagerly. The new University will be under the control of the Governor-General in Council and Moslem institutions outside Aligarh will not be affiliated to it. It

Comments on the Moslem University Bill.
Al-Wahid (151), 17th Sept.

will be worse than the Hindu University in that it has no power to create Faculties. What is worse is that the draft Bill agreed upon between the Government and the members of the University Committee in March last at Delhi has not been adhered to. This is nothing but deceit. The question of the Khilafat and the unredeemed pledges of the British Cabinet have already shaken the confidence of Mussalmans in the British Government, and the manner in which the Government has dealt with Mussalmans in the matter of the Muslim University will make matters worse. Moulvi Bashiruddin, who is a Moderate, and who has been the staunchest supporter of a Moslem University, is of opinion that Mussalmans should first of all practise non-co-operation with the new Moslem University, as it cannot advance the best interests of Mussalmans in the matter of higher education.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the proposed road from the Ballard Estate to Hornby Road, Bombay.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 10th Oct., Eng. cols.

***75.** "Another bombshell has been exploded in our midst by the Municipal Commissioner in the shape of a brand new scheme for building a grand new road from Ballard Estate to Hornby Road..... The proposed road will cut through one of the busiest and most thickly populated areas in the Fort. A large number of houses will have to be demolished and numerous shops will have to be closed up. The area embraced by this scheme also includes three Parsi fire temples and a Parsi wedding hall. We quite appreciate Government's desire to make Bombay a really beautiful city worthy to be called the second city in the Empire..... But the question is where are the hundreds of people who will be unhoused by this scheme to go? A vague reference is made to the Colaba Cotton Green, but we are not told what steps will be taken to provide housing accommodation for a large number of poor and middle-class people in such an expensive locality. The idea underlying this scheme seems to be that in the course of time the Fort should become a purely business centre where all the large offices and firms could be conveniently accommodated..... We recognise that with the growth of business and commercial activities in this city such a development is inevitable; but at the same time it must be well borne in mind that this sort of forcible ejection of people from their residences and demolition of tenements is bound to create great inconveniences and hardship. We hope that the seriousness of this subject will be fully recognised by the Municipal Corporation, and that it will not give off hand sanction to the Municipal Commissioner's request to be given the power to acquire the proposed area without thorough discussion."

NATIVE STATES.

Grievances of the people of Mansa State.
Hindusthán (24), 8th Oct.

76. For a long time past the subjects of the Mansa State have been in a state of turmoil and they have at last resorted to *hartal*. A proclamation issued by the Mansa Durbar is supposed to be at the root of the popular discontent. Recently the people of the Mansa State sent a representation to the Durbar praying for the redress of their grievances in the matter of *Veth*, taxes and education. The reply given by the Durbar has been published in our columns. While the bureaucratic officials in British India take the present circumstances into consideration and accept popular demands, some of the rulers in the Native States are seen to ignore the times and to adhere to their traditional rights. It does not redound to the credit of an enlightened prince to put restrictions on the liberty of speech of his subjects. We hope the Mansa Durbar will change their attitude towards their subjects and do all in their power to keep them contented.

A complaint against the Akalkot State.
Lokasangraha (117), 2nd Oct.

77. A correspondent writing in the *Lokasangraha* draws attention to the mismanagement in the administration of the Akalkot State. He complains that each of the Chief's children is provided with a high-salaried European governess regardless of the limited income of the State, and that incapable men are appointed

to fill important posts. The writer wants the constitution of the Native States to be framed in such a way that the people thereof will have *swardjya* in the real sense of the word.

78. "Disgusted Indian" writes in the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"In the *Malhari Martand Vijdya* of the 23rd ultimo, Indore's new Chief Minister—the seventh one in His Highness' eight years' regime—has, by orders of His Highness, notified his intentions of investigating into the 'Indore Scandal'. It will not be surprising, however, if this enquiry through officials turns out to be even more futile than the Hunter Committee's investigations in the Punjáb outrages. What is required is an enquiry by a commission consisting of bold and respectable members from the public, who will call a spade a spade even before the highest person in the State. The Indorians have lost faith in their officials, and no wonder. Attempts are being made to discredit the truth of my allegations and to attribute malicious motives to me for giving publicity to the scandal. Well, for those who are always accustomed to flattery truth is ever such a bitter pill that they cannot swallow it without writhing their faces!"

Alleged abduction of respectable women in Indore.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Oct.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,

Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "From the instructions drafted by the Non-co-operation Sub-Committee, the All-India Congress Committee has omitted the portion in which the interpretation of the adjective 'gradual' as applied to the boycott of schools and law courts was given. It has also deleted the observations as to the impracticability of the boycott of British goods. The result is that in the non-co-operation resolution viewed in the light of the All-India Committeee's instructions there is quite a large expanse of what one may call no man's land. No one extactly knows what one's duty is in regard to the most important items of the non-co-operation plan. As to the withdrawal of children from schools and colleges, the instructions make it clear that the boycott of State-maintained or State-aided education is not to be postponed till national institutions are established. The public are bidden to rely in the meanwhile upon private education or even to forego education for the sake of carrying the programme of non-co-operation into execution. By parity of reasoning lawyers ought to have been enjoined upon not to defer suspension of practice till national courts of arbitration are set up. As it is, they are left without specific directions as to the time when they should withdraw from practice."

The All-India Congrees Committee and non-co-operation.
Servant of India (10), 14th Oct.

2. In the course of its comments on the Congress Sub-Committee's report on non-co-operation, the *Lokabandhu* adversely criticises the position taken up by Mr. Patel in his note of dissent. It also speaks in a similar strain of the opinions expressed by Pandit Malaviya, Lala Lajpatrai and Mr. N. C. Kelkar. It believes that these leaders have created an unnecessary division of opinions. In conclusion, it exhorts the Nationalists to obey the Congress mandate as faithfully as if it were a divine command. If they do not do this national duty, they will have committed, it says, the great sin of having set back the progress of their country.

Congress sub-committee's report on non-co-operation.
Lokabandhu ( ), 10th Oct.

3. We cannot understand what the Sub-Committee means by saying that no undue pressure should be put upon people in the matter of non-co-operation. We know of a case of coercion cited by the Government of Madras. Similar cases have been reported from other parts of India. We are of opinion that the threat of social ostracism is a method of coercion. And if in pursuance of this method cases of non-co-operation multiply, it must not be claimed that the country is in favour of Mahatma Gandhi's programme. Let the non-co-operators by all means preach their doctrine but let no pressure be put by them on any individual to practise their doctrine. In this respect the non-co-operators should take a leaf out of the book of the co-operators. Even among the ranks of their own extremist party, not to speak of the Moderates, they will find men who, co-operators though they are, resort to no coercion in making people refrain from non-co-operation. One such man is Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. This gentleman, beyond making speeches warning the country against the adoption of non-c-ooperation does nothing. The Moderates also do no more. But the non-co-operators follow a different method. They harass people into doing this thing and that thing. Several non-co-operators have suggested that those who regard non-co-operation as a dangerous movement had better keep quiet and throw no obstacles in their way. This is an argument which can be employed with equal force by the co-operators against them.

What is the duty of non-co-operators?
Sindwasi (158), 3rd Oct.

4. Educational institutions are the best agency for any Government to ensure the stability of its rule over alien countries. It is through education that the learners in a subject country are made to feel that the nation which rules over them is superior to themselves. It is for this reason that European Powers spend

Boycott of Government and aided educational institutions.
Al-Wahid (151), 2nd Oct.

large sums of money on education in foreign countries with which they have no concern. The education imparted by them to the people of foreign countries is, therefore, poisonous in its effects for the countries concerned. Under the present system of education our young men who pass out of schools and colleges take no patriotic interest in the well-being of our country and co-operate with the Government in its unjust and improper proceedings. If we were to educate them in National schools and colleges started for the purpose, their present attitude towards the Government will change. In this way will the opening of national institutions embarrass the Government? There is at present a great struggle for independence going on in the country. In such struggles in other countries, students have always taken a great part. Is it proper at the same time for our young men to be kept out of the struggle under the system of education obtaining in the country? It is for these reasons that the boycott of Government-aided schools and colleges is regarded as an essential item in the non-co-operation programme.

Navjivan (72), 10th Oct.; *Navsári Patrika* (73), 10th Oct.

5. Mr. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—Government schools in Gujarat are being deserted. I congratulate two of the professors of the Gujarat College on their having resigned their posts to join national institutions and hope that other teachers and professors will emulate their example and join the national movement. But I have more hope in the students, for when they leave schools and colleges teachers and professors will have to give up their service. Many students have given up studying in the Gujarat College. I wish the College is completely deserted. I consider it to be the primary duty of everyone to be manly. At present men have lost their manliness and women their womanliness. *Swarájya* will be acquired when all say, with one voice, that they do not want to be dependent upon others. The country will be free when the students are inspired with feelings for acquiring self-government on national lines. At present students are made to realise the power of the Empire and to bow down to it. How can the Empire teach anything else to its students? I mean to teach the students their first lessons in effecting their liberation by asking them to give up Government schools and request their guardians to co-operate with me in my efforts. [The *Navsari Patrika* writes:—The slavish nature of the Indians bears testimony to the success of the Western education in India during a century and a half. Now that there is an awakening in India the mistakes committed in the past require to be corrected. Steps must, therefore, be taken to impart national education that will infuse high character into the students and fill them with the love of their motherland.]

A justification for non-co-operation.
Hindu (153), 3rd Oct.

6. Mr. Tilak's idea was that until Government officials were prepared to co-operate with the people there should be no co-operation from the latter, that is to say, that there should be no responsive co-operation from the people. Mr. Tilak had come to this conclusion in view of the hostile attitude of the bureaucracy towards the people of this country. And from what has happened since, it would appear that the bureaucracy is not prepared to co-operate with the people. How can then the people be expected to co-operate with it? It is because of this unchanged attitude of the bureaucracy that the people have adopted the programme of non-co-operation. On the other hand co-operation has proved bad not only for a dependent country like India, but even for a free country like England. It is co-operation on the part of powerful men in England that is responsible for the present irresponsible Government and for Parliament not being minded at all. It is this co-operation which is responsible for the trouble in Ireland, in Egypt and in India and for the war in Mesopotamia. And according to Mr. Houghton it is a sin to co-operate with the strong. When co-operation has been the cause of so much mischief in a free country, how disastrous must be its results in India. With an unsympathetic and cruel bureaucracy in the country, for a subject nation to co-operate with the Government is to put more shackles round itself. It is no use indulging in vain hopes. Fear and trust, bureaucracy and democracy, sword and loyalty, can never go together. The struggle now in the country is a struggle between these forces, and India has to make

her choice now. Either she must co-operate with the Government and put more fetters round herself, or she must be self-reliant through non-co-operation and be free.

Nationalist party and non-co-operation.
Kesari (11a), 12th Oct.

7. The time has come now for India to adopt non-co-operation. The policy of co-operation was tried for 150 years and the people are quite disgusted with it. It is not that all will adopt non-co-operation. There will be some who will co-operate; but, unfortunately for Government, they will be very few. Personally, we do not think it will be possible to make non-co-operation successful in a year, as Mr. Gandhi says. The boycott of Councils is the easiest thing. More difficult is the giving up of the profession of law. All lawyers cannot be prepared for it. Even if they are the Courts will not be empty and Government will not be paralysed. For students to leave schools is still more difficult. A higher step is the boycott of foreign goods. If the boycott extends beyond luxuries, it will be impracticable. The most difficult form of non-co-operation is non-payment of taxes. But in one way it is not really so difficult, and it will be immediately most effective. Thousands of persons must be ready to give up their all, in order that it may be taken up. But that day is not yet. Even Mr. Gandhi has not directly moved the point for the present. What is then the difference between an Extremist and a Moderate? A Moderate does not want even to utter the word non-co-operation. Mr. Gandhi goes to the other extreme. The Nationalist party holds the middle position. It declares non-co-operation acceptable. But it thinks that all should join the movement, and that therefore the first steps should not be too hard. Non-co-operation is not a movement that will succeed in a year or two, but a beginning must be made now and as days pass on the higher steps should be taken. The Nationalist party is thus steady but quite determined.

Rájakáran (129), 10th Oct.

8. What does the passing of the non-co-operation resolution in the Calcutta Congress by such a crushing majority go to prove? It shows that the Indian nation of thirty crores of people has got tired of the prevalent condition of things. It has lost its peace of mind, it has become exasperated, and is on the way to resort to methods of desperation. A nation possesses emotions just like the individual. For the last fifty years our people have been exercising the greatest thoughtfulness and caution in everything they have done, and yet what is the result that we see? The country is seen reduced to such a degraded condition and is wallowing in such slavery, that the like of it is not to be seen anywhere on earth! While, after the war, small countries like Armenia and Poland were granted independence, India had to face the Rowlatt Act, the Punjáb martial law regime and the Dyer massacre. The nation is also being impoverished and the people are starving. Can any peoole's condition be worse than this? Even a worm turns when trodden upon, and so the sorely pressed people of India have declared themselves in favour of non-co-operation. They should, however, bear in mind that just as after the 1906 Congress, Government patted the Moderates and repressed the Nationalists, now also there is every likelihood that repression is being resorted to by Government. Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Madras, has openly declared non-co-operatien to be illegal while Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha have characterised it as 'pernicious and mischievous.' The nationalists are aware that many people will not be able to carry out non-co-operation and thus will subject themselves to the ridicule of the Moderates; but those who are not afraid of the wrath of the bureaucrats would not care a fig for the ridicule of the country's traitors—the Moderates. A rich prostitute may laugh at the poverty-stricken faithful wife; but that does not mean that prostitution is to be preferred to chastity. The non-co-operation resolution means a strike of the whole nation and it will not be at all strange if it takes months together to organise it, and its success will depend upon the tenacity the people will show. If there is disunion, the strike will fail and the responsibility of the failure will be on the heads of those who will disobey the mandate of the nation.

9. We are surprised to see that a manifesto has been issued by some of the members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber advising the boycotting of the reformed Legislative Councils, particularly because the Indian Merchants' Chamber in its early days had put up a strong fight for obtaining a seat in the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils and later on for being represented in the reformed Legislative Councils. We confidently hope that a large majority of the members of the Chamber will not support this manifesto. We do not believe at all that they will be led away by the minority to adopt a policy calculated to endanger the interests of the merchants of the whole country. It behoves the Chamber to enter their protest against non-co-operation at the earliest opportunity and to nip this suicidal political movement in the bud. We are glad to note that a meeting of the Chamber is shortly going to be convened for this purpose and also to note that a majority of the members are opposed to the movement.

The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau and the boycott of the new Councils.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 14th Oct.

10. Referring to the joint letter of certain Bombay firms declining to take part in the Council elections the *Indian Social Reformer* writes :—" The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau is what is known as a special electorate. The Chamber and Bureau has the right of returning a member, and if a majority of the members were of the view of the protestants, nothing is easier than for them to pass a resolution stating that the Chamber should not return a member..... That this has not been done shows that these firms are in a minority unable to influence the decision of the Chamber..... Have the signatories carried out, or do they intend to carry out, the other items of the non-co-operation programme including boycott of foreign goods?"

Indian Social Reformer (7), 17th Oct.

11. Bombay deserves to be congratulated on its having practically boycotted the Councils. Only the Moderates who have been dazed by the glamour of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms have come forward as candidates for election. Not a single Muhammadan has come forward as a candidate for the Provincial Council and we must, therefore, congratulate the community. Four Parsis have stood up for election from the city of Bombay. The Parsis are lacking in public spirit and political enthusiasm is dead among them. They hold such narrow and selfish views on politics that it would be futile to expect them to boycott the Councils or resort to non-co-operation. [The *Deshodaya* calls upon its readers neither to stand as candidates nor to give their votes and thus carry out the advice given by Mr. Gandhi.]

Boycott of Councils.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 14th Oct.; *Deshodaya* (66), 12th Oct.

12. In the opinion of the *Swarájya*, the non-co-operation movement is responsible for the removal of the bar which precluded the Punjáb leaders, who were convicted during the disturbances of last year from standing for election to the reformed Councils. It also attributes to the same cause the recent decision of Government whereby a candidate who resided at the principal town of a district can now stand for election for that district. The paper calls these concessions mouse-traps set to inveigle the people and asks them to avoid them. It further exhorts them to redouble their efforts to make the non-co-operation movement a success. [The *Lokasangraha* expresses its conviction that the leaders of the different places in Maháráshtra will endeavour to convince the people of the necessity of boycotting the Councils.]

Swarájya (139), 7th Oct.; *Lokasangraha* (117), 12th Oct.

13. "The election is in full swing, but we notice that the collision between two tram cars opposite the Maidan has created more excitement for the public than the inauguration of a great scheme of reforms blessed by Mr. Montagu, damned by Anglo-India and repudiated by the people. About fifty candidates, many of them nonentities, finding the line clear of all obstacles, having entered their names for the race, find that some have been returned unopposed, while the

The Reformed Council nominations.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Oct.

remainder gird their loins for the fray undaunted by the prospect of being boycotted by the voters. Of course, we must not forget Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas or Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. One more nod on the Bench and Sir Chimanlal would have missed the 'election', leaving Mr. Jamnadas to bear alone upon his broad shoulders the woes and burdens of this Presidency. It could not have been simpler if Mr. Montagu had left it to the chosen fifty to elect themselves instead of bothering about electorates—wasting the nation's energies and his own silk handkerchiefs consumed in the process of wiping his famous monocle while perusing voluminous blue-books. We are informed that there are no Muhammandan nominees for the Council of State. This may be due to non-co-operation. But we do not know whether the Europeans of the Presidency, who are entitled to one seat, have also adopted Mr. Gandhi's programme, for there is no news of a nomination yet. Perhaps they are late risers and were not quite so quick about it as Sir Chimanlal. We are indeed on the threshold of a new era. The dawn of a new day is breaking the gloom of a political night, while an irreverent cock crows thrice. In the Councils there will be no cock-crowing—the voice of the people will speak out resolutely through the lips of the nation's chosen representatives!"

Will the boycott of Councils prove successful?
Bharatwasi (152), 1st Oct.

14. It is said that the chief purpose of the boycott of Councils is to show the British Government and the world at large that the people of India have discarded the reforms that the former have granted to them. The question, therefore, is whether the people who have resorted to this method of boycott will achieve the end in view. We know that there was a sharp difference of opinion on the question of boycott of Councils in the Congress held at Calcutta. We know that veteran Congressmen were opposed to this boycott. We also know that those who do not want to go against the decision of the Congress have not yet made up their minds to take action on it. All this means that a large proportion of the intelligent of the country disapprove of the boycott of Councils. We must admit at the same time that if there was a complete boycott of Councils, the purpose of the non-co-operators would be served. But the question is whether this is possible. It must be remembered that there are in all 8 or 9 hundred Council seats, and withdrawals of candidatures, so far reported, amount to 100 approximately. Some of these withdrawals are from men whose condidatures were not known to any body. We have similar instances in Sind. It is quite possible that some seats may remain vacant. But these will be very few indeed. The electorates which for the most part consist of people living outside big towns will have little regard for the decision of the Congress. As regards big towns even there the influence of the Congress decision will not be so great as to keep away all intending candidates.

Comments on a circular asking Talatis to take Council voters to polling booths.
Kesari (114), 12th Oct.

15. Government used formerly to maintain that it could not make any changes in the Election rules till the special court established for the purpose gave its decisions and that till then even the rules could not be authoritatively interpreted. But the Congress decision on non-co-operation has changed the whole situation. Now Government can make changes in the rules and can authoritatively interpret them. Government are going still further. Talatis are being given orders which convey an idea of using compulsion to take the electors to the polling stations. A copy of such a circular has been forwarded to us, and it says, 'You should take the electors desirous of voting to the polling stations.' This would be interpreted by the Talatis to mean that they should gather the voters like sheep and drive them to the booth. Whatever the Talatis and their officers may say, Government can compel nobody to vote; if the electors refuse the Talatis' invitation pointblank they break no Government orders. The words 'Talatis should take the voters with them' are misleading. We hope they have not been used under Government orders.

16. A great wave of enthusiasm has passed over the whole of India since Mahatma Gandhi inaugurated his non-co-operation movement. We see that Ireland and Egypt have achieved great things by resorting to non-co-operation, and we fail to understand why it should not succeed in India. Now that Mahatma Gandhi has shown the way, the duty of the country is to follow it and help to make it a success. Unfortunately there seems to be a great deal of difference of opinion in Maháráshtra but we in the Karnátak see our path clear and that is to follow Mahatma Gandhi. In the last six months the Karnátak has done two things: one of them is the holding of a Karnátak Conference, and the other a memorial to Lokamanya Tilak. And now our duty is to keep the fountain of non-co-operation always flowing, and for this purpose we must form an association under the presidency of Mr. Belvi for concerted and organised work.

Non-co-operation should be pushed on in the Karnatak.

Karnátak Mitra (39), 7th Oct.

17. Mr. Gandhi has been preaching his programme of measures for weakening the power of Government with such vehemence that we are afraid that his followers will soon lose their heads. We do not think that Mr. Gandhi and other leaders of the people are aware that their attempts at estranging the people from Government will result in grave dangers to the country. Mr. Gandhi himself does not seem to have even the faintest idea that his non-co-operation movement is adding fuel to the fire of political discontent in this country and that it will result in a terrible conflagration. Mr. Gandhi has lost his equilibrium owing to the vast number of blind followers he has secured. Mr. Gandhi has of late been carrying matters in a high-handed manner and some of his followers who were his great admirers have begun to leave him. Mr. Gandhi has too much of self-confidence to realise the dangers of his policy or to see that his influence is waning. All the world over we see that Labour is trying to contend against Capital and to get rid of all inequalities. But what is the result of such visionary ideas? We must bear the example of Russia in mind. The people of India must be cautious in their clamour for national government, lest there be anarchy and bloodshed in trying to secure a national form of government. The seeds of Bolshevism are gradully being sown in India and India might be another Russia if attempts are not made to extirpate the Bolshevist menace. There seems to be an awakening in the labouring classes, but they want double wages for half the amount of work. Will such an awakening rejuvenate the Indian industries? The working classes with rare exceptions show indifference to their work or spend most of their enhanced wages in drink. These people have come to believe in the strength of union, which they think can force their employers to do as they wish them to do. At such a time Mr. Gandhi is preaching non-co-operation, which we are afraid will lead them to Bolshevism. Mr. Gandhi is playing with fire by asking the people to resort to non-co-operation. [The *Political Bhomiyo* hints at the evil consequences of the non-co-operation movement and calls upon those who are preaching it to give up their propaganda in accordance with the wishes of the well-wishers of India.]

Dangers of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 16th Oct.; *Political Bhomiyo* (74), 8th Oct.

18. While giving up of legal practice and withdrawal of children from schools require some self-sacrifice, boycott of the new Councils does not involve any, and it has, therefore, been adopted by the Nationalists. They have thus misled the people and the valuable opportunity of taking part in the administration of the country has thus been lost by them. We feel sure that gradually this madness of boycotting the Councils will disappear and experience will show that the wiser and easier way of winning *swarajya* lies in entering the Councils. But till then the country will suffer. We would, therefore, appeal to the Nationalists to reconsider the position and to take part in the Council elections.

Kalpataru (113), 10th Oct.

19. "Mr. Gandhi is trying, as it were, to force the non-co-operation resolution on the country at large, in spite of his pretensions of fair-mindedness and concession to the honest views of others..... We had thought that the opinion of the influential minority that had dissented from Mr. Gandhi's proposals would have some influence in toning down the recommendations of the Sub-Committee. But Mr. Gandhi, saint though he is, has all the fanaticism of a *Mulla* bent upon having his own way. Mr. Motilal Nehru, the latest recruit to the Nationalist camp, is for out-heroding Herod, as it were..... Title-holders are to be approached to give up their titles. And if they do not their names are to be marked, and sent to provincial headquarters! We hope their names are not to be inserted as in the proscription lists of Sulla and Marius of old! Because with all the profession of Mr. Gandhi for non-violence and peace, the Committee throw out a hint of social boycott. We do not know if this remedy will make for peace..... If Mr. Gandhi is sincere, if Mr. Gandhi really means to act up to his defined principles, he should muzzle up his dogs betimes! For unless he does so, his propaganda will slide rapidly into disorder, disturbance and serious menace to those who would act up to their conscience. We are already beginning to feel the tyranny of the majority in so many directions. Volunteers are visiting the houses of voters to make the latter sign a declaration that they do not want to vote and would go unpresented..... Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation, the moment it resorts to social boycott, ceases to be a spiritual weapon, a soul-force, a satyagraha as he was fond of styling it before..... If the whole programme does not fizzle, as we hope it will, the result will be not the paralysing of Government and the bringing nearer of *Swaráj* but the paralysis of the national will, a chaos and anarchy wherein all that is sane, healthy and progressive will be submerged and wiped out by morbid sentimentalism, reactionary obscurantism, and disorder and repression of the worst character..... Those who stand for co-operation must now bodly come forward, band themselves together, and carry on an energetic campaign to save the people from their own hands. Silence and indifferentism are a crime under the circumstances for which no expiation would suffice when the hour has gone by." [The *Vijay Marátha* writes:—The Extremists instigated Mahatma Gandhi to wander over the country with his firebrand of non-co-operation and thus create discontent among the people. That Mahatma Gandhi should forget his past experience and ask the people to have recourse to the extreme measure of non-co-operation is much to be regretted. It is the country's misfortune that a responsible leader like him should abandon all constitutional means and tell the people that he can secure *swarajya* for them within one year.]

Subodh Patrika (49), 10th Oct., Eng. cols.; *Vijayi Marátha* (143), 7th Oct.

20. We have no reason to hope that the non-co-operation movement will be of any use in the solution of the Khilafat question. Powerful nations of Europe can, if they choose to, help the Khilafat cause. What can India do for that cause? It has for centuries been under the yoke of the foreigner and is not likely to get so strong as to help the Khalif to regain his lost position. The present agitation may, however, succeed in compelling the British to make over the reins of Government not to the indigenous people but the first settlers in the country. And it is with a view to this, that Mr. Gandhi ia exploiting the Mussalmans. According to the resolution passed by the Congress the new Councils are the first to be boycotted. Even if they (Congressmen) do not seek election there are several Moderates who can even more worthily fill their places. Then there are several zamindars, jagirdas etc., who will stand as candidates for the Councils, their heads not having been turned by western education. Thus the Councils will not be without Indian members. The men in charge of the affairs will conduct them as they did before, with enough men to say ditto to what they propose. Government will not be embarrassed in the least. As regards boycott of Councils we cannot see how this will cause Government to suffer. If pleaders do not attend Courts, they and perhaps litigants will suffer but not Government. It is therefore not wise to boycott Courts. A third item is that boys should leave Government schools as they are not run on national lines. On a little reflection it will be seen

Musáfir (156), 2nd Oct.

that it is the Government system of education which is the cause of the present unrest. If we remove our children from Government schools, it will be we that will suffer and not Government. At the same time it is true that boycott of schools, if it is practised for a long time, may cause some difficulty to Government in the way of obtaining recruits for Government offices. For another quarter of a century, however, there will be no such difficulty in view of the educated men now available in the country. A fourth item is the boycott of Government services, including the Police and Military departments. This is not only impracticable but also harmful to the country. How will those who give up their appointments maintain themselves? There are no factories in the country where they can earn a livelihood. Nor are there many Government servants who have capital enough to start a trade. When so many people are out of employ they will do any thing to keep their bodies and souls together. This is a very serious aspect of the question and must not be lost sight of. As regards Police and military sepoys, these, when out of employ, will only rob us with none to protect us. It is not safe, therefore, to preach a doctrine, the practice of which is fraught with such dire consequences.

21. We must congratulate the Liberal party in Bombay under the leadership of Sir Dinshaw Wacha on the wise step they have taken in coming forward to sound a note of warning against the excesses of the non-co-operation movement. We are gratified to note that at a recent meeting of the Liberal party it was resolved to prepare and distribute leaflets in the vernaculars pointing out the reactionary nature and evil results of the movement and to make arrangements for delivering lectures with a view to enlightening the electors on the opportunity afforded to them of electing their representatives to the new Council and thus speeding the cause of full self-government within the Empire. We hope the Committee appointed on the occasion will take active measures to bring the resolutions into operation without any undue delay. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* and *Akhbár-e-Islám* approve of the action of the Liberal Party and hope they will be able to achieve their object. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"We are glad to see that the Liberal party in Bombay has at last woke up from its lethargy and has decided to start an active campaign of propaganda to organise and strengthen the forces of liberalism. Steps are to be taken to educate public opinion against the non-co-operation movement by means of leaflets printed in the vernaculars, and also lectures and meetings in different parts of the country. This is a wise move on the part of the Moderates, and Sir Dinshaw Vacha, as the head of the Liberal party, deserves credit for it."]

Comments on the action taken by the Bombay Liberal Party against non-co-operation.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 12th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 14th Oct.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 12th Oct.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 17th Oct., Eng. cols.

***22.** "When the Government is out to defeat non-co-operation, and especially the boycott of Councils by making concessions to seduce people to stand and vote for the new Councils, the Moderates, who glory in being in Siamese twinship with Government, are setting about to achieve the same object by making a vigorous and persistent counter-propaganda. The other day the Bombay Moderates met and passed a goods-train-like resolution heaping all manner of curses upon non-co-operation..... The fate of such a counter-movement, chiefly when the whole Nation is full well convinced of the utility and necessity of non-co-operation as well as of the utter futility of the Moderate form of agitation, is a foregone conclusion. It is for the people at large to beware of the Moderates and all their manœuvres."

Mahratta (8), 17th Oct.

23. "Lord Willingdon in his speech at the Legislative Council, Madras, calls the (non-co-operation) movement 'disloyal'. Is self-discipline disloyalty? Lord Willingdon has spoken out what the bureaucracy think of the movement; and the prosecution of Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and some other Khilafat workers in Sind and outside is a clear indication of the fact, which we have referred to again and

Comments on Lord Willingdon's views about non-co-operation.

New Times (9), 5th Oct.

again, that the bureaucracy desire to crush the movement with repression. Whether repression will succeed in checking the movement or not will depend on ourselves; if we meet the challenge of repression with self-control, self-denial, self-suffering, there is no power on earth that can crush the cause."

24. The *Lokasangraha* comments at length on Lord Willingdon's remarks on non-co-operation in the Madras Legislative Council and says:—Lord Willingdon himself admits that the Congress has given a challenge to the British Government inasmuch as it has adopted non-co-operation. Why should Government and the officials needlessly deceive themselves any longer? They should well note that the Indian nation has taken in hand the weapon of non-co-operasion and Government should prepare to meet the situation. They should not uselessly try to frighten the people. Lord Willingdon says that Mahatma Gandhi's agitation is unconstitutional. Who gave the constitution, and when, to the administrative system under which the Jhallianwalla Baug slaughter took place and terrible oppression and injustice were committed, and how does non-violent non-co-operation meant to check such uncontrolled, oppressive, immoral authority become unconstitutional? Lord Willingdon has openly perverted the object of Mr. Gandhi's movement. Mahatma Gandhi is as loyal as Lord Willingdon himself, and his special feature is that he has laid the Empire under his obligations, whereas Lord Willingdon has harmed it. Not much can be made of the Turkish signature on the Peace Treaty. Did Turkey sign it or was she compelled to do it? Government are welcome to do as they like, but they should bear in mind that whatever be the difficulties, non-violent non-co-operation will not be given up. Lord Willingdon reminds Mr. Gandhi insolently and provocatively of the measures adopted by Government against *Satyagraha*. Mr. Gandhi has not forgotten them and he is also not afraid of them. Lord Willingdon wants India to be grateful for the services rendered by Englishmen to her. Many generations of these men died here, no doubt—but for what? To enslave an independent nation, to impoverish the rich, to destroy her industries and arts and to crush our culture. All these things have been done by them devotedly in order to make beasts of us. They gave us education in order to enslave us; the Railway lines were constructed in order to loot us. In fact whatever has been done has been for their benefit and our loss. [The *Sandesh* remarks that non-co-operation is not at all seditions, as contended by Lord Willingdon, and says that nobody can be compelled to co-operate. If it be said that non-co-operation betrays anger, and that anger is sedition, it continues, non-co-operation has been adopted by the people not because they they are angry with Government but because they love it. The Roman, Greek and Muhammadan Empires were destroyed one after the other. Non-co-operation has been begun in order to save the British Empire and in order that England may not meet with the punishment suffered by other Empires. Non-co-operation has been started to save both England and India and not to destroy England.]

Lokasangraha (117), 9th and 10th Oct.; *Sandesh* (130), 9th Oct.

***25.** "Signs are not wanting to prove that repression and coercion, terrorism and frightfulness, in fact all manner of oppressive measures which the necessity of tightening the monkey-grip over India invents and which the fertile brains and the hardened hands of the inspissated bureaucrts are capable respectively of contriving and executing, have begun to gather together and darken the horizon of India. A blank card is already placed in the not unwilling hands of the Jupiter of Simla and other lesser deities are rivalling with one another to get as many bits of the card as possible. The open-minded Harmost of Madras has only very recently denounced as 'unconstitutional and disloyal' the new albeit the most effective weapon which India has forged for itself..... The shrewd and astute Bombay satrap has had his visit to the shrine at Simla and certainly he must have returned after religiously taking his fill at the fountain-head of inspiration. In other provinces too editors of newspapers are being arrested and prosecuted, press securities are forfeited, speakers are being dragged into the Court of Law for trial and finally

Repression and the non-co-operation movement.

Mahrátta (8), 17th Oct.

for sentence. Every move or action which Government takes, is, consciously or unconsciously (we think the former), opposed directly to the wishes of the people, witness the export of foodstuffs and the prohibition against the *Moslem Outlook* and the *Daily Herald*. Every measure of Government is calculated to add fuel to the fire of discontent with, and consequent disaffection and hatred of, Government that is furiously flaming up in every Indian heart. And the misery is that, to crown all, the Government is out to suppress, with all the physical force—for regarding moral or spiritual force the Government is a certified bankrupt—it can command, the volcano of discontent, apparently slumbering but in reality burning with its native secrecy and its unseen, unmarked and unknown power. Whither will such a policy of repression lead?..... Repression and terrorism have never yet killed the life of a nation; they but increase the disaffection and drive it underground to pursue an unhealthy course breaking out occasionally into crimes of violence. Are British people bent upon taking the bit in their mouth? Will they not realise the true import of the teaching of history till they break their shins against it? Let them not ignore the fact that the people in India are being goaded into rebellion, although by nature they shall have none of it. Will the Government pause in its career of repression or will it march on in the pride of strength and power it can wield? If so, let them ponder over this: 'Surely the race is not to be swift, nor the battle to the srong, but time and chance happeneth them all'."

26. "The policy in Sind has been one of repression since the commencement of the Khilafat movement. The public have protested against it again and again; but the bureaucracy has gone about its work on the path of persecution via prosecution. Khilafat workers in Sind have been arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned, harassed, punished in a variety of ways for expressing certain opinions! Every civilized government to govern must punish crimes; but the Sind bureaucracy is out to punish opinions; and the 'most popular Governor' has not checked repression in Sind. The policy of repression which has been tried for some time in Sind is evidently going to be extended to other provinces. Can the policy of repression succeed? If only the bureaucracy would read history for an answer!..... Austria tried it in Italy and produced Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi. The Czars tried it in Russia; the result was Bolshevism. England has tried it in Ireland; the result is Sinn Feinism. The bureaucracy has tried it for so many years in India; the result is a movement of non-co-operation gathering strength every day..... Why did England sit heavy on Egypt until forced to relax its grip? Why does England still sit heavy on Mesopotamia? Why is England still deaf to the call of the millions of Muslims and Hindus? Why has England failed to do justice to the Punjáb? The War has had its demoralising effect on England; and the bureaucracy in India is drunk with prestige and power; it refuses to read the lessons of history..... What is more natural for a bureaucracy that believes in the creed of coercion, not the creed of Christ, than to launch a campaign of repression against non-co-operation?..... We must expect more assaults on free opinion and the Press in Sind; and we must meet the bureaucracy's challenge in a spirit of deep humility and with faith in the spirit of history."

Comments on the repressive policy of the authorities in Sind against Khilafat workers.

New Times (9), 7th Oct.

***27.** "The situation created in Bombay by the strike of postmen, telegraph men, Tramway Company's drivers and conductors and gasmen has become intolerable. The attempt made in some quarters to make out that the temporary postal arrangements devised by the Postal Department are working to the satisfaction of the public can only be characterised as nothing but absolutely dishonest. It is monstrous to expect ignorant people to find out their cards and letters at the Delivery Centres, when educated men find it almost impossible to get at their postal communications even after weary waiting and laborious inspection of the huge piles of cards and letters they are called upon to scrutinise. Newspapers are being systematically stolen

Comments on the various strikes in progress in Bombay.

Gujarati (19), 17th Oct., Eng. cols.

away by unscrupulous persons. Business and professional men are being subjected to the greatest inconvenience and annoyance owing to the miscarriage or less of the communications addressed to them or the exasperating delay of days together in obtaining them. Students, who have to depend upon remittances from their parents and guardians, are being subjected to grave hardships, as they cannot get their money orders. Telegrams are not obtained in time, if at all. Tram cars are not available to thousands of daily passengers who have to attend their offices or business, or return home in the evening after the day's toil and trouble. Public roads and private streets are shrouded in darkness at night, and men and women find it dangerous to visit temples or return home at night. Trade and business have been dislocated, and though the inhabitants of the Fort and fashionable and influential quarters are being well attended to at enormous cost on extemporised workers and special arrangements, the native city is being treated with cold neglect or callous indifference. We are sorry that His Excellency the Governor should not be in Bombay at this juncture but at Simla with his whole staff. There must be some good reason for his presence at Simla. But that is not known to the public, and it is most anomalous that when the people are suffering from all kinds of hardships, Sir George Lloyd should not be present on the spot to judge of the situation for himself and exercise his moral influence on the employers as well as the employees and thus put an end to the strikes. It is not creditable to the Government that the Postal and Telegraph Departments, which were at one time models of system and method, regularity and punctuality, are now completely disorganised in a city like Bombay and should not be able to come to some compromise with their aggrieved servants. The Tramway and Gas Companies are probably following the example in obstinacy set by the Government of India in dealing with the postal and telegraph workers..... We would be the first to condemn unreasonable or extravagant demands on the part of the employes of Government Departments or public companies. But assuming for a moment that the responsible authorities regard them in that light, no convincing materials have been placed before the public to show that it is the men that are foolish and obstinate, and that their employers are quite in the right. The people have waited and suffered long enough. It is now time for them to convene an influential public meeting and request Government no hold an impartial inquiry into the grievances of the strikers in their two. Departments. To attempt to starve them into submission is a cruel blunder It will result in a general strike amongst the workers in the country, and it will then be found very difficult to cope with the situation thus created."

28. Reviewing the strike situation in Bombay the *Gujarâti* writes :—

Gujarâti (19), 10th Oct.; *Akhbâr-e-Islâm* (58), 11th Oct.; *Insaf* (69), 15th Oct.

The spreading of the strike epidemic in Bombay and elsewhere shows that the working classes in the country are not content with their present condition. We regret to have to say that the so-called leaders of the working classes here only create trouble between the employees and the employers and do nothing else. Nothing is so regrettable as that the impression should have been created in the minds of the workmen that the masters are robbers, that they only enrich themselves by exacting work from workmen, that they are, as it were, enemies of the workmen. The spreading of such an impression among the working classes is detrimental to the industrial activities of the country. What is the attitude of the working classes now-a-days? At short intervals of time they ask for an increase in wages and their leaders advise them to go on strike without considering the situation. These leaders do not for a moment sit down to consider that the increase in the cost of labour in turn recoils upon the labourer himself in the long run and that the capitalists will continue to charge interest at a certain rate on their investments and to similarly calculate profits. The real remedy against high prices consists in increasing the outturn of production, and not in increasing wages. Again, several dangerous principles are observed to have found a place in the quarrels between the employer and the employed. For instance, the employees of the Tramway Company demand immunity from being prosecuted for cheating. Is it not atrocious that such employees should find sympathisers?

The demands of the workmen of the Gas Company are also terrible. They demand that the seven men whose services the Company dispensed with, because, as the Company plead, their services were not necessary, must be reinstated. The Manager of the Company offered to get their case decided by an arbitration board, but the employees did not accept the offer. This means that a master cannot dispense with the services of those who are not required for his purposes. Who will say that the industries of the country will prosper under these circumstances? We do not understand what principles of justice are to be fought out except the imperious high-handedness of the workman? So long as the Tramway Company and the Gas Company will not fight it out to the last, the working classes will not come to their senses. We do not mean that workmen should be made to work like slaves, we do not mean that they should be starved, but we cannot approve of their going on strike unreasonably. The employees of the Postal and Telegraph Departments would have done better if they had gone on strike after agitation had been commenced among the public in connection with their demands. We do not understand what was the aim of the Director-General in having paid a visit to Bombay. What was the purpose underlying the spending of public money over his journey from Simla to Bombay and back? It behoves Government to institute an inquiry into the economic disease overpowering the working classes and take steps calculated to eradicate it. [In this connection the *Akhbár-i-Islám* suspects that the non-co-operation movement is responsible for the unrest among the working classes inasmuch as the lectures delivered in connection with the movement have created a very bad impression upon their minds. The paper concludes with a suggestion that Government should appoint a special officer to investigate into the economic condition of the working classes. The *Insaf* remarks that the root cause, namely, high prices, which gives rise to discontent among the working classes and which is therefore responsible for strikes, must be effectively dealt with.]

The labour unrest and Government's duty with regard to it.
Mahrátta (8), 17th Oct.

*29. After dilating on the point that the labour unrest in India is only a part of a world-movement, the *Mahrátta* writes :—"The conditions described above obtain predominantly in Western countries and India is only at the door-step. But at the same time it must be remembered that India is pre-eminently a democratic country—in spite of the verdict of ignorant Western experts to the contrary—and these principles underlying the great labour struggle will be absorbed in India with greater appetite and ease than even in the Western countries. It, therefore, behoves both the Government and the leaders of the people to put their heads together, profit by experience of the past and avoid the disastrous catastrophe. The old social fabric held together by peculiar social laws and customs is crumbling to pieces by the new forces of Western civilisation, and there is nothing to replace it. The social laws and customs prevailing in European countries are so alien to the spirit and character of Indians that their blind imitation would spell nothing but disaster. This confusion, already brought into being by political exigencies, will be worse confounded if India is allowed to or rather forced to pass through one and all the evoluntionary and revolutionary stages of European industrial struggle, and hence there is the great necessity of early realising the situation and solving the problem before it goes out of hand. In India, as elsewhere, the Government is the most important and the greatest employer of labour, and it is the primary duty of Government to set an example by solving this problem to the satisfaction of all concerned. Is this present Government doing its duty in this light? The answer is emphatically in the negative. Unless the Government proves itself wiser and saner in this respect it cannot dictate its wishes nor it can read sermons to either the railway companies or the capitalists, the next great employers of labour. What do these strikes of postmen and telegraph peons in Bombay indicate? Are not all the lower grades of government service completely dissatisfied at the wages they receive at present? The Government employees in all departments are fast forming their unions which clearly indicate that they are themselves preparing for the dire struggle that is ahead. And what is the attitude of the Government towards their lower grade servants? It is unconsciously playing the

rôle of a hard-headed and hard-hearted capitalist..... The Government has increased its expenditure in wages to six crores and odd but the major portion of it has been consumed by the all-devouring Military Department and a very small portion has fallen to the lot of the civilians. Even in that case the biblical maxim of 'giving more to those that have' has proved too true. The higher grade officers are highly paid and the poor and the weak of the lower grades go to the wall..... Let the Government first set an example of a good employer and then enforce their will on railway companies and other capitalist employers."

30. Referring to the various strikes, the *Kesari* says:—The chief cause is discontent in the Labour world caused by high prices. It is the duty of the officials of every department to remove the discontent prevailing there in its entirety. But if the officials do not take into consideration the just grievances and demands of the employees, it is the duty of Government to bring them to their senses. It is only a question of maintenance; if Government form perverse ideas and adopt irrational measures and pay 50 per cent. more to outsiders and refuse the just demands of permanent men, then ideas that do not exist at present in the minds of strikers will arise therein and a plain economic question will assume a political aspect and it will be hard for Government to settle it.

The question of strikes will assume a political aspect if Government do not settle it soon.
Kesari (114), 12th Oct.

***31.** "The Postal authorities are jubilantly signalling 'All's well,' but we know from actual experience that all is not well. The mercantile community has to suffer much loss on account of irregular and erratic deliveries; and as for private individuals, goodness knows how many letters have been given up as lost, stolen or strayed. How long is this state of affairs to continue? We have already said that though some of the demands made by the postmen are immoderate, there is still room for improvement in the time-scale arrangement. Unless both parties show a disposition to meet each other half way, the public will have to suffer owing to the consequent deterioration of the Postal service, which was bad enough before the strike but will become worse as the days go on."

Comments on the Bombay Postmen's strike.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 17th Oct., Eng. cols.

32. "The strong public feeling which has recently found expression in the press and on the platform against Government's intention to allow the export of a stated quantity of food-grains is natural and cannot be regarded as unreasonable. Large masses of the people have been hit hard by the high prices which have prevailed in the country for the past few years. The monsoon has been defective this year over large tracts, and had it not been for the rains which have recently fallen in some districts, we should have had a widespread famine in our midst. Under these circumstances, India's stock of food-grains must be carefully husbanded, and Government should take every practicable measure to distribute and cheapen foodstuffs so as to relieve the severe economic pressure felt by the people. The impression has been created that Government is itself arranging the export of food-grains to foreign countries and thus ignoring the effects high prices have produced upon the working and other classes in the community. Government only knows too well that the existing unrest in the country is mainly due to the increased cost of living, and it ought to do everything in its power to lighten the economic burden."

Protest against the proposed export of food-grains.
Servant of India (10), 14th Oct.

33. It is a matter for surprise that while the crops of the present season have suffered immensely from a bad inundation and for want of rain, the Government of India have allowed the export from the port of Karáchi of four lacs of tons of wheat. If this quantity is exported for the purpose of feeding outsiders, what will remain to us? We can imagine how distressful the condition of Sind will be if so much wheat from the produce of last year is sent out of the country. When some time ago we wrote that the Government of

Al-Wahid (151), 3rd Oct.

India was about to permit the export of wheat from this country in view of the wheat famine in England our statement was contradicted by Government and an assurance was given that no export of wheat would be permitted. It would now appear that our surmise was correct. And the rate which has been fixed by Goverement for wheat is so low that foreign dealers will make purchases of wheat no matter if they want it or not. The people can see through this contrivance and understand how far Government is inspired with sympathy for themselves. The one desire of Government seems to be to see that foreigners should be happy no matter if Indians suffer from poverty and starvation.

34. The Government of Lord Chelmsford has erred once more. Some little time ago there was a rumour in the country that Government was about to remove the restrictions on the export of wheat. The result was large increases in the prices of foodgrains. Immediately the announcement was made that Government had no such intention. What has happened since then which has led Government to remove the restrictions on the export of wheat? So far as we know the conditions now are worse than before. The export of wheat in the present circumstances will cause famine throughout the country especially in Sind, and there will be a general discontent such as we have never witnessed before. Action such as this of Government testifies to their irresponsibility and want of sympathy, and warns the people to be self-reliant.

Vande Mataram (159), 4th Oct.

35. "The Food Controller in England declared some time ago that by the time winter arrived the price of bread would reach a level it never reached before. The threatened unemployment and dislocation of industries in England on a large scale may have weighed with the British Government in the decision to secure India's wheat. The affair is the more pathetic because an Indian gentleman, Mr. Sarma, presides over the department of Revenue and Agriculture. The fact only proves that Indian Members' voice in the Government is like a voice in the wilderness. The Government of India's decision inflicts a serious injury on India's interests; and the gloomy agricultural situation makes the prospects dismal. The Government of India has disregarded the unanimous opinion of the country; its decision means rise in the price of poor men's bread." [The *Gujarâti* remarks:—"The Argentine Government has laid an embargo on the exports of wheat in the interests of the people, and we expect the Indian Government to see that foodstuffs are not allowed to be carried out of the country without let or hindrance and further economic unrest caused among the people."]

New Times (9), 5th Oct.; *Gujarâti* (19), 17th Oct., Eng. cols.

*36. Referring to the recent meeting of Bombay workmen, the *Mahrâtta* remarks:—"And what is the moral of the whole story of the meeting? Even a worm turns when it is trodden. That the workers should have been driven to take a leaf out of the British Dock Labourers' book pointedly shows what a volume of public feeling is arrayed against the iniquitous and rankly selfish action of the Government. The Government poses to be the protector of the interests of the masses. And what have they done for alleviating their sufferings due to the famine and high prices last year? The system of control was instituted, but it was worse than the disease itself, and their miseries were worsened rather than reduced. Now they have come out with a scheme to allow the export of 400,000 tons of wheat, and labourers have been rightly advised not to load wheat into cargo-steamers just as their fellow-brothers did with regard to munitions bound for Ireland or Poland. 'Direct action' as a political weapon may perhaps be open to question, but when the Government is adamant, that is the only way to redress long-standing excruciating economic grievances. All tall talk of the benefit of the farmer due to higher prices consequent on free export of food-grains is so much nonsense so long as people by the thousands go with only one meal a day, and many more linger, not live, on the border-land of starvation. Surely none can view with pleasure Indian labourers clutching at this new weapon; the Government have to thank

Mahrâtta (8), 17th Oct.

themselves for it. They have sown the wind and they must be prepared to reap the whirlwind as best they could."

37. Reviewing the proceedings of the workmen's meeting held at Bombay for protesting against the proposed export of 400,000 tons of wheat, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The demand of the workmen that food-grains, especially wheat and rice, should not be allowed to be exported as long as the needs of the country are not provided for is quite a reasonable demand in view of the high prices prevailing at present and the failure of the monsoon. It is the primary duty of Government to safeguard the interests of the country and they should allow exports to be made only after a sufficient stock of food-stuffs has been reserved for the country. It was said at the meeting that the heavy freight charges made Rangoon rice dearer. It is, therefore, necessary that the freight charges should be considerably lowered. [In this connection the *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes:—If the people have to undergo starvation as a consequence of the unbearably high prices brought about by the exports of foodstuffs, it is natural that disaffection and unrest should prevail among them. Such a state of affairs offers a fair opportunity to the enemies of the country to spread discontent still wider and they are enabled to carry out their purpose. We would not wonder if the root cause of whatever success the advocates of the non-co-operation movement have met with happens to be this, *viz.*, the discontent prevailing among the people on account of high prices. The *Hindusthán* protests against the proposed export of wheat and remarks that it will only add to the hardships being suffered by the public at present especially on account of the failure of the monsoon.]

Sánj Vartamán (33), 11th Oct.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 13th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (23), 15th Oct.

38. Commenting upon the meeting of workmen recently held at Bombay under the presidentship of Mr. Baptista to request Government to prohibit the export of food-grains to foreign countries the *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—In view of the sufferings of the poor in these days of scarcity some such steps as were suggested by the meeting should be taken. We all sympathise with the cause of the workmen and would welcome any measure likely to ameliorate their condition. We are, however, surprised to see Mr. Baptista presiding at a meeting which approaches Government with a request. The question naturally arises why a man who has adopted non-co-operation should preside at a meeting which passes resolutions making certain requests to Government. Of course the spirit of non-co-oporation was not entirely absent from this meeting. The workmen were urged by a resolution not to handle bags of food-grains meant to be shipped to foreign countries. Mr. Chamanlal who moved this resolution should have explained how the workmen were to maintain themselves if they gave effect to it. Also Mr. Baptista can very easily continue to lead a comfortable existence. Long speeches will at the most cause an extra exercise to his lungs but they might cost the poor their lives.

Dnyán Prakásh (18), 15th Oct.

39. In the course of a letter to the *New Times* Swami Shradhanand writes:—"The *Pioneer* says that the Government orders are 'solely in the interests of the cultivator'. At a time when the monsoon has partially failed in the Punjáb and the United Provinces (which are the chief wheat-producing Provinces) the orders of the Government will fall as thunderbolt on the already impoverished people of India..... It is plain that the protests of the Indian people fall flat upon the British bureaucracy, because they are of the nature of mere impotent threats. My humble advice is that the leaders of the people in the Punjáb and the United Provinces should organize a propaganda to induce agriculturists, on no account to part with their hard-earned grain produce which is really the property of the whole country. If they really went to sell any surplus, companies might at once be floated to purchase all the surplus at proper rates. If the agriculturists are explained the true situation they will respond to the call of their natural leaders. I request Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjáb and Pandit Motilal Nehru in the

Agriculturists should be induced to refuse to sell to Government wheat for export.

New Times (9), 9th Oct.

United Provinces to begin work of enlightening the agriculturists at once. There could not be a better case for non-co-operation with the Government because it would lead to real co-operation with the people."

Sufferings of the poor owing to tours of officials.
Indu Prakásh (45), 12th Oct.

40. The *Indu Prakásh* dwells on the experiences of the American who was the guest of His Excellency the Viceroy during his tour in the Punjáb, and who has since expressed his great surprise at the sufferings which the visits of touring officials are allowed to cause to the poor people in India. It says that the evil of making the rayats pay for the expenses of such officials had attained to such dimensions in Sind that Government had to appoint a Committee to devise measures to eradicate it, and tells Government that it is not confined to Sind alone but obtains more or less in other parts of the Presidency also. It expresses its belief that superior officers pay for the articles they receive, but says that somehow the money does not reach those who supply them. In the opinion of the paper the evil is gradually being overcome owing to the spread of education among the people; but it tells the authorities that they would be laying the rayats under great obligations if they resolved to stamp it out wherever it may be found to exist.

Bombay Government's attitude towards cow-slaughter.
Gorakshan (111), 7th Oct.

41. Commenting upon the remarks made by the Honourable Mr. Curtis in the course of a discussion on the prohibition of cow-slaughter in the Bombay Legislative Council, that beef being a cheap and nourishing food, the poor would suffer if its sale were prohibited, the *Gorakshan* writes:—We do not think a more shameless statement has ever before been made. There would have been some justification if Government had said that cow-killing was necessary in the interests of the European residents in this country, but it certainly does not reflect credit upon Government to put forth the plea that cows are being slaughtered for the benefit of the poor. People will rightly give a wide berth to these Councils where their most important questions elicit such replies and thus decide to resort to non-co-operation.

Comments on the Stores Committee's Report.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Oct.

42. "The age of miracles is not gone. We have a report here of a Committee appointed to investigate into a most important economic question affecting India, which has been signed by the majority of members including the solitary Indian member, and taking, on the whole, a favourable view of Indian claims in this respect. Judging from the general tone of the report, and from such sentiments as 'that all stores required for the public service shall be obtained in India'—(we charitably omit the qualifications and reservations from our quotation)—there is fair ground to hope that, if effect is given to the bulk of these recommendations in the spirit in which the Committee have made them, some of the gravest abuses in this respect will be matters of the past..... It must be noted that the terms of reference apparently left out an important consideration. The purchase of stores for the public service can be utilised not merely to assist the industrial development of the country: it must be conducted so as to render our country as little dependent on the foreign market as possible. The experience of the last war will have taught us nothing, if we have not yet perceived the futility of foreign dependence for the most vital necessaries of national existence. If this object had been sufficiently stressed, we imagine the Committee's deleberations would have afforded us some interesting sidelights, though not without demur from those who would make a fetish of departmentel exclusiveness. The Committee explain the indifference of the Government hitherto on the ground of want of sufficient knowledge of local resources on the part of public officers, and the absence of any organisation to make use of even such resources as are known. We wonder if the Committee mean this as a criticism or a condonation, an explanation with a justification, or an apology with a threat. There would be the strongest possible objections to the appointment of officers unacquainted with local resources to such responsible posts..... We would note that the Committee make no reference, as indeed is to be expected from a prudent body of practical men, to any

objectionable or underhand practices prevalent in the quarters concerned with the purchase of stores. We have to await the report and evidence to be enlightened on this point."

Comments on a Tilak memorial meeting at Kabul.
Kesari (114), 12th Oct.

43. His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan attended the Tilak memorial meeting in Kabul and our local unsympathetic officials might learn a lesson from it. For the sake of a handful of Hindu subjects His Majesty the Amir attends and speaks at a Tilak meeting; but a local self-sufficient official prohibits a condolence resolution, another swaggerer stops the dinner given to the poor, a third mischievous person asks the municipalities to submit their explanation, a fourth fool takes the poor school-masters to task for having closed their schools, and a fifth eccentric man fines the students for attending Tilak meetings. All these should hang their heads now down with shame and should not henceforward at least make an exhibition of their conceit and narrow minds.

Imperial Government's gifts of æroplanes to India.
Lokasangraha (117), 12th Oct.

44. Commenting upon the gift of one hundred æroplanes by the Imperial Government to the Government of India, the *Lokasangraha* writes:—According to the usual practice the æroplanes will be handed over to European Companies. We would, however, ask the Indian concerns also to try to secure them so that their failure to get them might convince the world that the bureaucracy purposely keep the Indians from learning the art of flying.

The condition of Ireland.
Swarájya (139), 7th Oct.

45. The authorities in Ireland have become quite helpless. The people there are subjecting them to fresh onslaughts every day. It is most surprising that the English are unable to stop the excesses of the Irish although they are so very near to them. How do the English tolerate the murders of their Police and Military officers in Ireland when at other places they do not consider their prestige to be sufficiently restored unless they kill at least ten men for every Englishman killed? How do they put up with this daily affront at the hands of the Irish? The reply to this is to be found in the fact that the power of the Irish in Ireland has immensely increased while that of the English in that country has not been maintained.

Comments on the acquittal of Gunner Chapman at Agra.
Dnyán Prakásh (42), 15th Oct.

46. Commenting upon the death of a punkha coolie consequent upon an assault upon him by Gunner Chapman at Agra, the *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—Hundreds of punkha coolies have thus lost their lives. The cases went before courts but we doubt whether even a single accused has ever been convicted. In such cases the doctor usually certifies that the coolie had an enlarged spleen which brought about his death owing to a mild assault by the accused. On the strength of this opinion the accused is acquitted and discharged. We think Government should rule, as suggested by the *Leader* of Allahabad, that no European should in future engage an Indian with an enlarged spleen. So long as the decision in such cases is of the usual type, will it be surprising if the Indians become discontented under the impression that no value is attached to their lives?

The Satya Shodhak Samaj *tamasha* should not be allowed to be performed at Poona.
Lokasangraha (117), 9th Oct; *Dnyán Prakásh* (42), 10th Oct.

47. The reader need not be told what a row the *tamasha* of the Satya Shodhak Samaj has created in the Sátára District. We have not heard of any society being benefited by vulgar *tamashas* which cause everyone to hang down his head with shame. Those who follow these reprehensible ways ruin themselves and also incur the sin of dragging others down to the paths of immorality. The madness of the Satya Shodhak Samaj's *tamasha* is of the above type. It is quite disgraceful to the British Government calling themselves civilised to allow this madness openly. It first began in Sátára and the local Collector

should have at once suppressed it. But as it was not dealt with in time, other districts also have to suffer in their turn by its evil effects. We understand that the *tamasha* is to come to Poona and that attempts are being made to get the permission of the local officials. If it be so, the Poona Collector and the District Superintendent of Police should not silently suffer it to be performed like the Sátára Collector but be wise in time. They should not permit the *tamasha* and thus should show their wisdom. [The *Dnyán Prakásh*, on the other hand, remarks that it is against gagging the Satya Shodhak Samajists by totally prohibiting their *tamasha*. It thinks that the *tamasha* should be allowed if the obscene and objectionable portions are omitted and it asks the Satya Shodhak Samajists to omit such portions.]

Comments on the report of the committee to prevent professional beggary.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Oct.

48. "The report of the committee, appointed by the Government of Bombay to consider and formulate proposals for the purpose of preventing professional beggary in the Presidency, proceeds on a fundamentally false conception of the genesis of mendicancy, and the liability of the community in connection with it. The hypercritical aesthetic sense of the comfortable classes may no doubt be shocked by the display of dirty diseases in rags and tatters in our streets and places of recreation. But we cannot consider our duty as a community well or truly discharged merely by handing over such specimens of human misery to the policeman and the magistrate..... We must not confound the beggar with the criminal,—as this report attempts to do,—if we are not deliberately to provide a fresh recruiting ground for crime, with untold possibilities for the worst classes of our citizens..... The Government in their covering letter do, indeed, observe that 'with regard to the general question of beggary, with the cognate matter of provision of relief for the honest poor, it is desirable in the opinion of His Excellency the Governor in Council that this should be dealt with after the meeting of the new Councils under the Constitutional Reforms.' But even with this limitation, we think, the lines of investigations and conclusions elaborated by the present Committee will create a false precedent against which the community must be warned while it is yet time..... If the problem of the pauper is to be radically solved, we must first organise means to provide work for those able to work..... For a body like the Municipality of Bombay, with its great ramifications or connections in the development scheme and the Port Trust, the problem of obtaining work for 5,000 beggars is insignificant..... Special measures would no doubt have to be adopted against the religious mendicant without offending the honest religious susceptibilities of the communities concerned..... In so far as he possesses special aptitudes which can be turned to the benefit of society, there is no reason why the community should not provide for his support from the accumulated and now idle wealth of religious foundations, which must originally have been intended for some such purpose as this. And the same could be done for the beggar who is unable to work. In any case those desiring to tackle the problem of mendicancy, in any of its aspects, will be doomed to failure if they take it up piecemeal."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 17th Oct.

*49. "We fancy that the report, but for the recent clamour against the beggar nuisance in the city, would have found its permanent resting place in the secret archives of the Secretariat. We are not unfamiliar with the notorious dilatoriness of red-tapeism; but that a small Press note of barely 250 words should take more time than the report did is worth noting..... Reviewing the lines along which the Committee worked and the materials on which it based its conclusions, we are led to think that the means and methods adopted by the Committee were not quite the right ones to arrive at a correct understanding of the whole problem of beggars. Pamphlets and periodicals on the subject, and answers to questions received through the Postal department, have their own value in so far as they will facilitate the working. But they have only a secondary value so far as the solution of the problem is concerned. To understand the problem in all its bearings and

to arrive at correct conclusions, constant and personal touch with the several species of beggars is of utmost importance, and in the present instance none of the members of the Committee seems to have interviewed a single beggar and acquired any sort of first-hand information..... That none of the members of the Committee has had the benefit of personal and direct acquaintance with the life history of beggars and that the conclusions of the Committee are entirely based upon written matter are, we should think, the two weakest points in the report, and consequently we are inclined to be rather sceptic about the soundness of the recommendations of the Committee..... The remedies suggested, whether they be punitive or preventive or curative, all of them proceed from law, and in this we think the committee has betrayed its ignorance of the various circumstances that have contributed to a state of beggary. We admit that there are certain classes of beggars who do require bitter doses of law, but to bring all beggars within the limits of law is to do the right thing in the wrong way. Law can but touch the very fringe of the problem. The ultimate solution, if at all there is one, lies with the conscience of the community to which the beggars belong..... The Press note also says that the general question of beggary has been left to the new Councils that will be formed under the Reforms Act of 1919. In other words, this question has been shelved for the time being. Perhaps the clue to this indifferent attitude of the Government can be found in the Committee's excessive enthusiasm for legislation as a panacea for the evil. If the Committee had not attempted to bring the Government into a committal, Government may not have so ingeniously fought shy of the question. For all practical purposes we may as well consider that the question of beggars is as extinct as the Mauritius bird, and when it is taken up in the new Council the value of the present report will have been reduced to next to nothing."

50. "The non-official Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to suggest remedies for the stamping out of professional beggary has done its work well..... Begging has acquired a spurious sanctity in India, but unless the State puts the horde of religious mendicants on the same footing with other beggars, so far as they obtrude themselves on the general public, it cannot go a long way in tackling the problem. The State is surely entitled to bring within the ambit of such legislation even Sadhus and Fakirs who beg in the name of religion, because it does not interfere with any of the religious beliefs or practices..... An educative propaganda designed to enlighten the public on the scope and object of the law must precede its actual operation, and the operation itself may well be graded in stringency, but no valid objection can be taken to the enactment which the Committee has recommended..... It may well be doubted whether the Committee does not take too roseate a view of the extent of the present charities. The duty of maintaining an adequate number of institutions for the relief of destitution ought to be laid on the local bodies, and the Committee suggests—we doubt not, tentatively—that the cost should be divided equally between the Government and the local bodies.' One cannot help feeling after a perusal of the report that a much bolder line of policy than the one outlined by the Committee is needed at the present time. It may be necessary for a long time to walk warily and hasten slowly in this matter which is entirely new to the civic life of India. We grant the force of such a caution, but the Committee's survey might well have been more comprehensive and the formulation of remedial measures conceived on a more generous scale." [Referring to the report of the Committee appointed to consider the question of professional beggary in the Bombay Presidency, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"This Committee has now published an interesting and valuable report embodying a mass of informative material and several suggestions of a practical and business-like nature..... There are many debatable points in this report, which will no doubt be fully discussed when the subject comes before the new Councils, to which Government have relegated the matter. The publication of this report is certainly a distinct step forward towards the solution of a problem of notable social and civic importance."]

Servant of India (10), 14th Oct.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 17th Oct., Eng. cols.

51. The Committee have made some weighty and practical suggestions and the public would like to see them brought into operation at an early date. Much of private charity is wasted at present and so there is an urgent need for co-operation between Government and the people in the matter of relieving real distress. We hope the new Council will not content itself by merely passing a law to check professional beggary but will take steps to establish work-houses, industrial schools and orphanages. [The *Bombay Samáchár* suggests that the recommendations of the Committee should be circulated for the enlightenment of the public and expresses gratification that Government think of taking steps to relieve the distress of the maimed and the leprous before the matter comes up for discussion before the new Council. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* endorses the suggestions of the Committee and suggests that temples and mosques that at present harbour professional beggars should be made to provide for them out of their own revenues and that these beggars should not be allowed to beg in the streets. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also endorses the suggestions of the Committee and expresses hope that Government will take care to consult public opinion before bringing the question up in the form of a legislative enactment before the new Council. In a subsequent issue the paper expresses regret at the dilatory attitude assumed by Government in postponing the consideration of this most pressing question of professional beggary which, in its opinion, affects the sanitation and labour conditions of the Presidency.]

Sánj Vartamán (33), 9th Oct.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 12th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 12th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 15th Oct.

*52. "We are sorry the League has embarked under Mr. Gandhi's inspiration upon a course of action and made itself a party to principles and policies, which will be fruitful of discord and serious complications, and fraught with grave obstacles to the future political progress of the country. The proceedings of the Provincial Conference held at Moradabad in the U. P., which was attended by Messrs. Mahomed Ali, Shaukat Ali and Gandhi, show that a resolute and even a successful attempt will be made at Nagpore to modify the Congress constitution..... Mr. Gandhi's complaint against the creed of the Congress is that the words 'constitutional' and 'legal' are understood by different persons in different senses, and hence he says it is necessary to substitute for them the words 'peaceful' and 'effective'. Can Mr. Gandhi frankly say that these latter expressions are free from ambiguity?..... The creed of the Congress was conceived and shaped by such men like Sir Rash Behari Ghose, Sir Phirozeshah Mehta, Mr. G. K. Ghokale, Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee and many of the leading Congressmen, who were present at Surat. Whatever else Mr. Gandhi may be, we are not prepared to place him at any rate for the present in the above gallery of veteran Congressmen and distinguished politicians, and when he asks Congressmen to change the constitution of the Congress in the way suggested by him on the ground of ambiguity. It is for him to prove how the proposed change is more definite and satisfactory or more conducive to the political evolution of the country on sound and permanent lines. The same criticism applies to the resolution passed by the U. P. Provincial Conference about the goal of the Indian people. According to Article I of the Congress constitution, that goal is the attainment of self-government similar to that enjoyed by self-governing Members of the British Empire. Now the proposed goal is the attainment of (complete) *Swardj* in accordance with the wishes of the people of India. Anything more vague and uncertain, or inconsistent with the Congress creed it is difficult to conceive. If the *Swardj* is to be complete, how can it be self-government within the Empire? The latter is expressly comprised within the scope of the Congress creed, whatever form it may precisely take in the long run. If the aim is to attain self-government without the British Empire, let Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues say so in so many words. If the people of India are to decide the question of their future goal according to their wishes, is it to be in the present or next century? When is that decision to be taken and how are the people to shape till then their social, political and other activities to achieve

Comments on the transformation of All-India Home Rule League into the Swarajya Sabha and the intention to modify the constitution of the Congress.

Gujarátí (19), 17th Oct., Eng. cols.

that end? That is again a matter of grave uncertainty. It should not be forgotten by our countrymen that Mr. Gandhi and his followers are not dealing here with mere trifles, but with a momentous question affecting the future of the Congress movement and the political progress of the whole country. It is the bounden duty of us all to consider the subject with a sense of profound responsibility."

53. Referring to the transformation of the All-India Home Rule League into the Swarajya Sabha, the *Gujarati Punch* remarks:—"We fear there was no occasion for such hasty action in the matter. The step is, indeed, far-reaching in its consequences and the members of the League ought to have been given greater time for considering the advisability of the step. Besides the meaning of the move is not quite clear. Is the change intended to dispense with the need for British connection in our demand? If it is, we cannot but deplore the decision. We are quite willing to concede the right of any country to demand full independence but we are not yet aware of any responsible body in India having demanded it. The necessity for such change in our political goal must, therefore, be more fully discussed by the country at large and should be adopted as a creed after all shades of opinion have been fairly represented in it. The change is thus immature, the more so as the All-India Home Rule League is affiliated to the Indian National Congress which has not yet moved in the matter."

Gujarati Punch (21), 10th Oct., Eng. cols.

54. "We are afraid the resignation of Mr. Jinnah and ten other prominent members of the All-India Home Rule League, from the League, marks not merely a little rift within the lute, but definite split which might irreconcilably divide the national councils. The difference is not one of detail or of procedure only, but of fundamental principles. However much we deplore the action of Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues as calculated to harm the interests of the country, we cannot help feeling that the action was correct and inevitable. The separatists, as they might be called, were forced to the course which they adopted. There was no occasion at this stage for tampering with the constitution of the league. And if the constitution was to be altered it should have been done in the proper constitutional manner. As the change was brought about, it bears the appearance of the imposition of Mr. Gandhi's will upon the constitution. Such an assertion of individual will cannot be permitted in any constitutional body. It is supposed in some quarters that the difference between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah is one of mere phrases and not of realities. We do not think the difference could be made light of in that manner. It appears to us to be substantial and fundamental..... It may be that Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues are unnecessarily alarmed and the alterations in the constitution of the Swaraj Sabha are only formal. But these tamperings with the constitution are suspicious and dangerous; and in the present unsettled state of affairs it is the duty of all steady patriots to dissociate themselves from movements which savour of revolutionary."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 11th Oct., Eng. cols.

55. The object of the Swaraj Sabha as now revised goes much ahead of that of the Indian National Congress which aims at securing for India self-government within the British Empire. The points that require careful consideration are as to whether people should aim at a form of government with or without the British connection and whether it would be possible for them to aim at a government without the British connection as also whether Government would allow the people to participate in such a movement. What guarantee is there that Government will not suppress the Sabha as soon as it begins to work at its new object? It is not proper to change object of the Home Rule League or of the Congress without giving consideration to the questions referred to above. What is the necessity of changing the object of the Congress when it is impossible to achieve the object the Swaraj Sabha has placed before it and when the Congress can easily accomplish its present

Gujarâti (19), 10th Oct.

object? Will India be said to be in a position of a slave if it acquires self-government like that of Australia? Certainly not. Australia is being governed according to the wishes of the people. Supposing the impossible comes to pass and Britain gives India complete independence, will India be able to defend itself? Neither the Congress nor the League need change its object if India can secure the necessary independence within the Empire and if the British connection is both beneficial and helpful to India. We would, under the circumstances, ask the leaders of the Swaraj Sabha to give up their intention of modifying the object of the Congress. Many of the present Congressmen will have to sever their connection with the Congress if these leaders persist in their efforts.

Protest against compulsory Bible teaching at the Wilson College, Bombay.

Gujarâti Punch (21), 10th Oct.; *Bharat Seva* (16), 15th Oct.

56. Inviting attention to the disaffection prevailing among the students of the Wilson College on account of their being required to attend the Bible classes, the *Gujarâti Punch* writes:—The roll is called out in the Wilson College during the first period when lectures on the Bible are given. If a student is absent during this period, he is supposed to be absent for the rest of day. Thus he is compulsorily called upon to attend the lectures on the Bible even though he might resent such compulsion. The Principal of the College has refused the students' request to make such attendance voluntary. This has created great discontent among the students of the College. We do not understand why such obstinacy should be displayed in teaching the Bible to those who do not want to learn it. We are of opinion that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd should intervene and get the grievances of the students of the College redressed. Religious liberty has been assured to the people by the British Government and the compulsory teaching of the Bible is an encroachment upon such liberty. It is, therefore, the primary duty of Government to put a stop to such compulsory teaching of the Bible. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Bharat Seva* calls upon the Educational Department to apply the conscience clause to all the grant-in-aid institutions and suggests that the University should affiliate to itself only those institutions which accept the conscience clause.]

The title Emperor of India should be changed.

Servant of India (10), 14th Oct.

57. Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, in the course of an article in the *Servant of India*, writes:—"Is it not necessary to change the title of Emperor of India and make the whole Royal title read as the 'King of Great Britain and Ireland and India'? This will be entirely in consonance with the spirit of the times, with the ideal which has been laid down in the pronouncement of August 1917, and befitting the elaborate scheme of reforms which is to be ushered into existence in the coming year. The despotic character of the title, 'Empress' or 'Emperor,' the unhappy associations connected with it, the intense opposition of the subjects of the United Kingdom to this title, the undertakings given by the then ministry and by the proclamation subsequently issued to legalize the title in India and not to use it in the United Kingdom, convincingly prove that the title 'Empress,' however plausible it might have been in 1876, is antiquated and smells of bygone times. It is no longer compatible with the constitutional forms of government introduced at present in India..... At the time of the assumption of the title 'Empress' it was not supported by public opinion in this country..... The views of the then Government of India and the Council of India about this title were studiously withheld from Parliament. The Indian newspapers, after the new Bill was published in India, had expressed strong disapproval about this new addition. It will thus clearly prove that this title of Emperor or Empress was not the outcome of the spontaneous wishes either of the people or the princes in India. Now that even the apparent necessity for this title has entirely disappeared, it is no longer wise or statesmanlike to adhere to this antiquated designation..... Will Mr. Montagu rise to the occasion and suggest to His Majesty the wise exercise of Royal prerogative of abandoning the title 'Emperor' in order to commemorate this new era?"

58. "Mr. C. Vijyaraghavachariar has been elected President of the next session of the Congress. The choice is an admirable one..... In the Subjects Committee of the last session what struck the members most was the suppleness of his mind playing easily, gracefully with the hard realities of the moment. When Mr. Baptista suggested that the first step in non-co-operation should be the organisation of Labour throughout India, Mr. Vijyaraghavachariar took up the suggestion as readily as Lala Lajpat Rai who is a born leader of the proletariat..... Nevertheless his task is not at all enviable..... The Congress is breaking up in its old stereotyped character under the hammer-strokes of necessity. What sort of a new phoenix will there spring out of the ashes of the old? Time alone will tell."

The next Congress President.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Oct.

59. In the course of its comments on the Esher Committee's Report the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"In brief, the assumption is that the alien should be armed and trained in all branches of war and treated as among the first lines of communal defence, while the children of the soil should be humoured with a little sword-play and kept disarmed against temptations of using new-found power 'against us'. That, we presume, is the blunt principle on which a paltry number of Indians has been invited to do infantry-exercise while classes of Europeans and semi-Europeans are encouraged to train themselves in all departments of warfare, with the alternative of compulsion facing them for their own benefit. Both in number and scope of training the Committee make the proposal of a few undertrained men whose limited arms would, in these days, correspond with the *lathies* of a decade ago. For, in the comparative efficiency of the arms conceded for territorial recreation, we have scarcely advanced in these days of terrific equipment..... They, to suit their fancy, first premise the existence of a horde of undertrained and ill-equipped men, worthless in the modern military sense, and ask authorities in India how they would favour their existence. We repeat that they deliberately project the existence of a scarecrow force and investigate the problem of additional expenditure. The Committee write: 'When that question was discussed with the heads of Provinces, their general view was that the force would be of little or no practical utility and might be a source of embarrassment, . . . but that they would be willing to see the experiment tried of raising a few territorial units provided they form part of the military organisation and are administered by the military authorities, and that no financial responsibility is thrown upon Provincial Governments'. What cordial encouragement!..... It is a thousand pities that the heads of provinces did not point out that if the units were developed like the Auxiliary Force, their military value could not be inferior. They tried to give shape to the abortion of an idea produced at first by the Committee, and the matter ended in collapse. The answer may be given that there is now an Act providing for the legitimate aspirations of Indians—anything before infantry training being, of course, considered as an illegitimate aspiration—and that Indians ought to 'demonstrate their fitness' for the liberal concession. Well our answer is that with the whole of the bureaucracy being shown by the Report to be in spirit hostile to the nominal concession with the threat of antagonism in the event of superflous efficiency, and with the complete opposition of civil and military organisers, it would be a miracle if Indians got the better of their disappointment and decided to face the discouraging and contumacious conditions provided for them." [In the next issue the paper writes:—"Yesterday we noticed the opposition of the authorities in India to the skeleton scheme of the Esher Committee with regard to territorial units composed of Indians and the flagrant manner in which the ruling community and their allied stock have been separated for honest encouragement. To give some sort of a miserable excuse for their policy, they strive to make capital of the alleged failure of the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force, a result which, it is notorious, was the logical outcome of invidious and step-motherly policy. Almost as if in anticipation of the contentions of the Committee, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer published in July last a brochure

Esher Committee's Report.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th and 13th Oct.

ruthlessly exposing the methods by which the movement was run as a meaningless side-show along with the conscription of Europeans and Eurasians. ..... Space forbids us to recapitulate the tale of melancholy meanness as disclosed by Sir Sivaswamy Iyer. The book is a scathing exposure of the way in which the original opposition of the military itself prevailed in pratice. ..... The disclosures of Sir Sivaswamy, made on his experience and responsibility, are a valuable contribution which has a permanent relevancy to all liberal professions of bureaucratic reform. It is a convincing answer to the foolish and malignant charge of apathy ascribed to Indians on the basis of contrived failure in the past. The deductions of the Esher Committee, made on unwarranted assumptions, fall to the ground. But they will be repeatedly quoted against Indians and if once more the opposition of authorities to the territorial scheme, as revealed in the Esher Report, becomes effective, the result would merely be the inevitable confirmation of past experience."]

*60. The *Indian Social Reformer* says with regard to the following remarks in the *London Times* on the Esher Committee's Report by Professor A. B. Keith—'Before any final decisions are taken on the recommendations of the report, the matter should be submitted to the new Legislature of India confronting whom with a *fait accompli* would play into the hands of a certain faction in India which denies the sincerity of the Imperial Government's policy of reform' :—"It would be fairer to say that to confront the new Legislature of India with the *fait accompli* would but corroborate those who deny the sincerity of the Imperial Government. The Indian Army cannot have a healthy existence apart from the general system of Indian administration. Mr. Montagu seems to have given his approval to the main section of the report with characteristic nonchalance, and when confronted by the enormity of the principal recommendations, pleads that he gave only his general approval and it should not be taken to amount to an approval of the specific recommendations. We daresay that the Secretary of State is right in his contention; but where was the need to express general approval before the specific recommendations were formulated? Mr. Montagu is too experienced a politician not to know that policies may be nullified in the process of being rendered into administrative measures. So far as Indian opinion is concerned, it is not surprised at the recommendations, nor will it be astonished if they are accepted and acted upon. It is prepared for anything."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 17th Oct.

61. The report of the Esher Committee affords a further proof of the correctness of the statement made in various quarters that the government of India is carried on not in its own interests but those of England and her industries. The Committee has failed in their duty of considering the important questions of giving Indians military training and lightening India's burden of military expenditure. The services rendered by India during the war have thus been wasted! The report will add to the discontent in India and stimulate the non-co-operation movement. Who can say after reading the report that the British policy is to make India a partner in the Empire and not to keep it in a state of subjugation? Even if there is any suggestion of partnership for India in the report, it is of partnership by force and for the purpose of enhancing the strength of the British Empire. The Committee has shown lack of confidence in India. The Government of India have accepted the recommendations of the Committee without ascertaining Indian opinion and the War Office will take action on it unless Parliament intervenes and stops the War Office gaining ascendency over the civil administration in India. Indians should take special note as to how far the recommendations of the Committee throw impediments in the path of India towards *swardjya*. The recommendations of the Committee may be said to have been made with a view to ridiculing the aspirations of Indians for *swardjya*. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* is also of the opinion that the recommendations show a complete disregard for the assurances given by the Secretary of State in the matter of India's political progress and are based on want of confidence in the Indian people.]

Gujarati (19), 10th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 11th Oct.

62. "We can characterise the publication of the Esher Report on the eve of the inauguration of the Reforms only as a grave misfortune..... Divested as the Government of India will be of all control in Military matters it is proposed that the Commander-in-Chief in India shall continue to be the Military Member of the Viceregal Council..... Is it either wise or desirable to permit the head of the Army to be his own mouth-piece in the Council of the State? Will his voice when raised there be gainsaid?..... On all sound constitutional doctrines the solution of the problem lies in placing the Military Department under the charge of a civilian member..... We would not quarrel with the ilk of the gallant General Dyer being raised to the supreme command over the Indian Army, but we must protest against the introduction of the subversive principle which will allow either a Dyer or a Johnson to have the final voice on military questions in the Viceregal Council when that body itself threatens to become irresponsible to public opinion either in India or in England. Grave apprehensions have also been raised by the Committee's proposal allowing the Imperial General Staff to influence the military policy of India..... The spectres of a Forward Policy, of adventure and of chauvinism rise before our imagination. The British Foreign Office has not changed its angle of vision; and we believe India will be justified in protesting against the Nicholsons and Curzons of England manipulating through the Imperial General Staff the resources of India for pushing forward the schemes of a designing policy."

Nireekshaka (48), 8th Oct., Eng. cols.

63. A writer in the *Kesari* refers to the demands made by the subordinate staff of various departments and says that even their modest requests are not complied with. He complains that the revision of revenue clerks, though out three months ago, has not yet been brought into force, and that a theory has been started by some officials that they should not get anything more than the war-allowance used to bring them! As for the demands of mamlatdars, he says, the deputation was insolently flouted! He adds:—In this way the demands of almost all Indian servants have been rejected. But the narrow and insolent officials responsible for such treatment are lavishly spending money where the interests of their countrymen in higher appointments are concerned. Postmen are informed that they will not get anything more than what the Postal Committee has recommended, but the same officials are drawing 25 to 50 per cent. more than what the Public Service Commission recommended. That these officials should reject the requests of half-starving employees like police patels, clerks, maistries, postmen and primary teachers is most shameless. [The paper quotes figures of the increase given to the Imperial and Provincial Services.] Still these officers are not contented and they get Over-seas allowance, technical allowance and personal allowance. Attempts are being made to secure additional allowances for Bombay and Karáchi and Poona. Details of additional expenditure are being asked for and they include motors, liquor, gymkhana and boat club fees, entertainments, etc.! When the mamlatdar's deputation told the big officials they waited upon that they could not meet the expenses of educating their children, they were told roughly that they should not send them to colleges in that case and that they should live within their means. We want to know whether these officials will give the same advice to their countrymen. Government should not harass their Indian servants and specially their low-paid servants.

Differentiation between European and Indian Government servants in respect of revision of salaries.

Kesari (114), 12th Oct.

64. "One Talati writes that having started service in the Revenue Department he is getting only Rs. 20 with Rs. 10 as war allowance, 'after 20 years' loyal and faithful service'! Like the clerks he must pass the Vernacular Final and the Revenue Department examinations. But unlike the clerks he must qualify as an efficient surveyor and often as an efficient assessor. Is it necessary to add any words of comment on this bare recital of facts which should make every bureaucrat living on the fat of the land blush for very shame? The news has been received that in sheer desperation the Talatis of Ratnágiri District have now gone on

Grievances of Talatis.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Oct.

strike. The men whose brains are no bigger than a weazel's will shout at this news, in their insane fashion, as if they had discovered a new plot hatched by the ubiquitous 'agitators.' But we say with all the force we can command that the officials who allow such scandals to continue are playing with fire—or rather playing the fiddle while Rome burns. The Indian Civil Service is the most expensive service in the world. It is not the poor Talati who makes it so. After all why should the world worry about the woes of an obscure village official when the hard-pressed Indian Medical Servant or the poverty-stricken Captain in the Indian Army has so much to complain about that, even Mr. Montagu suddenly becomes alert and business-like when he is questioned about his sufferings in the House of Commons? Why, of course, the Talatis are living in the lap of luxury!"

Protest against disciplinary measures taken against certain Bombay policemen for agitating for increase of pay.
Indu Prakásh (45), 13th Oct.

65. Commenting upon the disciplinary measures taken by the Commissioner of Police against certain policemen in connection with their demand for an increase in their salaries, the *Indu Prakásh* writes:—Residents of Bombay need not be told how very hard the lot of the policemen in Bombay is. It is also known that their salaries are most inadequate. We cannot help condemning, therefore, the attitude of the head of the Police Department in dismissing seven constables on mere suspicion that they intended to place their grievances before the authorities. People generally do not trouble themselves much about the grievances of the Police since there is not much love lost between the two. But even if no notice is taken of their grievances simply because they are policemen, people cannot allow their rights as citizens to be trampled under foot. One of the dismissed men, Vithoo Babaji, has served for seventeen years, while another of them, Sakharam Balaji, who has put in twenty-two years' faithful service, is said not to have joined the other men at all in their meetings in the Charni Road gardens. If this be true, the Commissioner of Police has acted most unjustly in dismissing these men on misleading information. We understand the dismissed men vainly appealed to the present Commissioner of Police and also to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay. Although they have not met with success, we would ask them to renew their efforts and would also ask the public to extend to them all possible help.

Sufferings of Indian Hajis on their return from Mecca.
Muslim Herald (161), 15th Oct.

66. The *Muslim Herald* reports that the Hajis who have returned from Arabia are emaciated and unable to stand or walk. It states that they suffered terribly from lack of water and transport, and adds that the Bedouins kept firing on the caravans except during short intervals when the Bedouins' confreres who accompanied the caravans exacted money from the pilgrims as a price of movement towards the goal. It concludes by requesting the Haj Committee and also Government to help these unfortunates.

How co-operative credit societies are helping money-lenders.
Kesari (114), 12th Oct.

67. Mr. V. G. Javadekar writes to the *Kesari* and quotes a conversation he had with a Gujrati sawkár in the Sholápur District regarding the co-operative movement. The savkár welcomed the movement, and said that it had benefited the savkár more than the rayat. The rayats resort to the savkár for paying the Society's instalments and the savkár charges them 12 months' interest for two months and the money is returned from out of a fresh loan. Moreover, those cultivating garden lands have to resort to the savkár as, according to their rules, the Co-operative Credit Societies are not able to meet their demands. These cultivators require sometimes heavy sums and they are charged heavy interest. Mr. Javadekar says that the co-operative movement will not check the poverty of the nation. First, he wants to improve the political condition of the country and then the industrial condition. He is of opinion that the indebtedness of the rayats will be removed then only and that they will then be really enriched and that otherwise they will remain always poverty-stricken.

68. "Lord Curzon has apparently got to the end of the tether in his policy of Expansionist Imperialism. Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia have something to say for this change in the angle of vision..... It is realised now that it is best to make an indifferent virtue of a bad necessity, give up the dream of creating new Indias and remain content with the control which is at once the cheapest and most effective. Hence Lord Curzon declares that 'our function in future was not to absorb territory but to give security and to arrange an evolution of a different, and he hoped a higher state of things.' Having made a mess in Mesopotamia, this great archbishop of diplomacy says with a tone of surprise in his voice 'nobody could really imagine that any British Government could have any particular interest in spending scores of millions sterling in keeping a garrison in Mesopotamia.'..... Of course, nobody could really imagine it, but why, then, did Great Britain spend her millions? Lord Curzon may now reply, as indeed he says, that British policy in future, in trying to unravel the Asian tangle, will aim mostly at the security of India. Security from what?—from the League of Nations, or from the war which was to end all wars? Perhaps Lord Curzon is thinking of the Baku Conference; if so he must be talking without his map. The same plea was raised about Mesopotamia which is now promised 'independence' by Sir Percy Cox, because although the fighting was in places nearly two thousand miles away yet on the map India looked but next-door. It is not until he speaks of Persia that Lord Curzon reveals his hand. Persia must be independent. She must also accept the Anglo-Persian Agreement. On the one side she must be a sovereign State capable of retaining an independent existence, on the other she 'must rely on the support of the only great European Power' which was in a position to sustain her! As if this is not sufficient the Persians depart with a final threat: If they 'rejected British support and advice the responsibility would be upon them.' This is how the idealism of open Covenants, principles of self-determination and the pledges of statesmen are fulfilled and realised. Machiavelli sits high in his chair of state—the same who saw the disappearance of Shuster, the formation of the South Persian Rifles, the drafting of the Anglo-Persian Agreement, the conquest of Mesopotamia and the subjection of the Arabs. It is not the League of Nations, a poor, effete, little conclave—but the great Machiavelli who struts unhindered through the Chancelleries of Europe to this day."

Comments on Lord Curzon's speech on the situation in the East.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Oct.

69. "From the day when England came to terms with Czarist Russia she became in fact, and automatically, hostile to Islam, and so in opposition to her Eastern subjects. England would have been a first class Power, without a rival in the world, if she had trusted Asia, where ancient loyalty is to be found, instead of Europe, the abode of modern treachery. When Czarist Russia fell there was immense relief throughout the East, and people said: 'Now England will become herself again'. A generous action towards the Turkish Empire would have roused immense enthusiasm, and confirmed the British Empire for centuries to come. Mr. Lloyd George did make a pledge, in the name of 'the Empire as a whole', but the less we say of that the better at the present time. England, unfortunately, showed quite plainly that the passionate desires of eighty million British subjects were as nothing in her eyes compared with the ambition of a clever foreigner. Where is the privilege of British citizenship? How can men be asked to give their lives for it? Instead of Disraeli's vision of the British Empire as a league of happy and free nations, we see to-day the Empire in a fair way to become proverbial for discontent. Whose fault is it? Whose honour is involved? On which side lies the duty of some reparation."

How England became hostile to Turkey.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Oct.

*70. In the course of a letter to the *Mahratta* Hakim Ramlal Ramnarain writes:—"We are supplied with the newest weapons to murder the Turks, the Arabs and the Persians and to hold the Chinese in check, but no sooner are we in our country than gone is the military prowess, gone are those accursed weapons of war, with which we used to butcher our fellow-brothers living in

Reflections on the employment of Indian troops to subdue other Asiatic peoples.
Mahratta (8), 17th Oct.

different climes, and if a couple of wolves stand menacingly in our path, we would jolly soon climb on a tree if it was on hand, or take to ignominious flight if it was possible or resign our bodies to be made into mince-pies by the wolves; for it was our kismet and kismet could not be averted. Is not this tragedy, comedy and farce combined in one that the Indians who are considered incapable of defending their country, nay, even their hearths and women, are deemed fully capable of slaughtering people of other countries with whom they have not the slightest cause of quarrel. Are oil-wells of Mosul going to pay us (Indians) dividends that we should go on killing the Arabs? We conquered the erstwhile German East Africa and now we are to be packed off from there bag and baggage, and as the last straw which breaks the camel's back, we are given a certificate of immorality for our services. We who are followers of the oldest religion, we who are the worshippers of one supreme Allah, we are accused of teaching immorality to Negroes. Have we become as brutalised that for a few rupees we should go and slaughter anywhere and everywhere? All our leaders must raise their voices incessantly against this horribly dirty and abhorrent work which our countrymen are compelled to perform. We are slaves, but why should we enslave others."

Comments on the new stamps issued in Palestine.
Al-Wahid (151), 1st Oct.

71. The new postage stamps issued at Palestine bear in Hebrew, Arabic and English the inscription 'the land of the Israelites'. This a clear testimony of British jealousy and malice against Islam as the very country which was coveted by the Arabs as a return for their help to the British has been in utter disregard of their claim made over to the Jews. No consideration has been shown to the proportion of Arab population on the principle of self-determination. Although Palestine's Arab-Moslem population is 5,15,000 and Jewish 6,500, yet out of regard for Jewish feeling the country is called the land of the Israelites and a dead language like Hebrew has been made the court language. At the same time it is surprising that English also finds a place in the inscription. Verily God can do what He likes.

The Amir of Afghanistan's "fast and loose" game.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 17th Oct., Eng. cols.

*72. "What is the secret of the fast and loose game which the Afghan Amir is playing over there at the frontier? One day we are told that the Afghan delegation is joyfully marching on its way to India and that peace terms will soon be ratified; another day comes the news that the delegation has been recalled to Kabul. One day we are informed that the Amir has unceremoniously driven away all Bolshevik adventurers from his realm; another day it turns out that he has given them a very cordial reception and has himself been converted into a zealous Bolshevik. Either the Amir is a very fickle-minded personage, or the correspondent of a certain Anglo-Indian paper at the frontier, hungering for 'copy' and 'sensation', is trying to scare the public. We are inclined to suspect that it is the latter. Amir Amanullah may not be a very wise fellow, but we think that by this time he has become wise enough to learn that his safety and interest lies in a firm friendship with the British."

Government should be on good terms with the Afghans in view of the Bolshevik danger and the danger from discontented Islamic countries.
Hindusthán (23), 13th Oct., Eng. cols,

73. "Again we are told that the Afghan Peace Delegates are leaving Kabul for India. To us, who are not in the know, this continuous coming and going of the Afghan Peace Delegates is most annoying. They came here once before, made poetic speeches on the heights of Mussoorie, ate good dinners, and then went away! What is it that the Afghans want, and what is it that the Government of India does not want to concede to them? Evidently there is some hitch. The Government of India must bear in mind that it is good policy at present to be on good terms with Afghanistan. It is the break water for us, for on its other side are many waves trying to break through its walls. There is the huge wave of Bolshevism sweeping against it. Then there are the discontented waves of Islam represented by Turkey, Persia, etc. All these waves might unite, and then, if Afghanistan is not in our favour, they might rush against India, and inundate us creating anarchy and chaos and causing bloodshed and suffering!"

74. In every country, India included, the masses are enthusiastic over the new cult which promises them what they never have had before. The capitalist classes are taken aback by this new wave of Bolshevism and are trying to put an end to it. Some statesmen think that Bolshevism may carry everything before it. The masses imagine that Bolshevism is the cure for their ills. If, however, Bolshevism fails then they will adopt other methods to keep themselves happy, no matter by what names we call them, for every one of us wants happiness.

Bolshevism.
Vande Mataram (159), 4th Oct.

75. Commenting upon the leaflet alleged to have been issued by the Director of Information, Bombay, in connection with the Bolshevist menace to India, the *Gujarâti* writes:—The Indians have been demanding that the Indian Forces employed in Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and elsewhere should be brought back to India because these forces have been kept there only for the Imperialistic purposes of England. An attempt at answering this argument appears to have been made by the Director of Information, Bombay, in a leaflet recently issued by him. It is argued that if Indian troops are not stationed in Mesopotamia, Persia and Central Asia, the Bolshevists will invade India through Afghanistan. There was a time when the people of India were threatened that Napoleon would invade India by land. Then there was the menace of Russia which was held out to India, and frontier warfare was kept on at India's expense for 70 to 80 years under this pretext. Recently, India was made to spend heavily during the last war. Now, under the pretext of an impending Bolshevist invasion, Indian troops are maintained in Mesopotamia, Palestine and elsewhere, and Indian troops are thus utilised for the purpose of stabilising British authority. The Indians flatly refuse to accept the theory of an impending Bolshevist invasion—a theory advocated for the purpose of swallowing the territories of other nations. The people of India are not in a mood to be deceived by such stories of the Director of Information. It is great hypocrisy to say that Indian troops have been taken abroad and beyond the borders for the purposes of the defence of India. The people know very well that the true aim underlying this policy is that of extending and strengthening the supremacy of England at the cost of India. The Director of Information would do well to realize this.

Comments on a leaflet on the Bolshevist menace to India alleged to have been issued by the Director of Information, Bombay.
Gujarâti (19), 10th Oct.

MUNICIPALITIES.

76. Reviewing the Annual Administration Report of Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency for the year 1918-19, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—While expressing our gratitude to Government for having increased the number of elected seats on the Local Boards of the Panch Maháls, Broach, Colába, Ratnágiri and Belgaum during the year under report, we hope that other districts will be given a similar right in the near future. The total revenue of the District Local Boards shows an appreciable increase of twenty lakhs. Expenses also increased to almost the same amount. Fairly large amounts were spent on education, sanitation, water-supply and the construction and maintenance of roads. Cheap grain shops were also opened at many places which proved highly beneficial to the poor people, and we are glad to note that they were effective in checking profiteering. The balance at the disposal of the Local Boards was 31½ lakhs at the end of the year. Government fixed the minimum required to be kept as balance only with a view to check over-enthusiasm on the part of Local Boards in spending the money in their hands. It is to be regretted that the balance of almost every Local Board largely exceeds this minimum. This means that the Local Boards have either not been able to spend sufficient money on works of public utility or that they have not found it necessary to do so. While the nation wants education to be free and compulsory, we are disagreeably surprised to see that local

Comments on the Bombay Local Board's Report for the year 1918-19.
Bombay Samáchár (61), 13th Oct.

self-government institutions such as these Local Boards do not spend the money in their hands on education. The explanation of the Commissioner in Sind that influenza came in the way of the utilization of the money is hardly satisfactory, because the amount of the balance represents the accumulated balances of previous years also. There must be some other reason for this unsatisfactory state of things, and an inquiry should be instituted with a view to finding out to what extent the Local Boards are responsible for it. We hope that Local Boards will be more active in future and will spend the money in their hands on useful undertakings.

RAILWAYS.

77. "More than five years ago Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, then a private member of the Supreme Legislative Council, moved a resolution in that Council recommending that our railways should be nationalised, and that the present system of company management of State-owned railways be abolished. The Government of India—than whom it would be difficult to find a body more expert in dilatory tactics—as a first step invited the opinions of the Chambers of Commerce and Local Governments on the subject-matter of the resolution. The public has occasionally been informed, through the medium of perfunctory press notes, of the replies received. But, after all these years we were not prepared for a reference *de novo* to a Committee—as announced in the Simla *communique* published the other day..... We fail to see the necessity of another Committee, unless the Government mean to defeat the Indian public opinion by delay. Those responsible for the communique under discussion seek to create new issues, by including in the terms of reference such alternatives as management by companies resident in India and the like. No private management can conduct such a large national asset in the true interest of the Indian nation as a whole, and we do not, therefore, see the need for any such reference at all. If the committee, now that it has been appointed, sees fit to accept the idea of nationalisation, the position of the present Railway Board will no doubt have to be revised, perhaps by the creation of another ordinary member of the Executive Council of the Viceroy. But we trust this excuse will not be used to upset the balance of Indian and non-Indian elements in the Supreme Government. Since the Committee has been appointed, we also trust its deliberations and proceedings will not follow the execrable precedent of the Esher Committee. In such a matter affecting so vitally the material interests of India, the Committee must be dominantly guided by Indian opinion on the subject and frame its recommendations accordingly. The Government have not specifically introduced into their terms of reference the question of cheaper alternative transport, by water or by road; but we hope the Committee will not ignore our magnificent river system and road possibilities before submitting their final report—as has unfortunately been done in the past, with immense loss to this country."

The Railway Committee.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Oct.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 23rd October 1920.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 23rd October 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Boycott of the Councils.

Gujarátí (19), 17th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (24), 16th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 19th and 22nd Oct.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 20th Oct.

1. The names of persons who have come forward as candidates for Council elections go to prove that the movement for boycotting the Councils has the support of the public. Among those who have come forward as candidates we find the names of incompetent flatterers and self-seekers. Even the *Advocate of India*, which is opposed to the aspirations of Indians, expresses dissatisfaction with the list of candidates. There is not a single man of first rate abilities among the candidates for the city of Bombay and the Bombay Council will, therefore, be no better than a Municipal Council. It is rather surprising that only a single candidate has come forward on behalf of European residents of Bombay while there is no candidate for Europeans in the Bombay Presidency. Two Bohras and one Khoja have come forward to take advantage of the special communal representation given to the Muhammadans of Bombay. These persons have never been regarded as leaders of the community in Bombay and we are given to understand that the Moslem voters are going to inform Government that they refuse to regard them as their representatives. Not a single Gujarati gentleman has announced his candidature for the Council and this goes to prove that the Gujaratis are staunch adherents of non-co-operation. Our contemporary, the *Sánj Vartamán*, rightly deplores the want of political zeal in the Parsi community. Is it not detrimental to the interests of the Parsi community that its members should refuse to co-operate with their brethren belonging to other faiths in matters political? During the last two years the administration of India has been carried on in such a manner that the people of this country have lost all faith in British justice and the promises given by British statesmen, and the way in which the Councils have been boycotted affords a positive proof of their feelings. [The *Hindusthán* refers to the success the movement for boycotting the Councils has achieved and declares that most of those persons of no importance who have come forward as candidates will make a ridiculously poor show in the Councils. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—We entertain grave fears about the consequences of the non-co-operation movement and the names of persons who have come forward as candidates for the Council go to strengthen our apprehensions. These men are mostly nonentities and we fear they will be mere tools in the hands of Government officials in advancing the interests of foreigners at the expense of this country. We cannot help blaming the Moderates for not coming forward in time to counteract the movement started by Mr. Gandhi. In a subsequent issue the paper considers the pamphlet issued by Sir Narayan Chandavarker on behalf of the Liberal Party exhorting the people to co-operate with Government as too late in the day and expresses fear that it will not attain its purpose as the people have already been inoculated with the virus of non-co-operation. It appeals to the Moderates to attend the ensuing Congress that will meet at Nagpore in December next and to put forth all their energies to get the non-co-operation resolution of the special Congress cancelled. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses heartfelt regret at the absence of the names of competent men in the list of candidates for the Councils.]

Comments on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's withdrawal from Council elections.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Oct.

2. "Our Láhore correspondent informs us that in an interview published by the *Tribune* Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has stated that he has no intention now of standing for any of the Reformed Councils. This is a decision of great moment. We congratulate Pandit Malaviya and we congratulate the country. It is not an easy matter for a firm believer in the efficacy of agitation, through the Council Chamber, to throw such a weapon carelessly on one side and take his stand with Mr. Gandhi, who, without any authority, indeed, gave him latitude enough in his non-co-operation to permit him to stand for election without ceasing to be a Congressman. Pandit Malaviya has made a noble choice. The diffidents and the secessionists, who were as eager and expectant to welcome him to their ranks as a band of

cannibals when it notices the approach of a stray missionary, must be downcast with disappointment."

*3. "We note, or rather rejoice to note, that wiser counsels have prevailed at last with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and that he has withdrawn from election to the councils. We wish they had prevailed earlier but, however, better late than never..... In the present tense state of circumstances of the country it could ill afford to lose a big asset as the Panditji is. An anti-non-co-operation propaganda is set in motion, and hence all such efforts which tend to close up the ranks of the non-co-operation party will conduce to its success. We hope to see, sooner rather than later, that other stray pebbles on the beach also will be swept into the stream of non-co-operation that is majestically and forcefully coursing through the country."

Mahratta (8), 24th Oct.

4. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"It will be admitted that non-co-operation has passed the stage of ridicule. Whether it will now be met by repression or respect remains to be seen..... But the testing time has now arrived. In a civilized country when ridicule fails to kill a movement it begins to command respect..... There is little doubt now that the boycott of the Councils will be extensive if it is not complete. The students have become disturbed. Important institutions may any day become truly national. Pandit Motilal Nehru's great renunciation of a legal practice, which was probably second to nobody's, is by itself an event calculated to change ridicule into respect. It ought to set people thinking seriously about their own attitude. There must be something very wrong about our Government to warrant the step Pandit Motilal Nehru has taken. Post-graduate students have given up their Fellowships. Medical students have refused to appear for their final examination. Non-co-operation in these circumstances cannot be called an inane movement. Either the Government must bend to the will of the people which is being expressed in no unmistakable terms through non-co-operation, or it must attempt to crush the movement by repression. Any force used by a Government under any circumstance is not repression. An open trial of a person accused of having advocated methods of violence is not repression. Every State has the right to put down violence by force. But the trial of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan and two Moulvis of Panipat shows that the Government is seeking not to put down or prevent violence but to suppress expression of opinion to prevent spread of disaffection. This is repression. The trials are the beginning of it. It has not still assumed a virulent form; but if these trials do not result in stifling the propaganda, it is highly likely that severe repression will be resorted to by the Government. The only other way to prevent the spread of disaffection is to remove the causes thereof. And that would be to respect the growing response of the country to the programme of non-co-operation. It is too much to expect repentance and humility from a Government intoxicated with success and power. We must, therefore, assume that the second stage in the Government programme will be repression, growing in violence in the same ratio as the progress of non-co-operation. And if the movement survives repression, the day of victory of truth is near. We must then be prepared for prosecutions, punishments even upto deportations. We must evolve the capacity for going on with our programme without the leaders. That means capacity for self-government. And as no Government in the world can possibly put a whole nation in prison, it must yield to its demand or abdicate in favour of a Government suited to that nation. It is clear that abstention from violence and persistence in the programme are our only and surest chance of attaining our end."

The non-co-operation movement and repression.

Young India (14), 20th Oct.

5. Ahmedabad is at present in ecstacies over the question of national education and there seems to be much activity in the matter in Kaira, Panch Mahals, Nadiad and Surat Districts. Also Professors and teachers as well as students of schools and colleges have with great earnestness boycotted Government institutions and it seems as if these will be left without students

The popular enthusiasm for national education.

Hindusthan (23), 17th Oct.; *Deshi Mitra* (65), 14th Oct.

in the course of a year or so. We, however, deem it our duty to sound a note of warning to those who are very enthusiastic about national education and to ask them to be cautious in blindly adopting the defects which at present exist in Government institutions. Boys studying in the present schools and colleges are found to be physical wrecks. Shall we give the right kind of education by establishing national schools to our boys or shall we dwarf their intellects? The success or failure of national education depends on our answering the question in the right manner. National regeneration rests on education and it is, therefore, very necessary to proceed in the matter in a cautious manner. [The *Deshi Mitra* writes:—Indian boys require such a kind of education as will qualify them to help in speeding up national regeneration. The education given by Government does not bring about such a result. It is, therefore, quite evident that boys will be able to get such education as will secure national regeneration only when they are given national education and when that education is entrusted to the care of the people themselves.]

6. Non-co-operation has made much headway in Gujarát under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi and it redounds much to the credit of its inhabitants. The question of national education has aroused much sympathy in Gujarát and national schools and colleges have begun to spring up. We have no hesitation in saying that people will easily be able to establish and conduct national institutions. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* deplores the petty disturbances that have recently taken place in tea-shops in Bombay owing to the excess of enthusiasm displayed by certain anti-tea propagandists, and opines that the movement gives a clear indication of the introduction of Bolshevism in our midst. It holds Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement responsible for the same and adds:—What we want to prove is that Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement will sooner or later result in harmful disturbances and that worse breaches of the peace than those that occurred owing to the anti-tea propaganda will be committed in the later stages of the movement. If this is the way Indians mean to conduct government under *Swardjya*, the longer it is delayed the better for the country. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers it wrong on the part of the Principal of the Aligarh College to have allowed Mr. Gandhi to address the students, and remarks:—It is to be regretted that Mr. Gandhi and his friends have been maddened with fanatic zeal in asking boys to boycott Government schools and colleges. This movement of theirs has proved a curse to the country. We hope popular leaders will come forward at an early date to counteract the movement. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* is of the opinion that the recent accident on the M. and S. M. Railway and the strikes are the direct result of the instigation of the followers of the non-co-operation movement.]

Sánj Vartamán (33), 18th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 22nd Oct.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 17th Oct.

7. "Some persons seek to defend the boycott of schools, which is the least defensible item in the non-co-operation programme, on the ground that they are anti-national. That plea, however, is wholly without substance; for with the passing of the education department under the control of the ministers, the education system becomes national..... It will certainly come under national control when its direction is transferred to the Indian ministers, responsible to popular legislatures, and it will only be a question of time as to when the national control will so change its character as to suit the country's requirements and be on national lines. What, therefore, non-co-operationists are now boycotting is not non-national but national education, and this boycott is for that reason the least justifiable."

The proposed boycott of Government and aided Schools.

Servant of India (10), 21st Oct.

8. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* expresses great concern at the adoption of non-co-operation by the students of the Aligarh College and the movement in favour of National Education in Gujarát, and remarks:—"Self-Government is not only impossible without educational progress; but, in fact, it becomes a danger without it. The greater the powers and opportunities of the people, the greater should be their

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 20th Oct., Eng. cols.

educational progress. We cannot even suspend our educational activities. Whatever the defects of the present system, it has its advantages. Almost any education is better than none. The most barren studies have the effect of cultivating and disciplining the mind to a certain extent. Unless the entire character of our political ideals is to change, we cannot do without education. Mr. Gandhi is a patriot and his aim is Swarajya. We do not know if, like Rousseau, he is also an advocate of a Return to Nature..... We cannot revert to the nomadic and patriarchal types of Government. We cannot do without culture, education study. The present education is probably not of the right sort, but we must go on with it until a sounder system is devised and established. Besides, if the object of non-co-operation is to embarrass and force the hands of Government, we do not see how the wholesale withdrawal of boys from schools and colleges, and turning them into so many vagabonds is to achieve that purpose..... Few will subscribe to Mr. Gandhi's doctrine, that education must now be sacrificed to politics. It is not wise and it is not necessary. If things are to go on in this manner Mr. Gandhi's activities must be condemned from more standpoints than one. It is dragging the country into mere anarchy and confusion."

*9. Referring to the adoption of non-co-operation by the students of Aligarh College, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—" Mr. Gandhi and his henchmen are now throwing their net a little wider and trying to catch the susceptible minds of the rising generation in their toils. Mr. Gandhi is reported to have said that 'education should be sacrificed in the interests of higher politics'. And pray what is meant by 'higher politics'? Do 'higher politics' teach disobedience to parents and teachers? Is it meant by 'higher politics' that the prospects of the young students should be blasted and their future careers ruined in order to suit the whims and eccentricities of *mahatmas* and *moulanas*? Does 'higher politics' entrust the guidance and guardianship of our children to political yahoos? No sensible person in the land will be taken in by this high-falutin talk about higher politics. If Mr. Gandhi does not like Indian boys and girls to go to schools or colleges which receive grants from Government, let him first of all open a sufficient number of what he calls 'national schools', and then those who wish to attend them may do so."

Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 24th Oct., Eng. cols.

10. The attitude of England towards its subject-nations is seen in all its nakedness in its mishandling of the Punjáb, Khilafat, Irish and Egyptian questions. This attitude has destroyed all the confidence of Indians in British justice and fairplay and forced their leaders to adopt the non-co-operation resolution in the National Congress. A little thought will convince anybody that there is no other more powerful weapon than non-co-operation to bring immediate self-government to India. The only section of the people who are against the non-co-operation movement are the educated classes since they are dependent on Government and these are also the people who help the bureaucracy to ride roughshod over the feelings of the innocent and peaceful people of the villages. The reason for this may be found in the defective system of education which makes the people timid and emasculated. It, therefore, seems to us to be our duty to discard the principles and advice of these emasculated educated people and accept non-co-operation as propounded by Mahatma Gandhi in its entirety.

Raj Hansa (88), 15th Oct.

11. Commenting upon the circular recently issued by the Educational authorities calling upon teachers to endeavour to impress it upon the minds of the students that British rule in India is based not on force but on justice, the *Kesari* writes :—The daily tussles between Government and the teachers show how far the latter themselves are imbued with feelings of affection for Government; and no great psychologist is required to tell us that a man is able to produce upon others only such impressions as he

Comments on the Educational Department circular enjoining encouragement of the idea that the British Empire is not based on force.

Kesari (114), 19th Oct.; *Lokasangraha* (117), 19th Oct.

himself has received. Even if a teacher were to dilate upon the virtues of co-operation, contrary to his own convictions, it is doubtful how far he would succeed among students moving in the atmosphere of non-co-operation. Besides, any student can stop his mouth by asking him what was meant by 'Dyerism and the Jhallianwalla Bagh'. Such attempts on the part of Government only prove the necessity of boycotting Government schools and establishing national institutions. [The *Lokasangraha* makes similar remarks and declares that the circular will fail to have the intended effect.]

Lord Willingdon and the non-co-operation movement.
Kesari (114), 19th Oct.

12. All political movements in India generally owe their origin to the misdeeds of Government; and the measures taken by them to arrest their progress only serve to feed them. People have not yet forgotten how the Home Rule movement has thus been assisted by Lord Willingdon, the *ex*-Governor of Bombay, and the Secretary of State. The former believes himself to be a well-wisher of India, and perhaps under that impression he has now attacked the non-co-operation movement. According to him it is both 'disloyal and unconstitutional'. This gentleman does not apparently realise that by openly giving expression to such views he runs the risk of being considered ignorant. When Lord Willingdon denounced the movement as unconstitutional he had at least the opinion of Mr. S. Ayangar, a former Advocate-General of Madras, on his side, but it must be through a mistaken belief in his own wisdom that he called it also disloyal. Of course Lord Willingdon would not attach much value to Mr. Ayangar's views when they are expressed in favour of a popular cause. But then why should he forego the advantage of a legal opinion for which he had not to pay anything? Although the Congress which pronounced in favour of non-co-operation was not all composed of Advocate-Generals, it certainly included many eminent lawyers, and none of them held the view Mr. Ayangar did. Had the movement been really disloyal, these men would never have allowed the resolution on non-co-operation to be adopted by the Congress. To argue that non-co-operation may not come within the pale of disloyalty, but that it is certainly unconstitutional, is to wilfully distort facts. Many prominent statesmen and lawyers hold the view that even to refuse to pay taxes is not unconstitutional. Gandhi's movement, however, is proving too much for the nervous officials and they are advocating resort to repression. But it has gained, by now, sufficient vitality to survive the attacks of Anglo-Indian officials and journals.

Government should at once grant *swarájya* to stop non-co-operation.
Swarájya (139), 14th Oct.

13. The real opposition to non-co-operation will come from the bureaucracy. The first to speak against the movement was Mr. Montagu; then Lord Chelmsford characterised it as foolish; and after them Lord Willingdon in his speech against non-co-operation has held out many threats. Has His Lordship any arguments to show why Indians should not follow non-co-operation in view of the breach of faith committed by Englishmen on many occasions? Is there any period fixed in the Limitation Act for trusting unreliable promises? If there be any, it cannot be more than 150 years. How much longer are Indians to wait for the beggarly rights of ordinary *swarajya*? Now there is no difference of opinion between the people of India and British statesmen regarding the grant of *swarájya*. Since the German war, the question whether Indians should be granted *swarájya* or not has been settled. Englishmen have decided that *swarájya* should be granted to Indians. Now the only point of difference is regarding the time of the grant. British statesmen want to give it by stages in the course of ten to fifteen years and Indians want it instantly. If the point can be settled so easily, why should not Englishmen be ready to give *swarájya* instantly? What advantage is there in denying it and making the whole country discontented, if it is to be given after fifteen years? Non-co-operation may or may not be unconstitutional, as Lord Willingdon says. Why is any opportunity given for the movement to spread in the country? The day it is declared that full rights of *swarájya* are granted, non-co-operation would immediately stop. If it is considered that non-co-operation would cause disorder and disturbance

of the peace in the country, the best way to avoid it is to grant India *swarájya*.

14. Why should pleaders alone be asked to suspend their practice, asks the *Rájakáran*. It says that at first people should be taught to have their disputes settled by arbitration. It advises the doctors not to use English medicines but to open chemical factories. It deprecates Government service, and says that there should be no applications for it, and remarks that foreigners can easily rule over crores of Indians because the authorities can have the best men to serve them like slaves on small pay. It further holds that the old methods of agitation should be changed as they have been proved to be worthless. It is of opinon that none but credulous Moderates will believe that foreign rulers will of their own accord hand over to India at any time the real rights of *swarájya*, It advises the people to enforce the programme of non-co-operation, once it is accepted, and asks them to be prepared to suffer repression at the hands of Government, who will be assisted in their work by treacherous Moderates.

Non-co-operation and the Moderates.
Rájakáran (129), 17th Oct.

*15. " The coincidence of the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement and the approach of the decennial census is indeed fortuitous, yet it supplies an unsought occasion to put non-co-operation into practice. Government usually accomplishes the laborious work of collecting and marshalling facts in connection with the census by the enforced assistance of its employees and also by the voluntary aid of some outside government service. Of course, the non-co-operation resolution does not in the least affect the former set as long as they mean to remain in Government employ. But naturally the question crops up why those, independent of Government service, should co-operate with Government and do honorary work regarding census. It should be remembered, however, that to work as volunteers is one thing and to furnish information on demand is another. The former is non-co-operation which we are so anxious to carry out; the latter is Satyagraha with which we are not at present concerned. And hence our appeal is to those who are desirous of lending their help to Government for the purpose of arranging and completing the ensuing census..... It need hardly be said that we have no quarrel with census *inter se*. No doubt, it is a mine of much useful information; but the temporary inconvenience that is likely to be caused by lack of reliable and efficiently gathered facts and figures will be made good by a more useful, more reliable and more thorough census when India is free."

The forthcoming Census and the non-co-operation movement.
Mahrátta (8), 24th Oct.

16. As the adoption of the resolution on non-co-operation by the Congress coincides with the commencement of operations in connection with the next decennial census, people will have one more opportunity to give effect to that resolution. Many correspondents ask us to state whether they should or should not undertake to do census work as the Congress resolution is silent on this point. Our reply is that no one is bound to do any Government work for which he does not receive any remuneration. The case of Government servants is quite different, but those who have adopted non-co-operation should flatly refuse to give any assistance to Government in this respect. But as non-co-operation is not *Satyagraha*, there is no objection to supply the necessary information to the census officials regarding one's self only. This means that people should supply only such information to Government as they are bound to give under the law but should not co-operate with them in any other way. Those who have been in doubt as to what line of conduct they should adopt, should now faithfully abide by the decision of the Congress and abstain from accepting any honorary work in connection with the census. It will not matter much if this has the effect of rendering the next census incomplete and defective. The deficiency can very easily be made up by discharging efficiently all duties in connection with the first census after the grant of *Swardjya*.

Kesari (114), 19th Oct.

17. "The decision of the Sikh League endorsing the Congress resolution on non-co-operation will not come as a surprise to those who have closely watched the trend of thought and feeling among the Sikhs. The experience of the Sikh Delegation in England completed the process of disillusionment which the agony of the Punjáb had begun. For our part, we never had any doubt, dispite misgivings entertained by many, that the heart of the Sikh community has ever rung true. And the decision of the Sikh League merely brings into relief the universality and the intensity of the feelings of bitter disillusionment aroused among Indians to whatever caste or creed they belong."

Comments on the Sikh League's adoption of non-co-operation resolution.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Oct.

18. "There are simple questions to which there are simple answers:—Why are the non-co-operationists able to influence the masses? Why has the Government failed in impressing its ideas on them? It has resources, it is the fountain of titles, honours and favours, it has its C. I. D., it spends large amounts on its propaganda; it has its Director of Information, its officials, its spies, its papers, such as the *Sachai*, to spread its views and versions to every village. Can the non-co-operationist compare for a moment with the mighty Government? Why do the masses listen to him, not to the Government's agents? They have lost faith in the *mabap sirkar*, and, untutored, cry shame upon the Government's spies at public meetings? There is a divinity that dwells in hearts of the poor, uncared for masses; they refuse to bend the knee before might and splendour; but they rejoice to touch the feet of a poor, simple, bare-footed *Sanyassi* and acclaim with patriotic emotion—*Mahatma Gandhi ki jai*! In their hearts the masses have ceased to co-operate with the Government; in their heart of hearts they pay homage to the patriots of the land..... Bengal 'obstructionists', Madras 'waverers', Mahratta politicians, the National Democratic Party are subordinating their personel views to the Conscience of the Country and have withdrawn their candidatures for the Councils in deference to the decision of the National Congress. And that prince of lawyers—Pandit Motilal Nehru—has suspended his practice; not a day passes, but reports are received of the spread of non-co-operation. Hindu-Muslim unity is becoming stronger every day; a genuine feeling for the country is growing in the hearts of India's men and women. In this daily deepening patriotism, indeed, is the potency and promise of the message of non-co-operation."

Why do the masses listen to the non-co-operationists rather than to Government?
New Times (9), 11th Oct.

19. It is impossible that the attention of newspaper readers should not be drawn to the following sentence occurring in the substance of Mr. Patel's speech on non-co-operation delivered last Friday at Shantaram's Chawl:—"The Indian Government and the Government of Great Britain had done much injustice to them and used oppression on them and there was no alternative but to expel the British Government from India." If Mr. Patel has really given vent to such an utterance it must be said that it was most improper. Congressmen cannot participate in a movement intended to expel the British Government from India. The General Secretary of the Congress ought at least to have refrained from making such a statement which sets at defiance the Congress creed.

What is the object of the non-co-operation movement?
Dnyán Prakásh (42), 20th Oct.

20. In the course of an article on *Brahmacharya* (total abstention in the matter of sexual intercourse), Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"We have more than an ordinary share of disease, famines and pauperism—even starvation among millions. We are being ground down under slavery in such a subtle manner that many of us refuse even to recognise it as such, and mistake our state as one of progressive freedom in spite of the triple curse of economic, mental and moral drain. The ever-growing military expenditure, and the injurious fiscal policy purposely designed to benefit Lancashire and other British interests, and the extravagant manner of running

The procreation of children by Indians under present condition is the multiplication of slaves.
Young India (14), 13th Oct.; *Indian Social Reformer* (7), 24th Oct.

the various departments of the state constitute a tax on India which has deepened her poverty and reduced her capacity for withstanding disease. The manner of administration has in Gokhale's words 'stunted' national growth so much that 'the tallest of us have to bend.' India was even made to crawl on her belly in Amritsar. The studied insult of the Punjáb, and the refusal to apologise for the insolent breach of the pledged word to Indian Musalmans are the most recent examples of the moral drain. They hurt the very soul within us. The process of emasculation would be complete if we submit to these two wrongs. Is it right for us who know the situation to bring forth children in an atmosphere so debasing as I have described! We only multiply slaves and weaklings if we continue the process of procreation whilst we feel and remain helpless, diseased and famine-stricken. Not till India has become a free nation, able to withstand avoidable starvation, well able to feed herself in times of famine, possessing the knowledge to deal with malaria, cholera, influenza and other epidemics, have we the right to bring forth progeny. I must not conceal from the reader the sorrow I feel when I hear of births in this land. I must express that for years I have contemplated with satisfaction the prospect of suspending procreation by voluntary self-denial. India is to-day ill-equipped for taking care even of her present population, not because she is over-populated but because she is forced to foreign domination whose creed is progressive exploitation of her resources..... When we are engaged in a death grip with a powerful government, we shall need all the strength, physical, material and moral, and spiritual. We cannot gain it unless we husband the one thing which we must prize above everything else. Without this personal purity of life, we must remain a nation of slaves." [The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"Wise and Unwise.—There is so much that is wise and true in the article headed 'In Confidence' in the *Young India* of the 13th instant, from the pen of Mr. Gandhi, that it is a matter for sincere regret that it should have been thought necessary to mix it up in an altogether factitious fashion with the movement of non-co-operation..... Surely, no statesman would lament the growth of population; which, after all, is the mighty lever of national greatness and glory. Every Indian politician draws strength and inspiration when he appeals to the fact that the people of India number 300 millions and a fifth of the human race. Mr. Gandhi may mourn it, but with the other nations growing apace, if India should lose even her numerical advantage, any man who knows the A B C of the statecraft will tell him that there is precious little chance of her obtaining or retaining *Swaraj*. It is a thousand pities that pure political quackery of this kind should be mixed up with such a profound truth as *Brahmacharya*."]

21. "The Trade Union Congress which meets in Bombay on October 31st under the presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai, for the first time in the history of Indian Labour, brings into relief the spirit of self-reliance as well as some notion of their great destiny displayed by the hitherto helpless and voiceless workers. The Congress will be a land-mark in our history. As such it must be approached in the true spirit not of parochialism but of patriotism which realises that the whole world is its country and all mankind but one race..... It is important that the conditions of Labour in India should be brought to approximate labour conditions in the West as the worker here requires no less for homely comforts, for leisure, for the cultivation of the mind, for the necessaries as well as the decent comforts of existence..... It is necessary that an alliance with British Labour should be fostered as an urgent necessity and as a first instalment towards the realisation of the workers' proper destiny. Their true destiny is that they should be not only producers of wealth, but due participators in its apportionment. The arrival of Colonel Wedgwood, who is a strong pillar of support for Labour in Parliament, should be utilised in order to cement the unity of British and Indian workers. When we see the city of Bombay in the throes of a prolonged strike which affects its lighting, its traffic, its postal arrangements, we marvel at the supreme indifference of the authorities concerned and the courage and stead-fastness displayed by the men. If our workers can stand by each other in this fashion with the

Comments on the Trade Union Congress to be held at Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Oct.

poor improvised unions at the back of them, what will they not be able to achieve with the strength of an All-India movement to support their cause?"

Strikes in Bombay.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 20th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 21st Oct,; *Gujaráti* (19), 17th Oct.

22. Dwelling at length upon the hardships suffered by the public on account of the postmen's and other strikes in Bombay, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—When will the nightmare of strikes disappear? When will the end of the hardships that the public of Bombay have to suffer all these days on account of the strikes be reached? All classes of the people are entirely disgusted with the disorderly state of affairs. It is with poignant regret and surprise that we observe that our *Sarkar máibáp* who pose themselves as guardians of the people and the Municipal Corporation who claim to be the trustees of the citizens of Bombay seem to consider it their duty to sit silently over the situation. A month has elapsed since the strike of the postmen and telegraph peons commenced. We put it to the Government of India:—'Do you want to crush down this class of workmen by firmly adhering to your determination? Do you mean to enforce submission by starving out this class of hardworking and enduring workmen?' The people of Bombay are very eager to have these questions answered. Great disaffection and discontent are prevalent among the people of Bombay on account of the strikes, and it behoves Government to adopt speedy measures for ending them in co-operation with the accredited leaders of the people. By the bye we would insist that the public should not fail in their duty of exposing the underhand dealings of the so-called labour champions who lead the workmen astray. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the prestige of the Government suffers more than it gains by the continuation of the postal strike, and suggests that if Government do not propose to grant an increment in wages, they should at least undertake in lieu of wages in cash to provide all the necessaries to their employees. The *Gujaráti* points out to the strikers that they would be benefitted more by resuming work than by being led away by the empty talk of fanciful persons.]

Comments on the mass meeting of Bombay labourers to protest against the export of foodstuffs.
Gujaráti (19), 24th Oct., Eng. cols.

***23.** Commenting upon the proceedings of the mass meeting of labourers in Bombay to protest against the export of foodstuffs, the *Gujaráti* remarks:—"Their speeches are a fair index of the general feeling of dissatisfaction prevalent in the community owing to the high level of prices. Government will do well to take timely note of the dangers ahead, both economic and political, and not treat public opinion in a spirit of rosy optimism or callous defiance. If they are going to appoint a Committee to consider the question of high prices and devise some measures in time, they should appoint on that body some experienced and independent representatives of Indian trade, industry and commerce to give the benefit of their views to the Committee. It ought not to be a hole-and-corner affair. The exhortation addressed to the workmen not to load grain in the docks for purposes of export has a significance of its own, and what the British Dock labourers could do in England by refusing to send munitions to Ireland and Poland will not be an impossible achievement in the case of the Indian labourers in the local docks. We do not know why Government have taken the drastic step of excluding the *Daily Herald* from India. Deportations, internments, externments, prohibitions against the importation of books, newspapers and periodicals and the exaction and forfeitures of press securities are no doubt very easy and serviceable methods of repression in the hands of autocrats. But in the long run they do infinitely more harm than good, unless they have the moral backing of at least the thinking public."

Government should not allow the export of foodstuffs from India.
Gajaráti Punch (21), 17th Oct., Eng. cols.

24. "Ours is a sufficiently vast country to produce sufficient grain to feed the huge mass of humanity that inhabits this land. And yet it is a fact that millions of men and women and children in this unfortunate country have to live on insufficient food all the year round and many die of sheer starvation. This untoward and apparently inexplicable phenomenon can be

attributed only to the policy of the Government of India which takes no step to conserve the resources of this country for the benefit of the children of the soil, but which is ever busy exporting large quantities of foodstuffs to England and other countries. For sometime past, this export of foodstuffs was prohibited by the Government, and the rains this year being insufficient, we had fondly hoped the embargo will not be removed. But all of a sudden the Government have decided upon removing that embargo on the export of foodstuffs and to send ship-loads of grain from this country to England. Now the Government of India exist for India and not for England, and it is her primary duty to see that the people of India have sufficient to eat before thinking of exporting foodstuffs to England. It is, indeed, a most provoking policy which the Government of India are pursuing, and they shall entirely have to thank themselves if it provokes any fresh labour troubles which a perusal of the report of the Bombay mass meeting held to protest against the Government decision will indicate are looming in the horizon if the fatal policy is not revised. We wish the Government of India will not stupidly stick to their silly decision."

25. "We are against hard and fast rules restricting or regulating exports, but we have to take account of the staggering fact that, on the most liberal estimates, our population is underfed and in seasons of drought and famine, large sections are starving. Publicity Departments may bellow about the prosperity of India and the sympathy of the bureaucracy, but the conclusive and unanswerable fact is that we suffer from shortage of food and if Government were animated by a burning impulse of patriotism, they would first look to the conservation of our supplies and the redressal of deficiency. With a population of eight millions, Argentina began to take care of her wheat-stocks at the slightest fear of shortage. What is it that makes our Government treat the problem of food-supply so airily, enabling them to indulge in over-much altruism? A hundred million people do not know in India what it is to have a full meal a day, that is on the admission of a Government organ. Recently we quoted Sir William Hunter himself to show that the food exported from India represented hungrier stomachs in the land. And what is one to say of the policy of 'releasing' our food-supply at a season which only to the bureaucracy may appear to be rosy? Officials may boast of magical achievements, but the simple obligation of the State to make a full stomach possible to the struggling subjects of their solicitude, has suffered ghastly failure. The facts adduced above show that the indictment of Dadabhai and Digby has to be repeated to-day. Even on the death-rations of the jail, we have not enough for subsistence, though Government, oblivious of the fact, offer the export of wheat as a present made just in time to prop up the exchange (so we are told), in lieu of 'orginised loot'. We, therefore, appreciate the spirit in which the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau have lodged their protest—a protest which has been endorsed by public meetings in all parts of the country. The talk of depriving India of her food which Anglo-Indian journals ascribe to 'agitators' and ridicule in anticipation, is not so crude an outcry as our mentors think; it is in the light of facts, not very remote from the truth, and we shall not be surprised if the lesson of the incident, coming at this crisis of high prices and possibly worse distress, is burnt once more into the consciousness of our people. But we are asked to eschew the habit of limited outlook. Let people try to crouch in hunger and with the hands clutching the stomach think Imperially!"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Oct.

26. The monsoon has proved unsatisfactory in the Punjáb, the United Provinces and the Bombay Presidency and it is, moreover, feared that during the current year the wheat harvest will be less than normal. Government have, notwithstanding, resolved to export four lakhs of tons of wheat from India. So far restrictions were placed on the export of wheat and these have been removed when the wheat harvest is expected to be deficient in quantity. The public have raised a protest against this, but Government have taken no notice of it. The *Pioneer* argues that Government have permitted the export of wheat in the interests of the agriculturists as they did not

Praja Bandhu (30), 17th Oct.

realise good prices owing to the restrictions on export. We fail to understand how Government mean to profit the agriculturists by taking the monopoly of the export in their own hands and fixing the price of wheat. The price of wheat is advancing in the country owing to the failure of the monsoon and the prospect of a poor crop of wheat in India. In these circumstances, the decision of Government to export wheat in large quantities at prices fixed by them will not fail to dishearten the public. Government should, therefore, issue a *communique* at an early date explaining the reasons for their action.

27. The *Kesari* condemns Government for deciding to export four lakhs of tons of wheat to foreign countries since the country is faced with a shortage of food-grains owing to the general failure of rains this year. It regards with approval the movement among the Bombay dockers aimed at refusing to handle bags of food-grains meant to be shipped to foreign countries. It, however, exhorts the Karáchi people to launch a similar movement there since the wheat is proposed to be exported from Karáchi and not from Bombay.

Kesari (114), 19th Oct.

28. The *Lokasangraha* supports the agitation against the export of foodstuffs to foreign countries and says:—Bombay Labour has now realised that the rapid rise in prices will be really checked if no foodstuffs are exported and that it, along with the rest of India, will have something more to eat. At a meeting held recently in Bombay, a resolution has been passed that dock hands should not handle foodstuffs meant for foreign countries and it is trusted that dockyard labour would with one voice support the request of its brethren. The labouring classes have understood more than the educated the value of union and there is no doubt that if dockyard labour takes it into its head it can check the wicked policy of Government of starving Indian subjects and supplying plenty to Westerners. [The *Swardjya* says that the best way to stop all complaints and break all strikes is to prohibit export of foodstuffs to foreign countries. It welcomes the resolution passed at the Bombay meeting and says that unless such measures are adopted, the sufferings of the poor will not cease and the eyes of foreign merchants growing rich by trade with India will not be opened. It holds that the boycott movement will affect the British industries adversely.]

Lokasangraha (117), 17th Oct.; *Swarájya* (139), 14th Oct.

29. In the course of a contributed article the *Hindu* writes:—We had hoped that the Chelmsford Government would consider the economic situation in India and act accordingly. But it was a hope forlorn. In the face of starvation looming large throughout the land His Excellency the Viceroy has permitted the export of one crore and 8 lac maunds of wheat up to March 1921. Starvation has been so acute in the country that strikes have become the order of the day. We admit the necessity of some exports from the country against the imports that have been made into it. The trouble, however, is that the export of wheat will be very prejudicial to the interests of the masses of the country though it may benefit some exporters. The announcement of export of wheat is likely to raise the rates of wheat. Already the price of wheat has risen by six annas per maund. In America and other countries attempts are being made to put down the prices of foodstuffs. In this country, however, the benign Government has taken steps calculated to enhance the rates. The people of Sind should wake up, hold meetings and protest against the export of wheat. [Elsewhere the paper writes:—Lala Shankerlal of Delhi who sometime ago warned the country that the Government was about to export wheat has now wired to different parts of the country that Government has after all permitted the export of wheat and suggested that dealers in wheat should be persuaded in view of the famine conditions in the country not to sell their stocks to Government and in case they do sell to Government they should be boycotted.]

Hindu (153), 7th Oct.

30. In their reply to the Bombay Corporation Government say that legislation aimed at controlling prices will be more harmful than beneficial. We regret to say that this reply of Government is completely disappointing. The only cause of the big strikes in Bombay is that disaffection is rampant among the working classes on account of high prices. There is no wonder that

Need of legislation to control prices.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 16th and 19th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 18th Oct.

people have to suffer when on the one hand the demands of the workmen are rejected and on the other Government do not take any steps for reducing prices. It is not only the working classes that have to suffer on account of high prices; the middle classes and clerks are the worst sufferers. As long as prices will go on steadily increasing, discontent will continue to prevail among the working classes, strikes will be more frequent and trade and industry will receive a blow of indescribable magnitude. It is rumoured that the mill-operatives propose to strike work shortly, and that millowners are prepared to keep the mills closed for three months if need be. There is only one effective remedy against such strikes and it is this that prices should be brought down, and if Government do not prepare themselves for legislation, strikes will be a common experience. The plea of Government that legislation will be harmful is ludicrous. Government have not an adequate idea of the sufferings of the people. We hope that having regard to the seriousness of the matter Government will be pleased to reconsider the question. [In a subsequent issue the paper reiterates its opinion that the need of legislation calculated to control prices is urgent and gives an account of the measures adopted by the Government of New South Wales for the purpose. Writing in a similar strain, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* calls upon Government to state the reasons for their plea that legislation will be more harmful than beneficial.]

Compulsory teaching of the Bible at the Wilson College, Bombay.

Hindusthán (24), 17th Oct., Eng. cols.

31. "We are very much grieved to learn that the Acting Principal of the Wilson College, in a fit of inexplicable distemper, has refused re-admission to the College to twelve students, three of whom belong to the softer sex. No reason has been assigned for such a drastic move. On a close analysis of the whole situation, however, we are driven to the conclusion that he is actuated by petty and unworthy motives in his cruel dealings with the students in question. The people of Bombay are fully cognisant of the fact that the students of the Wilson College have been showing of late a keen sense of self-respect and manly dignity, and they have protested in respectful but emphatic terms against the practice which has been prevalent in the institution of making Bible classes compulsory for students of all denominations..... We firmly believe in a country like India, with all its diverse races and creeds, perfect toleration must be the watchward of all educational institutions and any attempt to force sectarian views on unwilling minds must be nipped in the bud. This rule must be specially observed in the case of those institutions which get Government subventions as the State machinery is maintained by the Indian people as a whole. We are quite confident this question will not be allowed to drop, but will be taken up at the Senate and by the Government as well, so that the injustice meted out by the Acting Principal may be remedied at once and the institution placed on a wider and more catholic basis."

Servant of India (10), 21st Oct.

32. "The world is now gradually being convinced that compulsory religious instruction is not desirable and is inefficacious in its purpose. If that is the spirit of the times, the world in general will be still more strongly against compulsory attendance at lessons in a religion in which the hearers do not believe. ..... Can then nothing be done to relieve the students of what they have now begun to think is a great hardship? They have of course the theoretical remedy of leaving the College and joining some other. But this is easier said than done. There are only three arts colleges in Bombay and they are all very crowded. If seven or eight hundred students of the Wilson College suddenly wish to join another college, there is no room for them in the other two Bombay colleges, though the Elphinstone College can perhaps take a hundred or two hundred more..... ... The real difficulty of the situation is the virtual monopoly that the College now enjoys..... We think that the question of a conscience clause as a condition of grant-in-aid to institutions which are not purely sectarian is sure to arise early in the new Councils, and they will probably pass a resolution insisting on such a clause in the Grant-in-aid Code..... It is of course possible that if such a condition is insisted on, the Wilson College may decide to forego the grant altogether or even close its doors..... We do not wish to see extin-

guished an institution which has done such valuable work in the cause of the higher education of Indians for nearly three quarters of a century, and we think that it will be an act of sound statesmanship on the part of the College if it yields to this demand of liberty of conscience. We do hope that no spurious ideas of prestige will weigh with the authorities and that they will look at the matter from the standpoint of that liberalism of which many of the British professors of the Wilson College have recently given such signal proof by signing the manifesto against the Punjáb atrocities and risking great unpopularity among their kith and kin in India."

33. The object of the aid which Wilson College receives from Government is not the spreading of Biblical education but the encouragement of the ordinary secular education which it imparts in accordance with Government rules. Government, therefore, can tell the authorities of the College that their institution cannot lawfully prevent students unwilling to receive instruction in the Bible from taking advantage of the other kind of education. If Government do not do this, the only inference would be that Government indirectly encourage the system of giving education in the Bible compulsorily.

Gujaráti (19), 17th Oct.

34. Referring to the conversion of the All-India Home Rule League into the Swarajya Sabha, the *Praja Bandhu* remarks :—" The secessionists and men of their view contend that the omission of any reference to the British connection and the provision for the adoption of peaceful and effective action is contrary to the ideals and methods as embodied in the Congress constitution. But they forget that the object of the Congress is the attainment through constitutional means by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire. Do they mean to suggest that the self-governing members of the British Empire are always till eternity and under all conditions bound down to maintain the British connection? The only attitude which a genuine nationalist can adopt in this connection cannot be better described than in the words of Mr. Mahomed Ali, who said to a Press representative the other day : 'The good of India is what we must aim at, and if the British connection helps us to achieve the work, we would be the first to beg for the continuation of that connection, even though the British would want to part company. But we cannot take up the position blindly that the only thing to aim at is the British connection.' For these reasons we think there is nothing wrong if we do not in black and white put down 'British connection' as the indispensable article of our national creed, but simply understand it as dependent upon the wishes and the interests of the people. Similarly there is nothing wrong if we substitute the words 'peaceful and effective' for the word 'constitutional' in the clause prescribing the means to be adopted by us in carrying out the various items of our national programme."

Comments on the conversion of the All-India Home Rule League into the Swarajya Sabha.
Praja Bandhu (30), 17th Oct.; Eng. Cols.

35. " The visit of the Prince of Wales having been postponed for reasons of health, the King's uncle, the Duke of Connaught, will arrive early December next to carry out the work of inauguration of the reformed Councils. But the boycott of the Councils by popular leaders being very nearly complete, the function of the Regal deputy loses all its significance from the people's point of view. The Royal visit at this time is not, however, intended to perform this formal function only. The British ministers and the Government of India indeed mean through the Duke's reception here to certify to the world the popularity of their Government. If then our protests against Governmental crimes are sincere, we must see that this crafty subterfuge fails. Our virtues of hospitality and loyalty, which are really above suspicion, should not be allowed to be misconstrued into contentment or servility. It should not be forgotten that we are often held to

Why Indians cannot extend their hospitality to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.
Young India (14), 20th Oct.

ridicule for our extravagant ideas about loyalty.. ..... It will be an exhibition of a sad want of reasonableness and courage in us if we receive or join in receiving the Duke of Connaught with hospitalities which the Royal visits have in the past commanded from us. When we are groaning under the insults the British ministers have heaped on us, how can it consistently lie in our mouth to say a word of welcome to the Duke whom those very ministers have urged to sail to India? This is not the first time that such a use is made of the Royal family to sugar over the devilish deeds of ministers. A similar attempt was made in the case of Ireland in 1885, and Mr. Parnell's opinion on this occasion is of striking interest. He wrote to the *United Ireland*..... We too, feel sure to repeat what Parnell said of his countrymen, our people also having been fore-warned, nay fore-armed, by boycotting the very constitution which the Duke is coming to inaugurate, will respectfully but firmly not allow their hospitable nature and cordial disposition to carry them into any attitude which might be taken as one of condonation for the past unmitigated wrongs, or satisfaction with the present state of affairs."

Comments on the report of the Government Stores Purchase Committee.
Bombay Samáchár (61), 19th Oct.

36. Commenting upon the report of the Stores Purchase Committee, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—This report of the Committee contains several suggestions which may well be acted upon at an early date. We would hope that, having regard to the important issues connected with the matter, Government will not fail to put them early into operation. The Committee have recommended that a Stores Purchase Department should be established in India, making the present department in London a branch of the Department proposed to be established in India. In his evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission Mr. M. M. S. Gubbay suggested that a Stores Department should be established in India, and Government, it is known, intend to act upon it. If that is so, this recommendation of the Stores Purchase Committee will be looked upon as accepted. The Stores Department in London is to be placed under the High Commissioner, who is paid by the Government of India. Hence the Department there can be looked upon as a Department of the Government of India. But as long as such a Department is not opened in India things will remain unsatisfactory. If the recommendations of the Committee are acted upon it will be possible to give preference to Indian products, and Indian industries and workmanship will receive a great support. If in the matter of purchases preference is to be given to Indian-made articles, Government must in all respects encourage the present as well as potential resources of India. An early acceptance of the recommendations of the Committee will be beneficial to all the parties, *viz.*, the Government, Indian industries, and the people of India.

Comments on the Town Hall meeting in honour of the late Mr. Tilak.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 24th Oct.

*37. In the course of its comments on the Sheriff's meeting at the Town Hall in honour of the late Mr. Tilak, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"Mr. Patel, non-co-operationist though he be, could not resist the temptation to get a few cheers by inveighing against the Governor for not being present at the meeting. If it was really desired to have His Excellency's co-operation, the meeting should have been differently organised. We do not think that this was impossible, considering that His Excellency freely recognised Mr. Tilak's unique greatness as an Indian national leader, apart from political controversies, by readily sanctioning the Sheriff's meeting and, even more, by permitting on his own responsibility the cremation of the remains of the departed leader on the Chowpati foreshore, which was absolutely without precedent. This was a most graceful act, as every one recognised at the time, but not a word of recognition was spoken at the meeting. By the way, if it is the case that the permission regarding the use of the foreshore was given and accepted on the distinct understanding that no question of a memorial or monument on the site would be raised, Mr. Baptista's offer to shed his blood in securing that object would seem to be quite uncalled for. There is a great desire on all hands to place the Tilak

memorial question on a broad national basis, but this is made difficult, if not impossible, by speeches such as Mr. Patel's. Perhaps, the speech aimed at that result."

Comments on the appointment of four Indians as governors of the Imperial Bank.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 24th Oct., Eng. cols.

38. "The news of the appointment of four well-known Indians as the first governors of the newly-created Imperial Bank of India will be received with satisfaction throughout the country..... The appointment of four such men of known ability and high merit may be taken as a guarantee that Indian interests will not be overlooked in the management of the Bank."

Comments on the French system of brothel-keeping for the army of occupation in Germany.
Gujarâti (19), 17th Oct.

39. The *Gujarâti* reproduces from the *Forward*, an English journal, an account of the French system of brothel-keeping for the army of occupation in Germany, especially those for the French African troops, and remarks:—There was a time when the Indians were persuaded to believe that their mode of living, their society, religion, morality, dress, industry, their system of administration, state policy, etc., etc., were all bad and that the people of the West, *i.e.*, the people of Europe, the whites, the Christians, were the most excellent of all the peoples in the world. The wonder of it is that such statements had for a time begun to be established as true in the hearts of the Indians. When the last war broke out, all the bad epithets were bestowed upon the Germans. Now has come the turn of Russia and Turkey. The victorious party has described the Turks as unfit for governing, cruel, oppressive, unjust and given to committing outrages upon the people under their subjection. England and France have cut off the Russians from the rest of the world declaring that they are followers of the doctrine of Bolshevism, and troops have been sent against Russia without a declaration of war. The Bolshevists are represented as very cruel, faithless, immoral, murderous, etc. Novel stories are spread about them through cable messages in order to frighten the people. The burden of military expenditure is made to continue to hang over the heads of the people of India by frightening them by such items of information as that the Bolshevists are pouring down through Persia, and Afghanistan and that they are eighty miles from Herat, and so on. The latest news about these Bolshevists tells us that they have adopted the policy of looking upon women as the common property of the people, and that as they are useful for procreation, everybody is at liberty to enjoy them. Is it possible that the Bolshevists should be so bad? This news can be believed as true with hesitation. In this connection an account of the system introduced by the French of maintaining brothels in order to satisfy the passion of the soldiers forming the army of occupation in Gerwany appearing in the *Forward* will be found interesting to peruse. From this account Indians will see that the talk about Europeans, Christians, Frenchmen and the Westerners being even very slightly higher in morality than the Indians is mere talk with no truth at all.

Comments on the illness of the King of Greece.
Mufid-e-Rozgâr (160), 17th Oct.

40. Referring to the illness of the King of Greece, the *Mufid-e-Rozgâr* says:—Greece thirsts for the blood of Turkey. Greece is mischievous and the worst enemy of Islam. As a punishment for the oppression of the innocent Turks at Smyrna it was necessary that some sudden calamity should befall Greece. In the dark ages the omniscient God sent swallows to guard Mecca; will nothing be done now that Musalmans inhabit (the globe)? Forty crores of Mussalmans will sacrifice their lives to free Mecca. All this trouble has arisen for the purpose of shaming the Mussalmans into action.

Comments on the Esher Committee's Report.
Gujarâti Punch (21), 17th Oct., Eng. cols.

41. "The Report, or more correctly, the Reports—for there are two distinct documents—of the Esher Committee on the Re-organization of the Army in India are published, and it would, indeed, be doing an injustice to the real nature of the recommendations contained in them if we were to characterize them by the mild epithet

of reactionary; for they are much worse that that..... Indeed, the name of Sir Michael O'Dowyer is writ large on every page of the Esher Committee Report, and this single fact ought to be enough to give us a true idea of the real nature of the recommendations contained therein. The main features under the new dispensation will be the bleeding of India while in pursuance of the military gambles of Imperial War Lords, the instalment of a Military Autocrat in India in the person of the Commander-in-Chief, and the banging of the door of higher service in the Indian Army in the face of Indians..... India, however, has more pressing problems at hand that cry for solution, and she will require all the resources she can command for that internal reconstruction so necessary to raise her as early as possible to full Dominion Status in the Empire. She has thus neither the time nor the will—much less the means—to play the game of Imperial Military Autocrats. It would, therefore, be a fatal mistake to take advantage of her dependent position to force her to play their game, and unless England wants to alienate for ever the sympathies of the Indian people she would do well to avoid it. India will soon cease to cherish that place in the Imperial Federation which imposes all the obligations of fraternity and none of the advantages accruing from it; and if British Statesmen are anxious to avoid that day, the only way for them is to offer the Esher Committee Report a decent winding sheet in the paper on which it is written."

42. "The one obsession of the Esher Committee seemed to be the bogey of Bolshevist intrigues. But assuming for the sake of argument—we do not for one moment concede the truth or wisdom of this assumption—that India needs to arm herself against the Russian peril, is she abolutely unentitled to claim any compensation? In other words, must she alone bear a burden, which on this very assumption is of an international character, and which would prove to be beyond her own resources?..... In 1913-14 our army expenditure was roughly £20,000,000 a year. If the Esher suggestions materialise we shall be underestimating the burden if we put it at £40,000,000 a year in peace time, the cost of all wars and frontier expeditions being extra, all capital expenditure on barracks being left out, all outlay on military supply establishments being excluded, and all interest on the unproductive military borrowing of recent years being, of course, not counted. If we add all these items, the total military burden cannot be much under £50,000,000 per annum, that is much more than half the total resources available on an average..... The Esher Committee have argued for equality of pay between British officers in British regiments and those in Indian regiments in order to facilitate interchange of officers. They have naively added that as all transfers will be on duty, the officers must be given free passage. Have they counted the cost?..... The truth is this, it is an attempt to procure a varied experience for the British Officer of all the terrain in all the likely theatres of war, at the expense of India. And the tragedy becomes all the grimmer when we remember that the benefit of this varied experience—purchased at such a cost—will be lost to India, or at least unavailable when the Imperial needs conflict with Indian needs. Does Mr. Montague accept this part of the recommendations, also, in principle?..... Assuming that our total strength is 100,000 British and 200,000 Indian soldiers, we pay as much as if we had 500,000 Indian soldiers, roughly speaking. While the Indian soldier can always be depended on for national defence, whether in retirement or on the active list, the British soldier, even while he is in India, is ostentatiously paraded as a political weapon to protect the present administration. Sir Umar Hayat considers that he imparts an element of 'stiffening' to the Indian soldier. But we find him too costly, *pace* Sir Umar. If the item of cost were duly considered for the entire problem of National Defence, the system of conscription would be found to be better suited to Indian conditions, financial and other, than any system of voluntary enlistment, for the former would cost one-half of the latter. It is no use mincing words. Under the present system our army is anti-national; we want it, in common with all countries, to be national in sympathies as well as in composition, in personnel as well as in organisation. Under the existing system it is extravagant, inefficient and unreliable; we want it to be an

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Oct.

efficient means of defence, within or suited to our means; we want it to afford the maximum of advantage at a minimum of cost."

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 21st Oct.; *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* (85), 15th Oct.; *Praja Bandhu* (30), 17th Oct.

43. India is already overburdened with military expenditure and if the recommendations of the Esher Committee are accepted by Parliament, the Indian public will be exposed to the danger of their backs being bent to the breaking point. It is to be regretted that the Indian public is not supplied with the full report of the Esher Committee and the minute of dissent of Sir K. Gupta. Sir Krishna's minute is based on a far-sighted policy and has recommended the bestowal of King's commissions on Indians in large numbers. But his seems to be a voice in the wilderness. The Committee has recommended the removal of the control of the Indian army from the Government of India and its being placed in the hands of the War Office in London; and it seems to have been wholly guided in all matters by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. There is much matter for consideration in the suggestion made by our Nationalist leaders for the organisation of a national militia for protecting the country from foreign aggressions and the authorities in India and England should give it the serious consideration it deserves. [*Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* regrets to see that the Committee has recommended enhancement in the military expenditure when the people have been clamouring for its reduction and bemoans the inability of the Councils to discuss military matters or to change the military policy of Government. The *Praja Bandhu* considers the recommendations of the Esher Committee as unjust and suggests that the Indian public should raise a protest against the recommendation of the Committee increasing the military burden of India mainly for the purpose of maintaining peace in Central Asia and the Eastern countries.]

Hindu (153), 7th and 8th Oct.

44. The Commission's recommendations are disappointing so far as the interests of India are concerned. One of these recommendations is to place the Indian Army under the War Office in England. England saw in the gigantic war with Germany that she could not as a matter of course use the Indian Army. To get over this difficulty the Commission has made the recommendation to which we have referred above. The result will be that the British War Office will have a complete control over the Indian Army, with power to detail Indian forces where they like. This must shut our mouths so that we can no longer protest against India's man-power and money being uselessly spent in foreign lands. Poor Starving India will, henceforth, be made to maintain an Army large enough to meet situations in and outside Asia, and this not with a view to her own advancement but for the benefit of British capitalists and to raise an iron wall round it so as to convert it into a prison house. Sir Krishna Gupta, who was on the Commission, says in his note that the Commission has not taken into consideration the Government announcement of responsible Government to India. This is not the first occasion on which promises have been broken. Those who are enamoured of the Reforms ought to be sorry for obstacles being thus thrown in the way of India's freedom. The Commission's recommendations afford one more instance showing what is the policy of England towards India. Must we still hope and trust? The Commission has forged several other manacles for India. We shall discuss these in our future issues pointing out to our readers what we get in return for our 'co-operation' with Government. [In the next issue the paper writes:— The Army Commission, while it has made certain recommendations calculated to humour Indians, has dexterously put further chains round India. These recommendations which relate to the admission of educated Indians into the Indian Army are halting in their character and reveal suspiciousness on the part of the Commission of the loyalty of India's sons. Nor are they generous so far as the scales of pay are concerned. The new scheme under which the educated Indian will be enlisted in the Army is to be a tentative measure, to be withdrawn at the will of the Commander-in-Chief. It is well that the Army Commission has made such recommendations. The report of the Commission will serve as a

handle to the non-co-operator. It is difficult to estimate at this time the extra expenditure that the reorganisation of the Army will involve. Already the Military expenditure is terribly large: the estimate for the year 1920-21 is twice as large as the pre-war expenditure. Under the New Reforms there will be increased expenditnre both on the Civil and Military sides of Government and increase in expenditure must be met by increase in taxation. What will be the condition of the masses of the country, already dying of starvation, under increased taxtation? The New Reforms instead of leaving us more, leave us less to eat.]

Sind Vasi (158), 7th Oct.

45. We are sorry that the Army Commission has given no thought to Indian aspirations. Although we did not expect much from the Commission in view of the inadequate and belated Indian representation on it, we never thought that it would make a clean sweep of Indian aspirations. We wanted that Indians should be appointed officers in the Army, after requisite training to be provided in the country. The Esher Commission has done nothing in this respect. Nor have all the branches of the Army been opened to Indians. Even in respect to the territorial force several obstacles have been thrown in the way of Indians. What is surprising is that Indians should have no place in an Army which is wanted for the defence of their own country.

Grievances of Indians in East Africa.

**Gujarâti* (19), 24th Oct., Eng. cols.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 24th Oct., Eng. cols.

***46.** Referring to the application of the segregation rules to Indians in East Africa, the *Gujarâti* writes:—"Under these rules Nairobi is held sacred to the European settlers! That is disgraceful enough. But what passes one's understanding is the provision preventing Indians from selling land on Mombasa Island to a European. The *Times of India* understands the telegram to mean that a sale of land even to an Indian has been prohibited..... The cable in question has been addressed to the Viceroy, and the Government of India must be in possession of fuller and more accurate information on the subject. Amongst some of the good things that His Excellency the Viceroy has done is his emphatic committal of the Government of India by his declaration in January last, to the principle that His Majesty's Indian subjects are entitled to equal status along with the other communities settled in British Protectorates and Crown Colonies. We, therefore, trust that the Indian Government will take prompt steps in response to the appeal made by the Indian Association. The Honourable Abdul Rasul A. Vishram is a gentleman of moderate and sober views, and it is a significant circumstance that as a protest against the dishonourable principle of racial discrimination that has been adopted he and two other members of the District Committee are going to resign their seats. That means that the principle of non-co-operation is going to find favour with our countrymen in British East Africa also. It is a misfortune not only for England, but for the British Empire that narrow-minded, selfish and short-sighted imperialists like Lord Milner are allowed to dominate her policy in British Protectorates and Crown Colonies and to arouse bitter racial feelings by the dishonourable enactment and enforcement of rules on the basis of racial discrimination. That there should be any European settlers eager to demand special privileges for themselves is shameful enough. But that the statesmen who are guiding the destinies of the British Empire should adopt principles and methods which are a disgrace to their much vaunted ideals is still more to be deplored. England's troubles in Ireland, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Ceylon and India show how little-minded men have caught hold of the Imperial chariot and been driving it along paths that are filled with deadly thorns and calculated to prove disastrous in the long run. Great Empires and Little Minds ill go together." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"Now is the time when the Viceroy should boldly urge his views upon the Colonial Office and the East African Government. He has already declared his opinion that in a Crown Colony or Protectorate all British subjects of whatever colour or race should be considered equal. But a mere declaration of opinion without an honest effort to put it into actual practice is of no use. If the Indian Government will

remain silent at this critical moment and will allow this injustice to be perpetrated without a vigorous protest, the cause of the Indians in East Africa is doomed."]

What Indians might do to stop ill-treatment of Indians in the Colonies.
Lokasangraha (117), 17th Oct.

47. The *Lokasangraha* quotes the words alleged to have been used by certain New Zealanders, 'we will brave any danger to drive these Indians out', and says :—What is the idea of Government as to what India will think of these words? Are not Indians after all men? It does not appear from the conduct of the Whites hitherto that they consider a black man to be a man. Whites have shot down up till now many blacks thinking them to be pigs and bears and we do not remember that the courts have awarded adequate punishment to the Whites, as if to prove that the killing of an Indian is no murder. It is not surprising that greater encouragement should be given after the war to the idea that the whole world is meant for the Whites. Many promises were given to Indians during the war and India also did not hesitate then. But what was the experience of Indians in their own country soon after the war? What then of Indians who have gone abroad? Why are the whites getting so uncontrollable day by day? Is it that their war equipment suggests the commission of outrages to them? But the western nations should bear in mind that they are losing the moral strength behind their military strength by such deeds. Is it not possible that there should arise a feeling of retaliation in the minds of the common people? No measures are adopted by our rulers to bring their insolent countrymen to their senses, while the above-mentioned outrages are being committed in the Colonies. Does the British Government desire that Indians should make it impossible for the Whites to remain in India by adopting non-violent non-co-operation? Will the British statesmen awaken themselves betimes and stop the outrages, remembering that Indians also are men and not try their patience too much, or will they allow the poison tree of colour hatred to flourish as now?

Even voluntary emigration to British Guiana should not be allowed without the most careful inquiries.
Young India (14), 13th Oct.

48. In the course of an article on 'the British Guiana Colonization Scheme', Mr. H. S. L. Polak writes in *Young India*:—"From certain incidents that have occurred in the Colony of late, one is justified in drawing the deduction that everything is not so rosy there as it has been represented to be, and that the economic situation is far from being as bright as we have been led to believe. For example, on the 17th July, 900 Indian immigrants returned to India by one steamer. It seems a disproportionately large number. Then, too, writers to the *Daily Argosy* draw marked attention to the number of homeless and ill-clad beggars of Indian race seen about the streets of George-town, and local Indians have started a subscription list to erect a shelter for these destitute people. The *Daily Chronicle* of July 1 reports that the whole of the Indian labourers on one estate went on strike for increased wages. They complained that they were coerced into working for a miserable weekly pittance of 1·92 Dol. (women 1·44 Dol.) and when they rebelled against this, their wives were assaulted by the overseer. It seems very improbable that Indians, coming to the Colony under the Colonization Scheme, will fare appreciably better than their countrymen and women already there, and having regard to the way in which the latter are apparently treated, it would seem very desirable that India should hesitate long before sending any more of her children to the Colony. At any rate, it is not a very good advertisement for a Colonization Scheme. At the present time, there is widespread labour unrest in British Guiana. The British Guiana Labour Union has been organizing strikes in order to demand increased wages owing to the higher cost of living, and it is a significant thing that Jamaican labourers are emigrating not to British Guiana, which is alleged by the promoters of the Colonization Scheme to be in great need of labour, but to Cuba, where wages are very much higher. It seems to me that there is ample scope for most cautious inquiry before India as committed to the so-called Colonization Scheme..... I think, therefore, that Indians should hesitate very long before they commit themselves to this scheme, and

that they should insist upon a most searching investigation of local conditions and the satisfactory answering of certain very obvious questions before even voluntary emigration to the Colony is promoted."

His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's tour.
Lokasangraha (117), 18th Oct.

49. No Viceroy has up till now so much lowered himself in the eyes of the people as Lord Chelmsford. There is no grace now left in him except that he still occupies his position. All have condemned him. All India has told him to walk out; it is very degrading to the Viceroy and his nation that he should still stick to his post. And now he has further shown his unwisdom by undertaking a tour. It appears he is not satisfied with the miserable plight he is already in; let him please himself. After such disgrace any other ordinary man would have grown livid with shame. What manhood can we expect from one who at the most treats with feigned anger officials who deprived the rayats of their life and honour and allows them to go scot-free? Lord Chelmsford is to go to Nágpur. But Nágpur like Jubbulpore has resolved that no addresses, etc., should be presented to him. No Indian except those who have blackened their faces will be prepared to honour Lord Chelmsford.

Comments on the article in the London *Times* on the subject of the qualifications a Viceroy of India should possess.
Mahrátta (8), 24th Oct.

***50.** Referring to the discussion in the London *Times* on the subject of the qualifications a Viceroy of India should possess, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"What is primarily wanted is mutuality of interest between the Governor and the governed, the Governor being made amenable to the wishes of the governed. The real disease therefore is the rotten system of administration; and as long as that is not radically changed, it matters not whether the Viceroy is a commoner, or an uncommon peer, or even a lordly Indian..... The *Times* still goes further and suggests that it might be expedient to appoint a civil servant of exceptional eminence, possessing confidence of the people of India, and that there are two or three very able civilians answering the description. Herein it only reveals its own miserable view of the gravity of the situation. As we have already once said, the authorities are not slow in creating new and important positions for the hard-pressed civil servants. In profession their policy with regard to them is taking away with one hand, while in effect it is giving with two. And, there breaks the spirit of the *Times* once more, and still the new era is bright and shining. No doubt the selection of the right man to hold the post is very important; but equally well or more important it is that he must have a right place to fill in. What must be urged, therefore, is that the whole system of Government must first be radically changed. Till then it is practically Government not by a civil servant, but by an uncivil master, indifferently callous to the interest of the governed."

Comments on the recent cancellations of certain promotions in the Public Works Department.
Kesari (114), 19th Oct.

51. British rule put to shame even by the old native Indian rule owing to the horrors of the Punjáb. Similarly the fickleness of some Government officials has given ground for the belief that Bajirao II managed the affairs of state better than they. It is said that during Bajirao's rule a man appointed to a mamlat rode to his destination with his head towards the horses's tail so that he might catch an early glimpse of his successor in case one was appointed after he left the capital! No one expected that under British rule the order of Government would prove to be similarly short-lived. [The paper then refers to the orders of Government first sanctioning increased salaries to certain employés in the Public Works Department and then cancelling them after a couple of months.] The retrograde step taken by Government was apparently due to the desire of Mr. Mead to disallow the claims of Mamlatdars for better salaries. The I. C. S. Officers seem to have all combined in attacking the Public Works Department and compelling it to cancel its original orders. Indeed, rather than put up with such an affront, Mr. Shoubridge should have resigned and walked away. But then who would put himself to loss for his Indian subordinates? We would suggest to

Government that at least for the sake of their good name they should not ask for a refund from those who have already drawn increased salaries, and should also give them an assurance that their claims for advancement would receive due consideration at the hands of Government; otherwise the Government *Gazette* would only be looked upon as a 'scrap of paper'. But according to the spirit now prevailing it is not wholly undesirable that the name of Government should thus come into disrepute.

Protest against certain appointments conferred on Europeans in Bombay.

Nireekshaka (48), 15th Oct.

52. The *Nireekshaka* protests against the appointment of Mr. Lambert as Electoral Assistant to the Collector of Bombay for three months on a salary of two thousand rupees per mensem, and declares that any Mamlatdar would have most efficiently discharged the duties of the post on one-fourth of the pay given to Mr. Lambert. It goes on:—It is true that we are admirers of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd. But we are bound to bring it to the notice of our readers that during His Excellency's regime white colts backed up by influence succeed in pushing themselves forward a good deal. An officer on a salary higher than that of an Executive Councillor has recently been appointed in this Presidency, while complaints are being heard everywhere about the appointment of the Director of Information. It appears as if these white bulls are now fattening themselves on the grazing lands of India conscious of the fact that they would not be able to do so in the new era.

The Bombay Development scheme.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Oct.

53. "The Government of Bombay have announced their building programme for 50,000 one-room tenements. But they have not assumed a monopoly of the building trade, nor even discouraged the private builder from his enterprise, except in so far as the Rent Restriction Act may be regarded as a hindrance. The Government, to facilitate their building operation, start with a scheme of land acquisition, but there is no indication that they mean to assert the ultimate sovereignty of the community in all land, and prevent land speculation whether in the land notified for acquisition or not. Those who are aware of the wire-pulling behind the scenes will find unmistakable tendencies towards a land speculation, though it is quite possible that the highest officers are innocent of all knowledge of such undercurrents. The knowledge that Government are to build on a large scale has already induced a current of high prices in building materials; but the rise is nothing compared to what it will be when they start throwing lakhs and crores about with all the recklessness of a *carte blanche*. The Government have estimated an expenditure of Rs. 1,100 per tenement, but our experience of Government enterprise makes us doubt if this limit, high as it already is, will be in the end adhered to. The cost per room was estimated by the Industrial Commission under a thousand, and the cost to the private builder is under Rs. 800 to-day. Twenty-five per cent. of the proposed outlay will be represented by—no assets. In the building programme, moreover, we must remember, the Government contemplate building only the lowest type of workmen's tenement, and leave the middle-class house-holder to the tender mercies of the capitalist builder. There is no reason to believe that while the scheme, if realised, will provide house-room, it will be in conformity with the minimum requirements of civilized life. The problem of the house may be solved. The problem of the slum is only just beginning. Would it not be wise to reconsider even now the entire programme before making what might prove to be an irreparable blunder? We must not, in advancing these arguments, be understood to mean that Government should not build at all. Like every other employer on a large scale, Government must assume the duty of providing decent house-room for their employes in all the ranks of their hierarchy. If they desire to become a model employer they must see that the house accommodation provided for public servants is not wanting in a reasonable standard of the comforts of civilized life. The Government of Bombay in their various departments, and the other public departments like the

Post and Telegraph offices, the Railways and Port Trust, the Municipality and its ancillaries or dependents, employ several thousands of men, for whom alone the Government housing programme would be stupendous, without venturing to supply houses to the general working population, and even then there would be sufficient room for waste and extravagance to satisfy the most grasping Development Commissioner. The best means to solve the housing problems, in the present condition of things, is to impose a statutory duty on every employer of workmen—say of more than 500—the statutory obligation to provide housing accommodation at his own cost, and to rent these houses or deduct from the wages proportionately by way of rent..... If the Government thought it best to undertake building, they should, at least, have imposed a statutory liability on the employers to contribute a certain proportion of the cost. As it is, the Government undertake to provide the necessary deficit of housing accommodation from funds raised by a loan secured on the provincial revenues, and offering a clear 6½ per cent. return, free from all burden of the income tax. There is no investment in the market to compare to this in safety and profit. But the advantage to the capitalist employer does not end with the interest. The houses, when ready, will be rented to their employes, who would presumably, pay much less than the fair rent for such tenements. Otherwise Government need not have made provision for an annual deficit of 13½ lakhs from the very commencement, which, will, of course, be much exceeded eventually. To the extent that these houses cannot give a fair return on the capital invested, the occupant,—in other words, the workman,—will be subsidised; but the real advantage of the subsidy will go to the emyloyer. The cruder section of the employer class will try to reduce wages, or at least to prevent a further rise, on the ready excuse that the cost of living has been reduced in proportion as the most important item in the workman's budget has been controlled to his benefit..... The public purse will be charged with the burden of the subsidy, which, positively, will take the form of a tax on cotton brought into Bombay. The economics or incidence of this levy need not be here discussed beyond stating that whoever ultimately bears the burden of that tax, it will not be the large scale employer of Bombay city..... Not the least of its dangers is that it seeks to segregate the working classes into a separate locality, a step that is calculated to deepen class hatred."

54. "The Poona racing season of 1920 is chiefly remarkable for the race betting craze which has still more strongly taken hold of all and sundry; and the ever-increasing number of bucket shops doing business with punters is a very serious menace and one requiring the immediate attention of Government. The all-powerful Turf Club is apparently powerless in preventing its mighty owners from ignoring the laws of the land; or is it that it is too indifferent or too timid to tackle a problem which requires drastic treatment and which, moreover, threatens to affect its income sooner or later very considerably?"

Complaint against the increasing bucket shops in Poona.
Bombay Chronicle (2), 17th Oct.

55. The *Lokasangraha* refers to conflicting news from Afghanistan and says:—Whatever that be, the Amir of Afghanistan broke with the English, as soon as he ascended the throne. It is a fact that he made the Government of India declare to the world the independence of Afghanistan. The Government of India had at first concealed the news but they had to admit everything when the Amir began openly to maintain friendly relations with Lenin. Some time ago we heard that the Amir did not think well of the Bolsheviks and that he desired friendship with the British; the latest news was that he had sent his Ambassador to India to negotiate a permanent treaty; but now the situation is quite different! Once upon a time, Afghanistan was welcomed as a buffer state to stem the tide of the Bolsheviks. But now there is a change in politics! But what that change is we do not know at all!

Comments on the Afghan situation.
Lokasangraha (117), 17th Oct.

56. "In one of his recent speeches Mr. Mohammad Ali told of an Egyptian he met in London, who on being informed of the massacre at Jallianwala and the Punjáb atrocities, exclaimed in angry accents, 'Verily India deserves all that, for she is helping the British in imposing slavery on us.' We wonder if the Egyptian was quite entitled to reproach a whole nation in the way he did, when we remember that a slave nation as we are we have often been unknowing and unwilling agents in acts of humiliation and inhumanity. But now that the whole nation is awaking to a consciousness of its strength and we know of the bloody tragedy that is being enacted in Mesopotamia, it would stand to our lasting shame and humiliation if we continued for a moment longer to be party to that blood-guiltiness. The *Nation* received by the last mail has an article the contents of which must make us hang down our heads in shame inasmuch as a number of our countrymen in Mesopotamia, taken there as combatants or non-combatants, are helping in what the paper calls an act of 'perfidy', 'for perfidy it is to promise a population its freedom and then to hang and shoot men for calming it until you have the whole country in a state of war.' In a few clear and direct statements supported by weighty authority, the *Nation* sums up the woeful tale of murder and humiliation, and of the enormous 'sacrifice of life, fame and treasure' in Mesopotamia. ..... The Congress rightly included in the Resolution on Non-co-operation, immediate stoppage of recruitment as soldiers, clerks and labourers in Mesopotamia. Circumstanced as we are it is impossible for us to withdraw the soldiers, clerks and labourers that are already there helping in the impossible task of humiliating a proud and noble race. It is imperative that in atonement of that sin—involuntary sin—if for nothing else, we must stand as brother to brother with the Musalmans in their fight for the honour of Islam which is a fight no less for the liberty of the Arabs than for the religious liberty of the whole Moslem world. And having sinned once we may not add to our store of sin by helping in or even countenancing the sending of recruits in that unfortunate land for any purpose whatsoever."

Comments on the use of Indian troops to subdue other Asiatic peoples.
Young India (14), 13th Oct.

57. "Mr. Bonar Law has stated that a Bill for the ratification of the Turkish Peace Treaty has been drafted and will be introduced as soon as possible during the present session of Parliament; and Parliament of course will pass it as in duty bound. What a tragic farce it all is! When practically the whole of the Oriental subjects of the King-Emperor are strongly opposed to the terms of the treaty, which has put all Central Asia in a blaze and is a standing menace to the permanency of the British Empire in the East, the 'Imperial Parliament' will complacently endorse that treaty. A real imperial parliament, a parliament representing the whole Empire, would unquestionably destroy it in its present form. The Parliament of England—demagogic as it has become—is representative of England only..... Asia is altogether out of it. The British Dominions overseas have been given virtual independence and are able to impose their view on any subject which concerns them. But India—'England's only empire'—is in no such fortunate position. The men whose duty is to represent her in the Councils of the Empire are all Englishmen who, however honest their intentions may be, naturally compromise between the British and the Indian points of view."

The Turkish Peace Treaty.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Oct.

58. "A correspondent informs us that Frenchmen professing themselves friendly to Islam have formed in Paris a society of which the object is to oppose 'the cruel and unjust war against the Turkish Nation' made by England in the interest of Greek imperialism; and apparently to blame the acts of English everywhere..... This French Society is really only a small mouthpiece of that 'propaganda' against England which has begun to assume serious proportions both in France and in America. It was an axiom with British statesmen in old days that the end of the Turkish Empire would be the beginning of the end of the British Empire in the East. But nobody predicted that the latter would be accom-

Formation of an anti-British French Society.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Oct.

plished in precisely the same manner as the former, by foreign propaganda harping on alleged atrocities—yet that is what will happen, as it seems to us, unless the Turkish treaty is at once revised, and the subject nations of the British Empire are soon liberated. The vastness of that empire is a cause of jealousy to every other Power in the world. No foreign Power is really friendly to Great Britain. What show of friendliness there is towards her is bought and paid for; it is not disinterested. The only disinterested friendship she can hope for is that of the folk of her own empire. It is, therefore, madness to estrange them for the sake of Foreign Powers. If only Parliament could be persuaded not to ratify that shameful treaty!"

RAILWAYS.

*59. An anonymous correspondent writes to the *Mahrátta*:—"It will add greatly to the enthusiasm for a universal and lightning strike on all the railways managed by companies, which you have already aroused, if you give publicity to the following vivid illustration of the diabolical brutality and insane economy practised by railway companies. Mr. Carl Vrooman, one of the greatest authorities in the world on railways, says:—'The statement made by a Western railway official to me some years ago that 'a large percentage of our (American) railway accidents are due to the belief on the part of the railway directors that it costs less to pay for accidents than to prevent them' is deeply significant.' Now is the time to precipitate the strike. If this opportunity is lost, the cause of the Railway slaves of India is lost, because the Government will give a new lease of life to company management for the purpose of perpetuating the awful drain of wealth from India to England. By a universal and lightning strike on all company-managed railways at the present juncture, the railway slaves will not only insure the deliverance of themselves, but of their country also, from the profiteering demon of company management."

Employés on company-managed railways in India should strike to have the management changed.
Mahrátta (8), 24th Oct.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 29th October 1920.

*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 30th October 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "It is significant that not a single nationalist in Sind is a candidate for the Councils. No nationalist, indeed, can accept the creed of non-co-operation and be a *sirkarwallah*. It is regrettable that some of the Congressmen in Sind are still candidates for the Councils, and some still attend Government functions, in violation of the instructions issued by the All-India Congress Committee. If they only realised what harm the bucreaucracy has done to the nation, our friends would not adopt their present line of conduct. The nationalists in Sind as, indeed, all over the country, have followed the one course consistent with India's honour. They have boycotted the Councils; they will not shake hands with an Administration which has sinned before God and Man. The Reform Act, we were told, was the Charter of Freedom, the greatest Document of British Statesmanship, a standing proof of change in the Government's angle of vision! That myth has been exposed by the Punjáb tragedy, the Hunter Report, the Dyer Debate in the Lords, the injustice to Islám and the East. Lord Chelmsford's refusal to let Mr. Sastri's Resolution on the Punjáb tragedy be discussed in the Council afforded yet another illustration of the bureaucratic attitude. The angle of vision has not changed; and the nationalists have no illusions about the 'Reforms'. That the 'moderates' are rallying round the 'Reforms' need cause no surprise. They did so in the days of Morley. They could not make the Minto-Morley reforms a success. Will they succeed better with the new Reforms? They know, or should know, that they have their seats in the Councils in the teeth of popular opposition; they cannot say they 'represent' the people; public opinion has boycotted the Councils; and what can they expect to achieve for India when the country is not with them?"

The non-co-operation movement.

New Times (9), 21st Oct.

2. The Special Congress has done well to pass the non-co-operation resolution. The passing of the resolution means the delivering to the nation the message "Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen". The message deserves to be listened to by the nation as a whole. Self-sacrifice is a necessary element in non-co-operation. Non-co-operation is a war in which no violence and no weapons are used. It might, therefore, be called a struggle that puts the soul force of the nation to the test. The non-co-operation movement has not taken a firm root in Sind because of the cowardice of the popular leaders and the high-handedness of the officials. However, the people should do all they can to respond to the call of the Congress. [The *Arya Prakásh* writes:—The non-co-operation movement advocated by Mr. Gandhi was thought of and preached by Swami Dayanand Saraswati forty years ago. The Swami preached non-co-operation in social and religious matters, while Mr. Gandhi's movement is based on politics. From times immemorial people have practised non-co-operation against oppressive rulers. The sages have taught us not to co-operate with injustice and unrighteousness. People cannot be truly elevated as long as Mr. Gandhi does not preach to the people to resort to non-co-operation in matters social as well as political. India does not wish for material progress like the Germans, but it stands in need of religious regeneration.]

Hitechhu (68), 26th Sept.; *Arya Prakásh* (15), 17th Oct.

3. The non-co-operationists must not mind the threats of their enemies who will characterise their movement as unconstitutional and disloyal and will try to suppress it. Mahatma Gandhi has expressed it as his opinion that the movement aims at compelling Government to defer to popular opinion and in the event of its refusing to do so, to subvert it, not by brute force but by the force of popular will. He also holds that he has a right to expose the satanic character of the Government and to ask people not to have anything to do with such a Government. We invite the attention of both friends and foes of non-co-operation to these views of Mahatma Gandhi.

Lokasangraha (117), 29th Oct.

4. The two items in the non-co-operation programme which call for immediate and earnest handling are the boycott of Councils and the boycott of British goods. We cannot say the same thing about the boycott of schools and law courts. The election day is nearing and we should like to appeal to the voters of the Karnatak to resist the temptation of recording their votes. By this means we shall at least succeed in publishing it to the world that the obstinate seat-seekers who will be elected to the new Councils are not at all the representatives of the people. The next item is the boycott of British goods. This is of very great importance. It is capable of being put into practice by all the people of the conntry as was proved at the time of the Partition of Bengal. This is the weapon which will prove most effective in opening the eyes of the British people, and make them take action in the right direction. At present, neither our honour nor our lives can be said to be safe. How can we say that our honour is safe when a mere insignificant bureaucrat like the Collector of Dhárwár insults the memory of the great Tilak himself. Does not the Rowlatt Act prove that all talk about our rights is mere sham? The Jallianwalla episode makes our hair stand on end. Dyer has not been punished. Does not all this show that our lives are not safe? We have only to say that our condition will not change unless we take these weapons of boycott in our hands and fight to the end.

Raj Hansa (88), 21st Oct.

5. In the course of a letter addressed 'To Every Englishman in India' Mr. Gandhi says: "Though my faith in your good intention is gone, I recognise your bravery, and I know that what you will not yield to justice and reason, you will gladly yield to bravery..... I know you would not mind if we could fight and wrest the sceptre from your hand. You know that we are powerless to do that, for you have ensured our incapacity to fight in open and honourable battle. Bravery on the battlefield is thus impossible for us. Bravery of the soul still remains open to us. I know you will respond to that also. I am engaged in evoking that bravery. Non-co-operation means nothing less than training in self-sacrifice. Why should we co-operate with you when we know that by your administration of this great country we are being daily enslaved in an increasing degree. This response of the people to my appeal is not due to my personality. I would like you to dismiss me, and for that matter the Ali Brothers too, from your consideration. ..... People flock in their thousands to listen to us because we to-day represent the voice of a nation groaning under your iron heels..... You are in search of a remedy to suppress this rising ebulition of national feeling. I venture to suggest to you that the only way to suppress it is to remove the causes. You have yet the power..... You can compel the Government to summon a conference of the recognised leaders of the people duly elected by them, and representing all shades of opinion, so as to devise means for granting *Swarajya* in accordanee with the wishes of the people of India. ..... The other solution, namely, repression, is open to you. I prophesy that it will fail. Our propaganda is being carried on in anticipation of repression. I invite you respectfully to choose the better way and make common cause with the people of India whose salt you are eating."

Mr. Gandhi's letter addressed to Englishmen in India.

Young India (14), 27th Oct.

6. "It is some satisfaction to know that after all even the London *Times* has begun to be acquainted with the fact that the non-co-operation movement in India is not an ineffective movement. The journal is alarmed at 'the disquieting feature of the situation' that there is 'the likelihood of the proposed boycott of elections proving partially effective.' 'Partially effective' is good. But why lay the flattering unction to the soul? Why not realise the truth, the whole truth about the situation? And the truth is that, as far as the bulk of the people are concerned—the 'Moderates' only represent a very negligible minority—the boycott has been fully effective. So much for the diagnosis. Coming to the remedies, the *Times*, we are disappointed to find, is as unoriginal as ever. The suggestion that

London *Times* on the progress of the non-co-operation movement.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Oct.

Mr. Gandhi's movements should be restricted merely proves how some peole are perverse and foolish enough not to learn or forget anything. What is wrong with the *Times* and with the moderates is that their main desire is to save the Reforms. What is required to be saved is not 'Reforms', but India's honour. The Indian electorate is determined to prove that the coming elections are 'a fiasco'—for the 'reforms' are a bait to them to tempt them to barter away their honour. And the people of the world, *pace* the *Times*, have sense enough to realise that a people who would sacrifice anything for the honour of their country will not be long in coming to their own. 'New privileges' forsooth! Indian people beg for no 'privileges' old or new. They are determined to win their rights as human beings. Let those who have still any illusion in regard to this, free their mind of cant."

Government of Bengal and the Khilafat agitation.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Oct.

7. The *Bombay Chronicle* reproduces a circular letter addressed by the Bengal Director of Information to certain Muhammadan officers and others, forwarding a copy of a pamphlet named "The Truth about the Khilafat" and remarks:—"It seems, therefore, that the Government of India will not allow Moslems to suffer through lack of religious instruction, and here we have a member of the overpaid and underworked fraternity, selecting suitable opinions for the edification of the community..... We are amazed at his (Major Storey's) presumption in entering a field in which he certainly has no business. What concern is it of his to divulge the 'Truth about the Khilafat'? Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was a great educationist, but he is not among the preceptors of Islam and his individual views were contested even in his time. Major Storey's veneration of Sir Syed Ahmed is rather strange, but then there are officials more Moslem than the Musalmans themselves. To contradict Syed Amir Ali, another savant—no other than Sir Valentine Chirol who is coming once more to study the unrest in India—unearthed a back-number of the 'Aligarh College Magazine' in which Sir Syed Ahmed had aired his own views on Moslem history. It was considered a crushing disclosure by Sir Valentine, but Musalmans are in no lack of instruction to require the annotations of Imperialists like Sir Valentine. We warn Government against the folly of attempting to influence the religious beliefs of the people, and Major Storey ought to stop his nonsense. If he has nothing else to do, it is his and the taxpayer's fate."

Comments on the acceptance of non-co-operation by the Sikh League.
Mahratta (8), 31st Oct.

*8. "The Sikhs are celebrated more for their love of liberty than for anything else and their martial and chivalrous instincts are almost beyond compare. The rally of these Indian Highlanders under the standard of non-co-operation, we are sure, will animate the whole movement with all their fiery enthusiasm and martial earnestness of purpose. The Presidential address is a synopsis of the history of Sikh disillusionment from beginning to end, and other speakers also proved that even the unmistakable loyalty of the Sikhs had not been able to protect them against the *zulum* of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. We hope and trust that the followers of Maharajah Ranjit Singh will maintain untarnished their reputation for valour in the moral fight with Government that is now on, as they undoubtedly did in non-moral or physical warfare."

Mr. Gandhi's propaganda against Government and aided educational institutions.
Young India (14), 27th Oct.

9. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Aligarh is an old institution..... Why do I seek to destroy it? Some Musalmans really think that I mean ill under the pretence of wishing well to Aligarh. Little do they know that I am imploring Punditji to do to the Hindu University what I am asking the Trustees to do to Aligarh. And I am certainly going to plead with the Benares students as earnestly as I have done the same with the Khalsa College. The latter is the only centre of Sikh culture. I do desire passionately to destroy all these three institutions as they are, and would strive to raise purer and truer ones instead.

..... With the knowledge we have of British intentions, it is unmanly, un-Indian for us to accept even a portion of our own money through hands stained with the blood of the innocents at Jhallianwalla. We may as well accept gifts from a robber who has robbed us of our property. This Government has robbed us of our honour and put one of our religions in peril. In my humble opinion, it is a sin for the nation to receive education in schools financed by or under the influence or control of the Government. I have, therefore, no hesitation in advising immediate destruction of these institutions at all cost. But if the trustees, the teachers and the parents or the boys will act in unison, there is no cost to be paid and everything to be gained."

Navjivan (72), 24th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 26th and 30th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 25th and 28th Oct.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 25th Oct.

10. Mr. K. G. Mashruwalla writes to the *Navjivan*:—Non-co-operation has two aspects, one constructive and the other destructive. It will be successful and result in the acquisition of *swarájya* only when both these aspects are properly balanced. If the destructive element predominates there is a probability of the fears as regards disorders coming true. But if we wait for constructive measures and refrain from taking recourse to destructive ones, the non-co-operation propaganda might come to a standstill. The destructive element in non-co-operation is utilised in closing schools. But it would be tantamount to suspending non-co-operation if we were to wait till national schools were opened. Every city and village should, therefore, try to stand on its own legs and should provide its own schools and give employment to the teachers of Government and aided schools who have resigned their service. [The *Prajá Mitra and Pársi*, commenting upon Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Trustees of the Aligarh College, writes:—There is so much of bitterness in the letter as would scarcely have been expected by Mr. Gandhi's friends. Mr. Gandhi is now infringing the rules he himself has laid down. In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—The letter makes it clear that Mr. Gandhi means to establish a republican form of Government and that he wants to sever all connection with Britain. With due deference to Mr. Gandhi, we would make bold to say that such a tendency on his part, in the present circumstances, is nothing short of madness. We are grieved to say that it is tantamount to inviting bloodshed. The violent views expressed by Mr. Gandhi clearly show that he has lost all control over himself. Mr. Gandhi expresses fear in the letter that his movements might be restricted and we are inclined to think that this fear is not quite unfounded. Mr. Gandhi seems to have forgotten the bitter experience he had in the matter of the *Satyagraha* movement. It is undoubtedly unwise on his part to embroil immature and innocent boys in the present political agitation. We have grave fears that Mr. Gandhi's agitation will lead to disturbances in many parts of India like those that occurred in the Punjáb. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—Mr. Gandhi has shaken the very foundations of the Aligarh College and has, for the present, undone the work of the late Sir Syed Ahmed. The movement started by Mr. Gandhi to boycott schools and colleges is fraught with mischief. It is to be regretted that the movement should enlist so much sympathy in various parts of India. In a subsequent issue the paper deplores the advice given by Mr. Gandhi in his lecture at the Marwari Vidayalaya and asks parents and guardians to wake up and not to allow matters to get out of hand. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* exhorts Moslem parents and guardians to discharge their duties towards their children and wards studying in the Aligarh College and to protest against the harmful movement organised by Mr. Gandhi and his followers.]

Comments on the adoption of non-co-operation by the students of the Aligarh College.
Hindi Punch (22), 24th Oct., Eng. cols.

11. "The poisoner, going unchecked and unrestrained in his nefarious work, has been emboldened to take hold of the minds of the Moslem youths now studying in the Aligarh College. The youths, imbibing the subtle effects of the poison, have revolted against the college and parental authority. They have cast off all reason and cast off their studies. They have avidly drunk the poisonous cup held before their lips, containing all

the ingredients fatal to build a sound mind and sound constitution, taking it as a cup of nectar. And thus they have blighted all their future prospects. They have declared war against co-operation with Government, against the Charter of the Moslem University, and against the grants received from Government. They would not stop to think of the gloricus past of the College, but would undo the lifework of Sir Syed Ahmed of revered memory in a fit of insanity and thoughtless sentiment. Poor deluded youths! Should not the non-co-operationist poisoner be restrained in his work of mischief? Should he be allowed to blight the future of hundreds of Moslem youths, who have not yet cut their wisdom teeth? The sane, sober, sensible and educated portion of the community must wake up and begin to wage war against the pernicious poison while there is yet time."

12. "In a beautiful passage in the Bhagvat Gita, Sir Krishna speaks of 'sacrifice of scholarship.' The students of the Aligarh College have shown that they are ready to sacrifice their studies for their faith and their nation. Students have, as history shows, done not a little to help forward national movements. And recently the students of Egypt played a conspicuous part in the development of the national life of their country..... It was the Egyptian students who kept the flag of nationalism flying when the authorities pressed against them a policy of repression and issued an order that 'school boys and students who did not at once join and abstain from turbulent political demonstrations and strikes would not be allowed to go up for this winter's examinations'! Aligarh students have glimpsed the beauty of the life of sacrifice; they have nobly placed their religion and their country above students and the calculating lore of profit and loss. Their noble resolve gives one a new hope concerning the nation."

New Times (9), 19th Oct.

***13.** Referring to the position at Aligarh the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"At first, Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers seemed to have carried all before them. The students ceased to attend lectures and delivered ultimatums to their Principal in the fashion in vogue nowadays. The leaders of Islam throughout India first treated it as not being a serious affair. But when the gravity of the situation dawned on them, the Trustees flocked to Aligarh from every part of India and have decisively and even contemptuously rejected the demands of Non-Co-operationists. This decision, as wise as it is timely, can hardly fail to influence public and, especially Muhammadan, feeling all over the country. It will, we hope, strengthen the authorities of the Hindu University in their endeavours to resist the encroachment of Non-co-operation on their institutions. The Trustees of Aligarh have done a great public service by stemming the tide of Non-co-operation effectively and promptly."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 31st Oct.

14. A correspondent calling himself 'Moslem-Randeri' writes to the *Akhbár-e-Islám*:—The following sentence appearing in the speech delivered by Mr. Gandhi at a meeting held in Bombay under the auspices of the Young Nationalists' League in the hall of the Marwari Vidayalaya on the 26th October last goes to show that he has for once lost control over himself:—"If the British do not preserve my self-respect and insult me, I shall not hesitate to tear the Union Jack to pieces at this moment." The speech might have made quite a different impression on the people if Mr. Gandhi had referred to the self-respect of the people instead of his own. The remark serves to show that it is not the people of India but Mr. Gandhi and his friends that are antagonistic to Government. We can easily imagine what effect this threat will produce on those who intend to secure *Swarajya* with the sympathy of the British and the British Government. [The paper deplores the violence in speech referred to in the above letter as also the joining of the Moslems in the non-co-operation movement and the propaganda to secure *Swarajya* without the British connection.]

Comments on a speech of Mr. Gandhi in Bombay.
Akhbár-e-Islám (58), 30th Oct.

15. The cloth merchants of Nadiád have taken a praiseworthy step in adopting a resolution which will become immortal in the history of the country. The resolution is to the effect that they would not henceforth purchase cloth manufactured in foreign countries. This resolution has been passed in response to the recommendation made by the Indian National Congress to all the merchants and people of India. No cloth merchants of any town in India are known to have voluntarily adopted such a resolution and it would be no wonder if this resolution of the cloth merchants of Nadiád, which they have adopted with a bold desire of rendering service to the country, is approved of by the bulk of the people. Boycotting is to be preferred for the reason that it produces economic effect in foreign countries. The only caution to be observed in boycotting is that violence and the mania for destroying property find no place in the movement. It is not desirable at all that godowns containing foreign goods should be burnt down or that merchants should be made to suffer by damage to the foreign goods in their shops. Such acts would be considered criminal. Under no circumstances can the committing of crime be advised or instigated. Those who favour the committing of crime are traitors. No crime is committed by anybody refusing to use or sell goods coming from a certain country. The spread of the use of *swadeshi* goods and the boycotting of foreign goods is a sort of economic and business problem. It cannot be looked upon as a political one. It is, therefore, desirable that the movement should proceed in an innocent manner.

Comments on the resolution for the boycott of foreign goods adopted by the merchants of Nadiád.
Kaira Vartamán (70), 27th Oct.

16. The *Dnyán Prakásh* disapproves of the remark made by the *Kesari* (*vide* W. R. No. 43, paragraph 16) that people not in the employ of Government are not bound to assist them in the next decennial census, and says that it is most regrettable that it should try to mislead the people. But then it is not strange, remarks the paper, that the Extremists should adopt this course since dishonesty and hypocrisy have become a second nature with them.

The forthcoming Census and the non-co-operation movement.
Dnyán Prakásh (18), 22nd Oct.

17. "'Suspend bringing forth heirs to our slavery' is the burden of his long passionate appeal to his countrymen and countrywomen. We wish it will meet with a cordial reponse from their sympathetic heads not only during the course of the present crisis but for all time to come. Too long have we indulged in the 'fetish' of betrothing and marrying infants or even babies in arms. Too long have we indulged in observing every untimely addition to the family amid feastings and rejoicings. It is time now for us to wake up and practise the one great virtue which supplied to our illustrious ancestors and which supplies even to-day to the 'materialist' Westerners in abundant measures—*Ojas*, vigour of life..... Let us, for the sake of our dear land, for the sake of our own body, brain and soul, put a stop once and for all to the most unnatural thing in the world—infant marriages, large families, and early graves."

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's suggestion that Indians should suspend procreating children as they would be slaves.
Praja Bandhu (30), 24th Oct., Eng cols.

18. "There is no difference of opinion regarding the necessity of Brahmacharya up to a certain age, but it is quite a different thing from Mr. Gandhi's exhortation to all to cease to bring forth progeny till India has become a free nation, able to withstand avoidable starvation, well able to feed himself in times of famines possessing the knowledge to deal with malaria, cholera, influenza, and other epidemics. Such a procedure will mean national suicide. It will mean stopping the currents of national life at their source, not only in a physical sense, but also in the moral and spiritual sense..... Emancipation from foreign domination requires rather that one should aim at future generations of healthy and virile boys and girls. Every nation in fact has adopted the policy rather of increasing a healthier and more vigorous population than of tabooing all marriages and procreation of children Mr. Gandhi says: 'When we are engaged in a death grip with a powerful

Hindusthán (23), 24th Oct., Eng. cols.

Government, we shall need all the strength, physical, material, moral and spiritual.' Quite true; but the suggestion of an all round Brahmacharya will not attain this end. It will on the contrary weaken the nation physically and spiritually."

19. Mr. Gandhi has practically put an end to the constructive political life of the country by his programme of non-co-operation. He now wants to include purely social matters in his programme and advocates celibacy with a view to arresting the growth of 'a community of slaves'. It is not that in no other countries in the world besides India has a movement for liberation taken place, because the people of such countries, too, were slaves before they earned their independence. History does not record a single instance in which any of these countries adopted the course which Mr. Gandhi now recommends to his countrymen. We fail to understand, however, why Mr. Gandhi gives us this advice. Why should every Indian suppress his creative instinct if Mr. Gandhi's *swarajya* is to come within a year? We ask him to explain how to reconcile his undertaking to obtain *swarájya* for India within one year with his present advice to his countrymen.

Dnyán Prakásh (18), 29th Oct.

*20. "It is true that there are several defects in the Reforms scheme, but it is a workable scheme. It provides a common ground where all persons may unite and work together for common good, thus helping the country onwards towards the desired goal..... What do the Extremists understand by *Swarájya*? They have as a rule the haziest notion of what they mean by *Swarájya*. ..... On the side of the Government we have a well-thought-out, cut and dried scheme, showing how the country may attain *Swarájya*, by definite progressive steps. On the side of Mr. Gandhi we have nothing but flamboyant speeches urging the people on to take desperate steps as if no other course were left open to them. We do not doubt the sincerity and honesty of Mr. Gandhi's motives..... Being himself simple and guileless, he in his turn is exploited by certain agitators who are turning his head by their flattery; for flattery will turn the head of even a saint..... It is these men who are the real enemies of the country. When they cry, 'Let us have *Swarájya*! Let us have power!' they do not mean *Swarájya* or power for the people but *Swarájya* and power for themselves. Were such men to get power in their hands the people would soon find to their cost that the tyranny of *Swarájya* is a thousand times worse than the so-called tyranny of the British Government. The generality of mankind is easily deceived by the glamour of words, nowhere more so than in India. Mr. Gandhi has coined a new catch-word, and the unthinking masses have fallen victims to its magic. This word is non-co-operation; but it is merely a name to dazzle the eyes of the people..... History tells us that the most frightful epochs in the world's existence are those when fanatics and visionaries come into power. Woe to India if these fanatics and visionaries get power in their hands! Let us clearly understand what we want. We want *Swarájya*, that is to say, self-government based on a popular system of representative elections and under the ægis of the British Government..... We do not want a *Swarájya* in which an oligarchy of clever lawyers will tyrannise over the people in the name of self-government. If we want the former we must co-operate with each other and with Government to make the Reform Scheme a success. If we do not want the latter we must oppose the pernicious doctrine of non-co-operation at every step. ..... Up to now the originators of the non-co-operation movement have been repeatedly declaring that their doctrine is based upon non-violence. Some of the words and phrases used by Mr. Gandhi in his recent speeches are quite at variance with his declarations of non-violence. He has used such exaggerated phrases that it is evident he has lost all sense of proportion. ..... We must express our strongest condemnation of such language as he has been using of late, language calculated to inflame the passions of the multitude, and which is utterly at variance with his own protestations of

The Government Reforms scheme *versus* the *Swarájya* ideal of the Extremists.

Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 31st Oct., Eng. cols.

non-violence. The time has come when Mr. Gandhi must check himself or else a check will have to be placed upon him..... In the end, we only say beware Mr. Gandhi, it is easy to excite ignorant masses, but once their minds are inflamed with rage one dozen Gandhis shall scarce be able to bring the fanatics into control."

Mr. Gandhi's propaganda of non-co-operation. *Servant of India* (10), 29th Oct.

21. "We are already seeing some of the actual effects of the non-violent non-co-operation policy of Mr. Gandhi and can form some idea of the lengths to which it will soon go. Thus, for instance, one of the items suggested for immediate action is the boycott of tea in hotels and restaurants..... A proper anti-tea campaign will have our most hearty support. But our non-violent non-co-operators begin at the wrong end. They are trying to do away with the symptoms and do nothing to root out the causes of the disease. Thus an anti-tea-shop propaganda is being started which has already led to violent assaults on tea shops in Bombay. Mr. Gandhi may not have time to think of these so-called non-violent manifestations, as he is engaged in his propaganda tour in other parts of the country and has, much against his will, to give *darshan* to thousands of his admirers at all times of the day and night. But when the same kind of non-violent assaults develop into riots and outrages and murders, then he will come out again with the acknowledgment of his Himalayan mistake and retire to the jungles if he still affects to stand by his principle of non-violence. But the mischief will then have been done, and he would be morally responsible for the whole of it. Signs, however, are not wanting that his theoretical hold on the principle of non-violence is also fast slipping. He does not now appear to be so averse to it as not to contemplate the possibility of some of his followers at least formally giving it up. In certain eventualities he has begun to talk of giving a timely warning to European women and children to clear out of the country. One of his followers speaks of expelling the British Government. Another is reported to have spoken of a murdered English civilian as a *kaffir* and of his murderer as a martyr. It is rumoured that on the election day he is going to declare a *hartal* and ask his followers to persuade voters not to vote. We have had a slight indication of the actual meaning of this 'persuasion,' from the anti-tea movement in Bombay. The 'sword' is also figuring rather unpleasantly frequently in his speeches. The way in which he is leading young men astray is perhaps the very worst item in his propaganda. False analogies are made use of to justify his asking them to leave their schools and colleges..... When our Muhammadan brothers begin to look at things from a proper perspective, they will realise that no greater disservice has been done to them by anybody than by Messrs. Gandhi, Mahomad Ali and Shaukat Ali, when they in one day ruined the institution which was the one visible sign in India of Muhammadan solidarity, which was the result of the far-seeing statesmanship of Sir Syed Ahmed, and which has been an ocular demonstration of the efficacy of patriotic endeavour. The visible memorial of the present activities of non-co-operators will be an epitaph on the site of Aligarh: Here vandalism proved too strong for statesmanship. The wave of this vandalism is proceeding to Láhore and other centres..... We believe that the Hindu, the Pársi and the Christian students will not be persuaded to leave their studies quite so readily or quite in such large numbers as these young Muhammadans of Aligarh and Láhore. Then when the days of sanity return, Mr. Gandhi may be charged with the deep-laid plot of perverting Muhammadan youth in order to further the interests of Hindus. Such things have happened before and may happen again. Another striking illustration of logic run mad is Mr. Gandhi's recent article on *Brahmacharya*. But it is becoming more and more difficult to appeal to reason when discussing matters with Mr. Gandhi..... Mr. Gandhi considers himself and has been regarded by all as being above most of the ordinary failings of mankind. But there are failings of a different order to which men who command the homage of a large number of their fellow-beings are subject. One such is an overbearing feeling of egotism. We are very much afraid that he is in a fair way to become the victim of this vice."

22. The *Indu Prakásh* disapproves of the activities of Mr. Gandhi among college students and says that no man in his senses will maintain that the plight of Islam in Europe has any connection with the education of youths in India. It will soon be seen, remarks the paper, what useful purpose the association of students called 'Tark-i-Mavalat Sabha', usherred into existence by Mr. Gandhi, will serve.

Disapproval of Mr. Gandhi's activities among college students.
Indu Prakásh (45), 28th Oct.

23. "The Deccan Nationalists accuse the Liberals of want of loyalty to the Congress, because the latter refuse to boycott the Councils in obedience to the Calcutta resolution on non-co-operation..... Nearly two months have elapsed since the Congress stamped its imprimatur on the non-co-operation programme; and while we in the Deccan have heard a good deal of the boycott of Councils, we are not aware of any serious steps being taken by the Nationalists to empty Government or aided schools or to have law-courts boycotted by lawyers as well as litigants. Evidently these items in the programme as involving considerable personal sacrifice have failed to make the same strong appeal to them as the boycott of councils has done. Otherwise it is somewhat difficult to explain why it was that Mr. Kelkar headed the primary school teachers' deputation to Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah to beg for an improvement in their salaries. If, as they conveniently believe, their loyalty to the Congress leaves them the option to select for action only such items in the programme of non-co-operation as they find suitable and practicable, one wonders how they can blame the Liberals who find nothing in the programme which they can put into effect consistently with their ideas as to the best means for advancing the country's cause. But we forget the fact that consistency was never the strong point of the Nationalists."

Inconsistency of the Extremists in the matter of carrying out the Congress Non-co-operation Resolution.
Servant of India (10), 29th Oct.

24. "The reforms given to India, dissenting agitators' wail and screechings notwithstanding, were the vehicle that all to-day saw wisdom's way to employ and use to their better advantage to secure to India the responsible self-government that she wanted. To refuse to work the reforms out of sheer cussedness because they do not give immediately all that they asked for or wanted, and place obstructions designedly in their path can have but one result, and one result only, *viz.*, that it will retard the true progress of the country and delay indefinitely the advent of the goal which they all are so anxious to reach at as early a date as possible. It is inconceivably sad, therefore, to see the mischievous agitation which was set up so actively throughout the country to dissuade people from co-operating with the Government and which advocated a general boycott of the new Councils as a principal step. The need to counteract this agitation is both urgent and imperative at this moment, and which Liberal or Moderate leaders in the country realising it must come forward and openly undertake to set the erring and misguided aright..... It was by working the reforms with the Government in the new Council and not by remaining out, and refusing to work, that we could show our fitness for full responsible government; and nothing but incalculable harm would follow the result of our inaction."

The duty of Indians lies in profiting by the Reforms.
Gujarát Mitra (20), 24th Oct., Eng. cols.

25. The smouldering fire of popular discontent has begun to emit sparks and flames. No true leaders have come forward to stand as candidates for the Council elections. Students have begun to boycott educational institutions that receive help from Government. People have been thinking of boycotting law courts and establishing courts of arbitration. Government servants have begun to give up their service. At such a time certain political leaders of Bombay have come forward to oppose the non-co-operation movement instead of using their influence

Comments on the propaganda of the Bombay Liberal leaders against non-co-operation.
Gujaráti (19), 24th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 29th Oct.

with Government to secure justice for the Indian people. A Committee, consisting of Sir Dinshaw Wacha and thirty-four others, have issued a pamphlet to advance their propaganda. It is to be regretted that these men have committed the blunder of opposing the non-co-operation movement instead of co-operating with their brethren in securing justice from Government. Their present activities serve to weaken the efforts that are being made to secure justice. We do not think that the public ever listen to these people or support them. People have made considerable progress in non-co-operation. The fact that not a single popular leader has come forward as a candidate for the Council elections goes to show that people's minds are all ablaze with the fire caused in their hearts owing to injustice and insult meted out to them. The conflagration can be set at rest by making sacrifices in the struggle against those who are responsible for the injustice. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The Moderates have of late come forward to preach anti-non-co-operation. But their ways of going about their business are rather cowardly. They invite to their lectures only those that sympathise with them. This is not the way to dissuade people from non-co-operation and to lead them to the right path. The Moderates have bestirred themselves a little too late. However, their activity can be effective only if they invite their opponents and give them an opportunity to discuss matters with them. The Moderates should effect a change in the way of carrying on their propaganda or else they will be held responsible for allowing the illiterate masses to be drawn away in the wrong direction.]

Non-co-operation should not lead to lawlessness.
Hindusthán (24), 23rd Oct.

26. Though we are not quite in agreement with certain details of Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation, we feel convinced that no harm will come to India by non-co-operation. But harm is likely to come to India from persons who mean to follow the movement and who resort to hooliganism without understanding the principles on which it is based. It is a happy sign of the times that a large number of people have begun to talk about *swarájya* and Home Rule. But it must be borne in mind that people should not content themselves by mere ideals and that they should try to realise them. It is, however, to be regretted that we see around us disregard for laws and the general rules of conduct. Zeal is to be commended in young men, but lawlessness and disregard of rules of conduct do not redound to their credit as citizens. The undue zeal shown by certain young men in Bombay in their anti-tea campaign has been rightly condemned by Mr. Gandhi. Those who are desirous of following the non-co-operation movement would do well to realise their responsibility and to bear in mind that disregard of laws is likely to harm the cause they have embraced.

Appeal to the masses to strive for liberty.
Al-Wahid (151), 22nd Oct.

27. The present is a moment when every individual is trying his level best to secure liberty of life. The entire Labour population of England has risen up to secure full meal for itself, and is so inflexible in its resolve to have it that it declines to resume work until its demands are fully satisfied, and does not mind even if a civil war breaks out as a result of its stubbornness. Indians, would you still remain slumbering? Is not your country in the grip of starvation and famine? Do not thousands in your country die in streets and jungles on account of pangs of hunger? Do not thousands of your brethren in India live on one meal a day? Do not thousands of your brethren live out their lives throughout consumed with worries of debt? Do not hundreds of thousands of your agriculturist brethren toil hard year in and year out, without securing any profits and making any saving—only to further swell the bulky purse of the foreigner? If such painful conditions of life are really around you what is it that prevents your blood from boiling and chokes down your inherent sense of resentment and your national pride? Surely, it is nothing but the chains of servility which envelope your hands and feet, besiege your noble souls and render you dead to the dictates of ambition for your progress and comfortable living. Our just and reasonable demands are disregarded. There is no justice or vindication of rights. Whosoever ventures to claim his right becomes an

object of oppression and persecution. Under these circumstances, O true sons of India, tell us how long would you remain subject to the dread of the foreigners and suffer your birthright 'liberty' to be trampled under foot? It is a pity that our Indians have gone and fought against poor Arabs simply to satisfy the earth-grabbing propensity of the English and to make them the masters of the Mosul oil-fields. Fie upon that man who sees his own motherland in chains of servitude and goes out to assist in reducing other Eastern countries also into slavery. To-day, it is for the Indians to tell the British Government in clear terms that they would not enter the Army if such enlistment is intended to destroy the independence of Arabs, and that they themselves want to have similar independence especially with a view to prevent foreigners from interfering with things calculated to bring about the progress and prosperity of the country. If the English are desirous to maintain their connection with us they are welcome to it provided they treat us as their brothers; but we cannot allow ourselves to be slaves of anybody but God. Moreover, the continuance of our brotherly connection with the English largely depends upon the just solution of the Khilafat and the Punjáb questions.

Why Bolshevism can never take root in India.

Political Bhomiyo (74), 22nd Oct.

28. Some of the political leaders of India are inclined to befriend those who spread the Russian doctrine, hence it is worth while to consider the situation. On a review of the political situation in India, we find that there is no such violent unrest here as there was in Russia, nor are the roots of unrest so deep down. None of the political agitators in India show any signs of becoming fanatical anarchists. The bulk of the population are agriculturists, and these live in contentment even when the circumstances are adverse and keep their minds cool. The owners of land look upon the peasants as their own children and the latter behave respectfully towards the former. In this country, the interests of the agriculturist are held to be superior to all others, while Bolshevism makes them subservient to the interests of the industrialist, and looks upon the agriculturist with distrust and hatred. There is, therefore, no likelihood of Bolshevism being accepted by the agriculturists of India. The Bolshevists have intentionally thrown religion aside on the plea that only the upper classes believe in religion. Indians will, therefore, look with suspicion upon the idea of befriending atheists. The Bolshevists have killed out the liberty of the people of acting according to their own conscience; yet they have allowed the Jews and the Muhammadans to follow their own religion. By this means they make efforts for winning the sympathy of Muhammadans. But there is no likelihood of Bolshevism finding success in Islamic countries, because Bolshevism is opposed to all the principles faithfully adhered to by the Muhammadans. In short almost all the *firmans* of Islam are strongly condemnatory of the whole doctrine of Bolshevism. The tenets of the Hindu religion, such as :—"Lay everything at the feet of God," "Control the passions, renounce the world," etc., are entirely opposed to the doctrine of Bolshevism which adopts fanatical practices. The Hindus will, therefore, never approve of it. We confidently declare that the heart of India is sound and that India will loyally adhere to its ancient glory.

India would soon be granted complete *swarájya* if the Bolshevist menace developes.

Swarájya (139), 21st Oct.

29. Formerly British statesmen were very much afraid of Russia as a dangerous menace to India, but the late war having quite destroyed Russian power, there was no room left for that fear. But as fate would have it, the fear of Russian invasion has recently become intensified owing to the truculence of the Bolshevists. This Bolshevist goblin was up till now far off, but it has now reached the very gates of India, and the English are at a loss to know what to do to destroy it. Statesmen like Lord Curzon suggest that the Bolshevists should be driven back beyond Central Asia so that in addition to the permanent retention of India, England will have the opportunity to eat up the Central Asian Kingdoms in the bargain. Other statesmen think that it would suffice to place the Indian frontier in a state of defence by means of strong fortifications manned by

the army. But this plan is bound to prove useless. However plentiful the munitions stored on the Indian frontier might be they would be of no avail if in the rear the minds of Indians are full of the ammunition of discontent. If the British do not grant rights of full *swardjya* and independence to India, it must be said that they will be creating a position full of danger in their rear. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for the British to fulfil their old pledges and hand over India to Indians as soon as possible. Only by this means would it be possible to ward off the Bolshevist menace, otherwise the goblin of Bolshevism will not fail to catch the British Government by the throat. It is not that the British statesmen do not understand the position. They are quiet now because Bolshevism still remains at far-off Kabul. Should it take rapid steps and come down to Pesháwar, the British authorities would not fail to grant full rights of *swardjya* to India. For, what would the English be able to do single-handed on the frontier, caught as they would be between Bolshevism in Afghanistan on one side and by the non-co-operation movement in India on the other?

Risks involved in securing complete independence for India.

Lokasangraha (117), 26th Oct.

30. Commenting upon an interview given by Mr. C. F. Andrews to a representative of the *Searchlight*, published at Pátna, the *Lokasangraha* writes:—Who does not want complete independence? But the question is how to get it and also how to preserve it if we succeed in getting it. Will not the country, disarmed and disorganised as it is, fall a prey to the greed of the other powerful nations of the world if separated from the British Empire? But, on the other hand, if the Indians elect to remain within the Empire, they have to face terrible humiliations both here as well as abroad, and in addition the religious feelings of millions of their Muhammadan countrymen are wounded. They are tired of this state of things and wish to sever their connection with the British Empire and men like Mr. Andrews agree with them. Still, we must consider carefully what will happen to our country if it gets complete independence. Indians have started the non-co-operation movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi to make the Imperial Government listen to reason. It is to be seen whether they make the ties between India and England more firm by giving them *swarajya* or whether they make them more precarious by resorting to repression.

Bolshevism is a movement for the spread of independence.

Swardjya (139), 28th Oct.

31. Bolshevism is nothing but a big strike begun by the proletariat in Russia against unjust rule and wealth in the world. Labour in other countries in Europe honestly holds that it is its duty to help the strike. Therefore, the Council of Action intervened in the Polish struggle. All Labour parties in Europe are firmly convinced that if European Imperialism and capitalism are allowed to grow excessively in or out of Europe, they will swallow labour and will allow it no independence. Therefore, labour in Russia, that is, Bolsheviks are determined that English rule and capital should not be allowed to increase their dominance in Asia, and that the best way to achieve the end is to free the nations already in their grip. That means that Bolshevism is a movement to spread independence. What Asiatic nation would consent to the spread of European Imperialism? Who are anxious to be enslaved by English rule and capitalism? Every one would no doubt hold independence dear and it is being given by Bolsheviks only to the Western and Central Asiatic countries. Though there may be some defects in Bolshevik principles, the independence granted by them will have no defects. England is trying its utmost to defeat the attempts of Bolsheviks. Labour in England also thinks it its duty to help Bolsheviks in this respect and, therefore, it holds that no Indians should be recruited against Bolsheviks for service in Mesopotamia. Still the British Premier has sent a great Indian army to Mesopotamia from which Russia may be entered by the back door. According to the Council of Action's wishes, the Premier did not send the British army but he sent the Indian army; the result is the same! There ought to be friendship and unanimity between Indian and British Labour. In accordance with the policy of British Labour, the Congress has purposely included in the non-co-operation

programme a clause prohibiting recruiting for Mesopotamia. All things considered, it is quite necessary that non-co-operation should be enforced so far as recruiting is concerned. [The paper proceeds to condemn the Maharajah of Kapurthala for placing his forces at the disposal of Government for service in Mesopotamia and says that British Labour also is questioning its propriety.]

Comments on death of the Lord Mayor of Cork.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Oct.

32. "The late Lord Mayor was destined to be one of those sons of Liberty who serve their fellow-men by their own sufferings. He chose suffering deliberately. He chose death deliberately. And he did so, because he knew that victory came only to those who could suffer most. And in so far as his victory was not of the ordinary kind, so was his sacrifice not of the ordinary kind. He was sent to prison not because he had violated any moral law, but because he remained true to the noblest of all ideals—the ideal of freedom. And in choosing starvation in the manner he did, he became a living protest against the state of his country,—'a despotism where the executive power is everything and the rights of the people nothing'—and in dying as he did he has immortalised himself as the undying symbol of his country's will to determine her own destiny, at any cost. His martyrdom will rally the conscience of the world to the wrongs of his country which has transformed the constitutional conflict between her and England into a moral conflict between civilisation and England..... In his death he has conquered death; and Ireland, in producing men like him,—for there are others who have, like him, accepted suffering—has shown that no matter its wrongs or humiliations, that nation alone lives which accepts sacrifice 'with folded arms and unshrinking bosoms', and to brute force opposes moral force. The Lord Mayor of Cork has died for freedom—not of Ireland alone, but of all countries which value honour more than material wealth."

Comments on the nomination of India's representatives to the League of Nations.
Mahrátta (8), 31st Oct.

***33.** "The nominations of Sir Ali Imam, the Maharajah of Nawanagar and Sir William Meyer as the representatives of India on the League of Nations do not inspire any joy or enthusiasm in the nation, as was quite expected, first because the personalities are officialised and hence uninspiring, and secondly because the League is no better than a mummy. Of course, India will be proud of being the original member of the League when it resolutely sets itself to achieve the noble work for which it was so flamboyantly ushered into existence, but which, unfortunately for the whole world, has been completely overshadowed by the disgustingly imperialistic, land-grabbing and exploitation-ridden policy of the wise men of Europe. The sublime aims of the League as the healer of national animosities and the herald of universal peace were beyond all praise, had it not been for the irony that the League is born only in the sense that it is still-born. The only force that is likely to galvanise it into activity on the one hand and to hobble the widening legs of the self-appointed reconstructors of the world into inactivity on the other, is the consolidated and mobilised moral force of mankind. Till it organises itself and asserts its potency Indian Government nominees will remain the phantom delegates of a phantom League."

Bombay Samáchár (61), 29th Oct.

34. Commenting upon the appointment of His Highness the Maharaja of Navanagar, Sir W. Meyer and Sir Ali Imam to represent India at the ensuring sessions of the League of Nations, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes :— Nobody can say that the selection is in any way bad, and we trust that these respresentatives will put up a strong fight for the Indian problems. But is it not now time that the Government of India should recognise the necessity of sending representatives elected by the people of India? It can hardly be said that India lacks competent statesmen trusted by her people. If the Government of India had invited the people of India to elect their own representatives they would have felt themselves indebted to Government, and

would have made efforts to prove true to the confidence reposed in them. But it is to be regreted that that has not been done. The representatives selected by Government are on the whole men of proved ability, but in this matter it is especially necessary to abide by the selection made by the public. However, now that the appointments have already been made, we would only wish that the representatives will meet with success in upholding the interests of India.

Comments on the proposed formation of the Middle East Department.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Oct.

35. "The suggestion that there will shortly be a Special Government Department like the Foregin Office and the Indian Office, to deal exclusively with Middle Eastern problems, will chill the blood of every Orientalist. If the affairs of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Persia, Syria, Arabia, Asia Minor and the Caucasus are now chaotic, owing to, or after the work of men at least acquainted with those countries, what is likely to be their condition when an army of bureaucrats, without acquaintance with them, tries to manage them from an office in London? The present troubles in the East are not of a nature to be pacified by red tape and accurately numbered forms, nor yet by any number of well-paid officials. They can only be reduced by one man, as it seems to us, a great man of a clear, direct intelligence: and that one man, alas! is not forthcoming."

Comments on the Report of the Government Stores Purchase Committee.
Mahrátta (8), 31st Oct.

***36.** "If theory were practice and past experience in like matters no sure signpost for unerring inference as to future results the recommendations of the Stores Purchase Committee are better and more deserving of praise that those of any other Committee or Commission ever appointed by Government..... There is no doubt that all tasks are eminently well discharged, at least on paper..... On the whole the recommendations are practical, sound and benevolent if not beneficent. We have no doubt that even if a moiety of these were put into practice Indian industries will be given an encouragement of which they stand sorely in need. Our only anxiety is that the recommendations may not turn out a piece of that 'glib and only art of speaking and purposing not'."

Gujarati Punch (21), 24th Oct., Eng. cols.; *Hindusthan* (23), 24th Oct., Eng. cols.

37. "The report of the Stores Committee appointed to investigate the possibilities of purchasing stores for the Government of India in this country is published, and, taking a general view, it is likely to be of much help in the industrial regeneration of India if its recommendations are not whittled down in actual practice..... The requirements of the Government of India are almost infinite, and if even 50 per cent. of their orders are to be placed with Indian manufacturers there can be no doubt that we shall soon see cropping among our midst a number of factories supplying things that have almost become necessaries of life in this country; for their absence is to be accounted for not by the indifference and the apathy of the Indian manufacturers but by their inability to command a fair market all at once in the face of the competition of long-standing rivals. If, therefore, Indian manufacturers are to be assured of a ready customer in the Government of the country, we shall soon see that the alleged apathy of the Indian to take to commerce and industries is only an official myth. We hope such a time would soon arrive." [The *Hindusthán* (weekly) writes:—"The Stores Committee has presented a very suitable report to the Government ..... The Stores Committee recommends ending of the stores department connected with the India Office and establishment of a new Department here, with a mandate that all the Government requirements should be met from articles of Indian origin. If such articles are not available, purchase may be made of foreign articles from local firms. Upto this time owing to the non-existence of any Department specially charged with this duty the spirit of the Stores Rules was not observed. It may be hoped, however, that with this report of the Stores Committee and the creation of a new Department things will change and officers will not have the temptation they had under the old regime

to avoid all bother of making local purchases, and to indent their requirements from the India Office."]

38. The *Kesari* says that there is not much to object in the Stores Committee's Report but it wants that the principles embodied in the report should be actually brought into practice and it is rather doubtful of their impartial enforcement. It does not want that things produced in India and things obtainable in India should be put on the same level; otherwise it says that Indian industries will not be encouraged and expensive articles will have to be purchased. It further wants that the Legislative Councils should exercise control over the work in connection with the purchase of stores. It is afraid that under the Report the Stores Department in England might be transferred to India and made more costly than at present by the grant of "oversea allowances" and that in the end it might declare the stores obtainable in India as unsatisfactory and again compel Government to purchase English goods at high cost. It says that unless measures are suggested to put a stop to this possible evil other recommendations of the Committee, though they may be all good in principle, would be from the point of view of utility useless.

Kesari (114), 26th Oct.

39. Commenting upon the orders of the Punjab Government making the Seditious Meetings Act applicable to certain districts in the Punjab, the *Indu Prakásh* says that it is unjust to deprive whole areas of the right of speech when it is open to Government to prosecute those who give expression to disloyal sentiments. In the opinion of the paper, measures such as these have the effect of creating uneasiness where none exists before. The paper asks Government to profit by their past experience and to refrain from resorting to repression.

Disapproval of the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to portions of the Punjab.

Indu Prakásh (45), 27th Oct.

40. "If a fresh proof were needed to show how incapable the bureaucracy in India is of forgetting or learning anything, it is furnished by the press *communiqué* issued by the Government of the Punjáb proclaiming the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the three districts of Láhore, Amritsar and Sheikhupura. The reason for this onslaught on an elementary right of citizenship is stated to be that the speeches delivered during the last five months at public meetings 'have too frequently been violent in character and have extended to wider and less intelligent audience' and that many of those delivered during the last few weeks in the central areas of the province have been clearly aimed at promoting hatred between the various communities and Government, and a continuance of public speaking on these lines must, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, lead at no distant date to an outbreak of violence and disorder'. Granting that speeches of this character have been and are being delivered, why should the offence not be brought home to the speakers in a Court of Law? Has the bureaucracy not yet realised that it is this arrogation of judicial function to itself that is at the root of all unrest in this country? The *Pall Mall Gazette* advised Mr. Montagu the other day to discover the root causes of the grievances of the Indian people and apply the remedies that were called for. The advice has fallen on deaf ears. And we are to have the vicious circle of repression and deepening discontent over again—in the 'New Era'!"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Oct.

41. Commenting on the resignation of Mr. Jinnah and others from the Swarajya Sabha Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—I see nothing improper in the constitution of the Sabha. How is it then that some of our leaders have sent in their resignations as its members? The answer to this question is this that the country is advancing in such a rapid manner that our leaders cannot tolerate it. At such a time we cannot help moving forward though it might be painful to us. Such times will not recur for a century more. We, therefore, cannot help taking advantage of them. We hope that the leaders who have seceded from us will join us when they are able to appreciate the importance

The Swaraja Sabha.

Navjivan (72), 24th Oct.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 26th Oct.

of the rapidity of popular progress. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—In the letter which Mr. Gandhi has written to Mr. Jinnah he makes it clear that he does not mean to sever connection with Britain but that he would not hesitate to do so if necessary. With due defference to Mr. Gandhi, we would say that we cannot persuade ourselves to agree with his views referred to above. No doubt *swarajya* is the panacea for the ills to which India is subjected, but that does not mean that we should sever our connection with the British Empire.]

The future of the Labour agitation in India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Oct.

42. Commenting on the Labour movement in India and the holding of the Trades Congress at Bombay, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—Let us not mince matters but admit quite frankly that this movement probably contains the seeds of a gigantic change which is bound to affect every form of Indian public activity and on its proper development will depend the future of the country as much as on the growth of the political organisations. The workers for the first time in the history of India have become conscious of their power and conscious also of the fact that without organisation they can do nothing but beat vain wings at the gold and iron gate of Capital..... With competent leaders, with a president of the modern equipment and accomplishments of Lala Lajpat Rai the boat of Labour should head all breakers bravely..... If we may be allowed to convert a famous saying for our immediate purpose, we would say to the delegates who have the destinies of millions of their fellow-workers in their hands: 'Workers of India, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!' This is the spirit which should animate the sessions of the Congress—a Congress as unique in our history as it is fraught with immense possibilities for the good of the starving, suffering, poverty-stricken masses of India and through them of the country. Political freedom is the essential basis for the progress. But it is not enough. For political freedom, without economic freedom not only for the nation, as a whole, but for each individual composing it, will be no less burdensome a slavery for the 'masses' than economic exploitation under a 'foreign' rule."

Comments on the Bombay Strikes.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 28th Oct.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 24th Oct.; *Akbhár-e-Islám* (58), 23rd Oct.; *Insáf* (69), 22nd Oct.

43. Dwelling at length upon the hardships suffered by the public on account of the postmen's and other strikes in Bombay, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—No one can say when the end of the strikes will be reached in spite of the boasts heard from various quarters. The sufferings of the people have become unbearable, their business suffers the most and their difficulties in the matter of obtaining the necessaries of life and of preserving their health have increased. For all practical purposes, the Tramway Company and the Gas Company are holding a monopoly; and as the people largely depend on them in fulfilling several important functions of life, they may in a way be considered to be Government Departments. Hence Government as trustees of the people are in no small degree responsible with regard to them. But the people, to their great regret, observe that Government are indifferent towards the strike situation as if they were not concerned with it at all. It is with deep regret that we point out that these strikes add to the list of the unfortunate blunders which have given birth to the non-co-operation movement and that it is thus that it gathers strength in its hold over the comparatively ignorant and indifferent masses. The class of men who make up the body of the strikers are of such a type that if some sympathetic officer, leaving aside 'prestige', were to go amougst them, listen to them and sincerely make efforts for reconciling them, he would not only be able to successfully end the situation but also add to his own reputation. The policy of the British Government in connection with the coal strike is worthy of imitation by the authorities here. We have hopes that Government here will even now courageously adopt a similar attitude and save the public from the hardships suffered by them on account of the strikes. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* takes a review of the strike situation and remarks that the strikers have begun to lose the sympathy of the public on account of the

violence to which they resort from time to time. The paper is of the opinion that if persons not connected with the workmen cease to interfere, there would be an immediate end to all the strikes. The *Akbhár-e-Islám* is of the opinion that meddlesome persons should be serverely dealt with by the authorities and that the strikers who have resorted to violence should be punished severely. The paper exhorts the public to withdraw their sympathy from the strikers. The *Insáf* complains that the hardships of the people are great and invites Government to devote their attention to the situation in a spirit of coolness and magnanimity.]

44. It appears that Government are determined not to effect a compromise with the postmen, however right the demands of the strikers may be and however great may be the insistence of popular leaders that Government should accept the demands and however great a loss Government may have to suffer by the continuance of the strike and even if hundreds of professional men are in every way ruined as they do not get letters in time. The same condition prevails as regards the Tramway and other strikes. It is a matter for sorrow and surprise that while in the case of the mill-hands' strikes, official poke in their noses without having any status, the same officials do not inform Government of the real public opinion in the case of the present strikes. The Postal Department is suffering now greater loss every day than what they will have to bear in addition annually, in case the demands of the strikers are accepted. Even if the postmen have to yield and Government can obstinately enforce their view, the men's heart burnings as against Government will permanently remain and will not be removed. Government should consider carefully all these things and they should not use improperly their tremendous power to crush the postmen.

Kesari (114), 26th Oct.

45. *Apropos* the employment of Pathans by the Tramway Company for the protection of their employés, the *Hindusthán* writes :—The authorities of the Tramway Company have of late adopted measures calculated to annoy the public and provoke the strikers who are quiet. They have, like cowards, employed Pathans armed with *dandás* under the plea of protecting property. It is indeed regrettable and astonishing that a corporate body like the Tramway Company should employ hirelings. We have observed that the Pathans molest the passengers also. It is difficult to imagine why the authorities of the Tramway Company should have employed Pathans when the strikers are quiet. The Company has not only committed a serious blunder by employing them, taking it for granted that an affray was impending and that the strikers had determined to damage the tram-cars, but it has also proved itself unworthy of the confidence of the people. The employment of Pathans is responsible for unnecessary altercations. It is quite likely that the Pathans were bent upon provoking violence by any means, because, as the strikers say, they became excited only after stones were flung at them from tram-cars. It is a pity that the Municipal Corporators observe these things silently. The public wait to see what steps they propose to take against the Tramway Company for the violation of the rules. [The *Sánj Vartamán* congratulates the Company on its having dispensed with the services of the Pathans, and suggests to the strikers that the best course for them is to resign their service instead of resorting to violence. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* strongly protests against the employment of the Pathans, and remarks that it is satisfactory to note that the Company has dispensed with their services. In a subsequent issue, the paper blames the strikers for having resorted to violence without cause and calls upon Government to take strong measures calculated to preserve the peace of the city. The *Gujaráti* writes:—"The Company has wisely dispensed with the services of Pathans armed with big lathies, some of whom, instead of protecting the men and property of their masters, tried to break the public peace by committing assaults on innocent persons. The assault upon Mr. Baptista was as

Comments on the employment of Pathans by the Bombay Tramway Company in connection with the strike.

Hindusthán (24), 25th Oct.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 27th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 26th and 27th Oct.; **Gujarati* (19), 31st Oct., Eng. cols.

unprovoked as it was disgraceful, and the Company is, indeed, fortunate that it did not end in more tragic consequences. It is a shame and disgrace to this enlightened city that such an incident should have ever been allowed to take place. At the same time we cannot but condemn the action of some of the strikers in assaulting the newcomers who have taken their places and even the passengers."]

Protest against the export of wheat.

Al-Wahid (151), 21st Oct.

46. Famine is playing havoc in India, yet Government looks unconcerned and is busily occupied in making capital out of the export of wheat. Government has decided to purchase four lac tons of wheat and export the same from the port of Karáchi. The whole country has protested against this action of Government. Swami Shardhanand has appealed to the country to resort to non-co-operation with a view to opposing such a policy of the Government. The export of wheat at this time is simply taking away bread from the mouths of the starving. In spite of such protests which have emanated from every corner of the country, we feel sure that Government is too obdurate to cancel its decision. We, are, therefore, of opinion that Karáchi merchants should bestir themselves with a view to prevent the export of wheat. A Committee of Karáchi citizens should also be formed which might advise the coolies at the Karáchi harbour to decline to load ships with wheat. A public meeting of the Karáchi citizens is to be held to-day at the Khalikdina Hall. Every true son of the mother-land should attend it with a view to giving some practical advice and help.

Swarájya (139), 21st Oct.

47. There is terrible discontent prevailing in India owing to the heavy increase in prices, and yet how is it that Government is taking away the food that the people have with them and sending it away to other countries? If such discontent prevails while the food exists in the country, what do Government think would happen when it is exported to foreign lands? If Government, therefore, fail to stop the wheat export, the people must take up the matter in their own hands and stop the sale of the food to others and if it is so sold, prevent its being loaded on steamers. Besides the four lakhs of tons of wheat to be allowed to be exported, the Government of India are themselves going to purchase wheat for Mesopotamia. Do Indians know of this? Does India know who are to consume this wheat? It is to be consumed by the enemies of *swarájya* and independence in Mesopotamia! The poor Arabs are laying down their lives in the cause of their *swarájya* and independence while the good people growing fat on our wheat are killing them to spoliate a foreign kingdom! This is the use to which our wheat and our men are being put! Our people having been found to be slavish, British politicians are using them to crush the patriotism of the Arabs! If our men and our foodgrains are thus to be misused, then the men may as well die here and the grain rot in this country! The sin of destroying the Arabs and their independence should not lie at our doors. But as a matter of fact, the British do not now require India's aid to destroy the Arab's *swarájya*, for Sir P. Cox has just now announced to them at Baghdad that they have been fortunate enough to have a share in the extraordinary charity distribution of independence recently made by the British. The people of India, therefore, humbly request the British politicians to send back to this country the Indians who are now of no further use in Mesopotamia.

Gosevak (148), 24th Oct.

48. It is a strange thing that though mother India has been producing corn every year, her children do not get a single mouthful of food to eat at ease! Famines regularly occur every few years and the prices which once go up never fall. The sole cause of this lies in Government's disregard for the needs of Indians and its over-anxiety for the comfort of Europeans. It thinks that when the needs of Europe are provided for, it does not matter if Indians go to the wall. Thousands of Indian cows are slaughtered to satisfy the mouths of the *sahebs*, though Indians are beggared thereby; while agriculture is being handicapped by the slaughter of cattle, what little is produced by way of crops disappears in the big stomach of Europe. What wonder then if Indians find it difficult to get even a mouthful to eat?

49. Commenting on the anti-tea-campaign the *Gujarâti* writes:—Many tea shops have been closed in Gujarát in consequence of the pressure brought to bear upon the people through their caste organisations. The decoction sold as tea in the tea shops is decidedly harmful. The tea leaves used by the tea shops are no doubt grown in India under the special patronage of Government. But the monopoly for growing tea is enjoyed by British firms and so the profits of these companies are carried away to England, to the permanent loss of India. It is the Indians who work on the tea estates, but their position is worse than that of slaves. These coolies cannot secure independence owing to the special legislative measures framed by Government. The reports of Sir Henry Cotton and others bear ample testimony to the oppressive treatment given to the Indian coolies by their European supervisors. Those, therefore, who take tea, drink the very life-blood of these Indian coolies. Government help the tea-planters in keeping the Indians in a state of slavery and thus defeat the aspirations of the Indian people. It will thus be seen that taking tea means prolonging the time of India's servitude. [Elsewhere the paper writes:—The prices of milk and ghee have gone down to a considerable extent owing to the zeal shown by the people in Gujarát. Even in Bombay the price of ghee has gone down to a great extent. This goes to show that merchants take undue advantage of the protection they enjoy from Government and the weakness of the people.]

Comments on the anti-tea campaign in Gujarát.
Gujarâti (19), 24th Otc.

50. The *Kesari* condemns the disturbances caused by the anti-tea agitators and says that such things will never be done by any real follower of Mahatma Gandhi and that no leader can approve of them. It expresses surprise that some pro-Government papers have connected these disturbances with non-co-operation and that they are cursing Mr. Gandhi. Such perversions, it continues, are a matter of daily occurrence but the leaders of the movement should pay no attention to these things and should continue their work vigorously and enthusiastically.

Kesari (114), 26th Oct.

51. "The proposed constitution of the Indian National Congress drafted by a committee presided over by Mr. Gandhi defines its object as 'the attainment of *Swarajya* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.' The deletion of the word 'constitutional' in relation to the means for the attainment of the above object is perhaps due to the fact that, to the framers of the new Congress constitution, India does not seem to possess anything which can be called a constitution..... Provision is made for the maintenance of the British Committee in London and presumably also of its organ *India*. This seems to suggest that Mr. Gandhi's idea of disestablishing the Committee and stopping the Congress organ in London is an after-thought. Perhaps the inconsistency involved in two such incompatible things as the country's determination to be self-reliant and its intention to maintain, at India's cost, a Committee and a paper in the land of the very people with whose Government non-co-operation is to be practised, did not strike him earlier. The draft constitution also gives evidence of the recognition on the part of the party in power in the Congress of the reasonableness of the contention that the body, consisting as it does of a limitless number of delegates, is too unwieldy for deliberative purposes. The recommendation for the raising of the delegate's fee from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20—a dodge commonly resorted to when it is found necessary to limit the demand—is an indication of the fact that the present organisers of the Congress feel compelled to restrict the number of delegates."

The proposed new constitution of the Indian National Congress.
Servant of India (10), 29th Oct.

***52.** "His Majesty's Government accepted the principle of the Congress creed as that of their own policy. It is now proposed by a Committee appointed by the Amritsar Congress (1919) that the creed of the Congress should be altered into:—'The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment o *Swarajya* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful

Indian Social Reformer (7), 31st Oct.

unprovoked as it was disgraceful, and the Company is, indeed, fortunate that it did not end in more tragic consequences. It is a shame and disgrace to this enlightened city that such an incident should have ever been allowed to take place. At the same time we cannot but condemn the action of some of the strikers in assaulting the newcomers who have taken their places and even the passengers."]

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47. There is terrible discontent prevailing in India owing to the heavy increase in prices, and yet how is it that Government is taking away the food that the people have with them and sending it away to other countries? If such discontent prevails while the food exists in the country, what do Government think would happen when it is exported to foreign lands? If Government, therefore, fail to stop the wheat export, the people must take up the matter in their own hands and stop the sale of the food to others and if it is so sold, prevent its being loaded on steamers. Besides the four lakhs of tons of wheat to be allowed to be exported, the Government of India are themselves going to purchase wheat for Mesopotamia. Do Indians know of this? Does India know who are to consume this wheat? It is to be consumed by the enemies of *swarájya* and independence in Mesopotamia! The poor Arabs are laying down their lives in the cause of their *swarájya* and independence while the good people growing fat on our wheat are killing them to spoliate a foreign kingdom! This is the use to which our wheat and our men are being put! Our people having been found to be slavish, British politicians are using them to crush the patriotism of the Arabs! If our men and our foodgrains are thus to be misused, then the men may as well die here and the grain rot in this country! The sin of destroying the Arabs and their independence should not lie at our doors. But as a matter of fact, the British do not now require India's aid to destroy the Arab's *swarájya*, for Sir P. Cox has just now announced to them at Baghdad that they have been fortunate enough to have a share in the extraordinary charity distribution of independence recently made by the British. The people of India, therefore, humbly request the British politicians to send back to this country the Indians who are now of no further use in Mesopotamia.

Gosevak (148), 24th Oct.

48. It is a strange thing that though mother India has been producing corn every year, her children do not get a single mouthful of food to eat at ease! Famines regularly occur every few years and the prices which once go up never fall. The sole cause of this lies in Government's disregard for the needs of Indians and its over-anxiety for the comfort of Europeans. It thinks that when the needs of Europe are provided for, it does not matter if Indians go to the wall. Thousands of Indian cows are slaughtered to satisfy the mouths of the *sahebs*, though Indians are beggared thereby; while agriculture is being handicapped by the slaughter of cattle, what little is produced by way of crops disappears in the big stomach of Europe. What wonder then if Indians find it difficult to get even a mouthful to eat?

49. Commenting on the anti-tea-campaign the *Gujarâti* writes :—Many tea shops have been closed in Gujarát in consequence of the pressure brought to bear upon the people through their caste organisations. The decoction sold as tea in the tea shops is decidedly harmful. The tea leaves used by the tea shops are no doubt grown in India under the special patronage of Government. But the monopoly for growing tea is enjoyed by British firms and so the profits of these companies are carried away to England, to the permanent loss of India. It is the Indians who work on the tea estates, but their position is worse than that of slaves. These coolies cannot secure independence owing to the special legislative measures framed by Government. The reports of Sir Henry Cotton and others bear ample testimony to the oppressive treatment given to the Indian coolies by their European supervisors. Those, therefore, who take tea, drink the very life-blood of these Indian coolies. Government help the tea-planters in keeping the Indians in a state of slavery and thus defeat the aspirations of the Indian people. It will thus be seen that taking tea means prolonging the time of India's servitude. [Elsewhere the paper writes :—The prices of milk and ghee have gone down to a considerable extent owing to the zeal shown by the people in Gujarát. Even in Bombay the price of ghee has gone down to a great extent. This goes to show that merchants take undue advantage of the protection they enjoy from Government and the weakness of the people.]

Comments on the anti-tea campaign in Gujarát.
Gujarâti (19), 24th Otc.

50. The *Kesari* condemns the disturbances caused by the anti-tea agitators and says that such things will never be done by any real follower of Mahatma Gandhi and that no leader can approve of them. It expresses surprise that some pro-Government papers have connected these disturbances with non-co-operation and that they are cursing Mr. Gandhi. Such perversions, it continues, are a matter of daily occurrence but the leaders of the movement should pay no attention to these things and should continue their work vigorously and enthusiastically.

Kesari (114), 26th Oct.

51. "The proposed constitution of the Indian National Congress drafted by a committee presided over by Mr. Gandhi defines its object as 'the attainment of *Swarajya* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.' The deletion of the word 'constitutional' in relation to the means for the attainment of the above object is perhaps due to the fact that, to the framers of the new Congress constitution, India does not seem to possess anything which can be called a constitution..... Provision is made for the maintenance of the British Committee in London and presumably also of its organ *India*. This seems to suggest that Mr. Gandhi's idea of disestablishing the Committee and stopping the Congress organ in London is an after-thought. Perhaps the inconsistency involved in two such incompatible things as the country's determination to be self-reliant and its intention to maintain, at India's cost, a Committee and a paper in the land of the very people with whose Government non-co-operation is to be practised, did not strike him earlier. The draft constitution also gives evidence of the recognition on the part of the party in power in the Congress of the reasonableness of the contention that the body, consisting as it does of a limitless number of delegates, is too unwieldy for deliberative purposes. The recommendation for the raising of the delegate's fee from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20—a dodge commonly resorted to when it is found necessary to limit the demand—is an indication of the fact that the present organisers of the Congress feel compelled to restrict the number of delegates."

The proposed new constitution of the Indian National Congress.
Servant of India (10), 29th Oct.

***52.** "His Majesty's Government accepted the principle of the Congress creed as that of their own policy. It is now proposed by a Committee appointed by the Amritsar Congress (1919) that the creed of the Congress should be altered into :—'The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment o *Swarajya* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful

Indian Social Reformer (7), 31st Oct.

means.'..... Now the only reason justifying a change of the creed, is, in our opinion, that the British Government itself having accepted the goal, it is now only a question of the pace at which we should move towards it. But this does not justify the change proposed by the Committee. It is, in fact, not a mere change. It involves two processes, though the first and necessary process is slurred over in the report. It involves, first, the deletion of the present creed and, secondly, the substitution of the proposed one. By no stretch of reasoning can the latter be made out to be but an amplification or development of the former. One might as well try to make out that Sinn Fein is the amplification or development of Irish Home Rule. The Sinn Feiners had the candour openly to say that they were not Home Rulers, but were opposed to the Home Rulers. The Committee's proposal would convert the Congress into an Indian Sinn Fein. We say nothing at this stage as to the respective merits of the two creeds. We only say that the one is as distinct from the other as black from white. What does *swarajya* mean? Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who first used it at the Calcutta Congress in 1905, clearly meant self-government within the British Empire. Is the word used in the same sense? Mr. Iyengar, a member of the Committee, says that it had been proposed to qualify *swarajya* by the clause 'within or without the British Empire.' But the majority of the Committee did not approve of it, and it was dropped. The fact, however, shows that *swarájya* is regarded as capable of either sense, and the omission of it merely leaves each person to interpret it as he likes. Then, why is the word 'constitutional' left out and 'legitimate' and 'peaceful' inserted? Is it the opinion of the Committee that 'constitutional' means may not be 'legitimate and peaceful' or that 'legitimate and peaceful' methods may not be 'constitutional'? The present creed is clear, lucid, and leaves no room for doubt. The proposed one is vague, obscure and full of doubtful implication. We see no necessity to change the creed. It has become obsolate as a goal, it is true, but we do not believe in fixing goals for political movements. As it stands, it fairly represents what is a good working policy of Indian politics. If it is absolutely necessary to make a change, it should be only to emphasise the need for a quicker pace and the incluslon of a declaration of rights. It is in the highest degree unwise to effect such a sharp break with the past as the adoption of the new creed signifies."

53. There will in future be no room for two political parties in the Congress if its creed is changed in accordance with the recommendations of the sub-committee. Those who believe in the development of responsible government for India within the British Empire have now only one course open to them, and that is to have nothing to do with the Congress. The changes will no doubt prove acceptable to Mr. Gandhi and his blind followers; but it is doubtful whether they will prove equally acceptable to those who do not approve of his programme, but who have not the courage to dissociate themselves from him. Some prominent organs of the Nationalist party have already expressed an opinion that it is undesirable thus to change the creed of the Congress. But as these people have pronounced in favour of non-co-operation, they are now in Mr. Gandhi's grip and must go wherever he may choose to lead them. If they have the least regard for the dictates of their conscience they can still free themselves from his influence. But from the past history of these men it does not appear to be likely that they will make any such attempt. [The *Indu Prakásh* says that a change in the object of the Home Rule League resulted in the secesion of several of its prominent members and that a like change in the creed of the Congress is sure to produce the same result with regard to that body as staunch Congressmen will have to withdraw from it.]

Dnyán Prakásh (18), 29th Oct.; *Indu Praksáh* (45), 29th Oct.

54. "The talk of complete, absolute and unmitigated Swarajya, at once and all together, in which so many people indulge nowadays, is a thing of this impractical and shadowy character. If the Congress, under the influence of political hot-heads or impatient idealists, adopts Revolution as its creed it may. But it is no use shutting one's eye to the challenge which it involves. Whoever is strong shall be free. If you are

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 26th Oct., Eng. cols.

not strong you cannot have the absolute and unmitigated freedom which you desire and which, on moral standards, you deserve. If a nation in a state of unpreparedness throws off the yoke of the Power under which it has remained, the chances are that it will be enslaved by other Powers. Of course, in practice, it will not be easy to throw off the British yoke. The British people will accept the challenge that is implied, and strain every nerve to resist the Revolution which is contemplated. But supposing that owing to stress of external circumstances, and not by its own inherent power, India achieves that consummation, what then? Are we prepared to face the chaos that must inevitably follow the disruption of a strong and settled Government? Is the British connection, even now with the liberalisation of administration that has come and is yet to come, such an unbearable evil as must be got rid of by all means and at any cost? Why do Mr. Gandhi and his associates not put that issue clearly before the country, instead of veiling their meaning methods in vague language? It appears to us that there is a deal of unconscious hyprocrisy in these attempts at nation-building and Empire-breaking. The object of the National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means. What is to be the test and standard of legitimacy? Is it the law of the land? Mr. Gandhi will say 'the national Conscience'—and the people whose minds he has enslaved will receive it with loud applause. But where is the nation and where is the conscience? Frankly speaking in practice it comes to this. What Mr. Gandhi says is true and legitimate. It must be done..... There has never been such a complete supersession of the peoples' conscience and commonsense. The proposed constitution, instead of talking vaguely as it does, ought to define what are legitimate and peaceful means. Judged by ordinary standards, in the methods pursued and proposed by Messrs. Gandhi and company we do not see much legitimacy or even promise of peace..... Mr. Gandhi is now crying 'Peace, peace', when there is no peace and no prospect of peace. If his propaganda is to succeed the full length, it is bound to inaugurate a revolution, and it will not be bloodless, if the British and the Indians are human."

*55. "The objects as defined by the new constitution are simple and understandable by even a common Indian labourer, and agriculturist who is innocent of all the knowledge and intricacies of a 'colonial' and a 'dominion' form of government with equal rights and responsibilities of the Empire..... The Sub-Committee has deliberately kept the word 'Swarajya' with nothing to precede and nothing to follow, and in a way it has served one useful purpose that the ideal as defined by that word clearly proclaims to the world as well as to the British Government that India does not desire to have its political destiny defined or shaped by anyone except themselves. And this consideration goes to the root of the whole question. Why should any nation allow others to determine for themselves the ideal which it is to follow?..... Let India evolve its own system of democratic Government for which it has ampler and broader basis, and it behoves one and all to see that the growth of Indian polity is regulated by its own natural tendencies, its tradition and civilisation. .... On these theoretical considerations, the word 'Swarajya' as used by the Sub-Committee in framing the first article is the only word which would convey the full meaning of India's demand. However, we have to say that, in order to make it more clear and in order to bring it into line with current political thought of the day, the expression 'on the principle of self-determination' ought to have been added on to it."

Mahrátta (8) 31st Oct.

56. We cannot help admitting that the constitution of the Indian National Congress requires to be modified and that the machinery for reaching the goal should also be altered. People have lost faith in the efficacy of memorials and speeches in securing their demands. People's minds should, therefore, be purged of the notions of securing *swardjya* in a gradual manner. The sub-committee appointed by the Special Congress at its recent sessions to draft a new constitution for the body have suggested certain radical but welcome changes. But the most serious defect in the constitution as

Sánj Vartamán (33), 25th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (24), 26th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 26th and 27th Oct.

amended by the sub-committee is that there is no mention of maintaining the British connection and securing self-government within the British Empire. We object to the present change and would suggest that the object of the Congress should be so altered as to clearly indicate that the Congress means to secure *swarájya* within the Empire and that it does not mean to sever its connection with it. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—The sub-committee have suggested amendments in the constitution and that in keeping with the present progressive times; but there is some ambiguity in the object of the Congress, and it is not quite clear whether they mean to secure self-government on colonial lines within the Empire or without the British connection. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The sub-committee have suggested certain changes of a serious nature, and we hope the Congress will not be hasty in accepting them. We are afraid that the object of the Congress as amended by the sub-committee, instead of enabling the people of India to secure '*swarájya* by legitimate and peaceful means', will lead them to a wrong path altogether. The object as now altered gives a clear indication that those who have had a hand in drafting the constitution mean to secure *swarájya* without the British connection. No section of the British public will ever tolerate the idea of India severing its connection with Britain. Ireland should afford us an example in this respect. British statesmen are of the opinion that the loss of India will tend to lower the position of the British Empire. Will anybody in these circumstances make bold to say that India will be able to secure *swarájya* by 'legitimate and peaceful means'? In a subsequent issue the paper remarks:—Mr. Gandhi has now issued an explanation in respect of the changes in the constitution of the Congress, and he says that he would refuse to make a fetish of the British connection. This shows which way the wind blows. The way in which Mr. Gandhi has been preaching non-co-operation in respect of Government and aided educational institutions goes to show that his idea of securing *swarájya* by peaceful means is a quite visionary one. No nation has ever secured independence without bloodshed, and India cannot be an exception to this rule. In the present circumstances no amount of bloodshed on the part of India will enable her to acquire success in her attempt to secure independence. India is at present passing through very critical times, and men of various shades of political opinion would do well to lay aside their differences and discuss the question of tiding over the present difficulties. The Moderates should wake up and bear in mind that once martial law is declared in India, more innocent persons than guilty ones will suffer by it. They should, therefore, give a practical proof of their loyalty and save the country from the rigours of martial law.]

***57.** "The high priest of officialdom came and went, and the residents of the Central Provinces did not care a rap for his visit. There was not even the ghost of a reception or of an address. Surely the Simla Pontiff, being accustomed to be fondled with sumptuous receptions and adulatory addresses, must have inwardly fretted and fumed; his impotent frettings and fumings must have been all the more painful on account of the fact that the Jubbulpur Municipality and the Nagpur District Board had first resolved to give an address and then revoked the resolution. The condition of the ass, in the old story, before whom a carrot was dangled and taken back and dangled again, could not have aroused so much sympathy. The whole affair vividly shows that Indians have come to feel the necessity of self-reliance. They are convinced that these hollow receptions and the wordy addresses will not bring *Swarajya* nearer even by an inch. They have realised, after years of bitter disillusionment and bitterer despair, that the days of slavish sycophancy are gone and those of grim fight for Freedom have come. If we can claim for the movement of non-co-operation this irradication of the spirit of India it is an achievement which every patriot should be proud of."

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's tour in the Central Provinces.

Mahrátta (8), 31st Oct.

58. Lord Chelmsford first laid it down that the non-co-operation movement was foolish. It is a coincidence that his Lordship is the first person to have a smart experience of it. He is touring now in Central Provinces

Kesari (114), 26th Oct.

and the Nágpur Municipality has not even thought of presenting an address and the Jubbulpore Municipality and the Nágpur District Local Board had to repent and change their idea. People do not care at all whether Lord Chelmsford comes or goes. The local bureaucracy tried to camouflage and conceal things from the Viceroy. It is the effect of the non-co-operation movement that after all these days Indian people have realised their power. The days of wagging the tail before big officials on their arrival are gone. Once the bubble of the official prestige bursts on account of non-co-operation people will see that there is nothing substantial in it and they will recognise their own power and standing. This advantage is of no mean importance.

Protest against the giving of the contract for the Bombay Development Scheme to an English firm.

Mahrátta (8), 31st Oct.

*59. "We are credibly informed that secret arrangements for giving the whole of the Bombay Development Contract to a British firm are far advanced. If it be true—and the chances are that it is—the shamelessness of Government knows no bounds. The step which Government intends taking has no earthly justification at all and, besides, it will give rise to strong and persistent agitation against it. The Bombay Development Contract is a big contract involving an outlay of 20 crores coming from the pockets of Indians. Every pie of the sum must be spent in India as far as possible, and even the profits of the scheme must remain within the borders of India. Only the other day the Stores Purchase Committee has made its recommendations, and the Government of Bombay would do well to go through them before proceeding with their subterranean dealings. Nor are competent firms wishing to undertake the huge task wanting in India. The contract must be openly and publicly advertised, and if Government allow nepotism to prevail in this matter it will be deliberately provoking popular sentiment. People have rightly grown suspicious of Government designs, and it will be the height of impudence to deepen them rather than mollify or eradicate them."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Oct.

60. "The most relevant and important question for the people of Bombay in general—who will form the bulk of subscribers to the Loan—is how is this enormous sum of money to be spent? It is obvious that a large portion of the amount will be paid to those whose business will be to carry out the building programme as designed by the Government Department concerned..... The fact that, as a Calcutta Commercial paper stated the other day, the Government of Bombay have engaged the services of Mr. Macdonald of Messrs. McAlpine and Company, a British firm of contractors, as their consulting engineer, lends colour to the rumour that the contract for the whole scheme will be given to a British firm. If there is any truth in this rumour, the public must raise an emphatic protest and call upon Government to desist from the contemplated step. The contract for the scheme must be given to an Indian firm or group of firms, if necessary. Tenders for the contract must be invited by public advertisement throughout the country. There are several Indian firms of requisite experience and standing in the country, and it will not be difficult for any one of them singly or for some of them jointly to undertake and carry out the contract efficiently and well..... We never find any local authority in England inviting tenders for any contracts from Indian firms. Why should we then go out of our way and give opportunity to a non-Indian firm to underbid an Indian firm? Let us realise what it would mean if the contract for the Bombay Development Scheme were given to a British firm. Twenty crores of rupees are to be spent on the scheme during the next few years. Assuming the payment to the firm of contractors to be fifteen per cent. of the total outlay—and this would be the least that would be acceptable to any British firm of contractors—and adding, say, five per cent. as charges incurred on the European staff, it would mean the drain of four crores from Bombay to London. Is this permanent drain of four crores in any way necessary or justifiable? We emphatically say, no. The only ground on which it can be justified is that the British firm will perform the contract cheaply, other things being equal. Now, this assumption we

say—and we say it with a due sense of responsibility—is a camouflage. And everyone who knows any thing about the manner in which large Government contracts are offered to and carried out by English contractors realises it only too well. The civil servants in India are, of course, incorruptible and above reproach. But they have certain human failings of which racial bias is not the least prominent, and it is not an unknown thing for British contractors to underbid Indian contractors in the assured expectation of having the term of the contract subsequently revised in their favour by obliging civilian officers and of obtaining numerous facilities which are generally denied to their Indian rivals. That British contractors are cheap is a delusion and a snare can be demonstrably established from official records of many a public contract..... All that the firm of contractors will have to do will be to organise the labour force, skilled as well as unskilled, to carry out these plans and designs. And it will be a shame and a disgrace to the country if this work is not done by Indians and a grievous wrong if, by some design, they are deprived of the opportunity of doing it. We cannot believe that the Government of Sir George Lloyd will countenance any such design. For, that will turn their principal inducement to the public to subscribe to the loan—that every rupee subscribed will be spent in Bombay by Bombay for Bombay '—into a mockery."

Comments on the Esher's Committee Report. *Mahrátta* (8), 31st Oct.

*61. In the course of an article on Esher Committee's Report, the *Mahrátta* writes :—" There is clearly a conspiracy afoot to put the Indian army under the thumb of the British War Office, and many acute observers see in it the designing hand of Mr. Winston Churchill to whose ambitions there is no limit. Indian military policy of the last quarter of the last century was coloured by the Russo-phobia which dogged the British Civil and Military authorities in England and India, and the present policy too is largely inspired not only by Russo-phobia under a new guise singly but along with it by the mad race of Imperialism reinforced by concentrated capitalism. If we brush aside all details and technicalities, which also unmistakably show the malevolent and vindictive influence of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and recognise the true significance of the report, we will find that although the authors are aware of the steady march of India towards the attainment of full nationhood, they realise well that if the present lines of development are continued, the Indian army must pass under the control of those who pay for it in blood and money. What then would become of all those magnificent dreams of conquest and aggrandisement which, in the scheme of militarism, the Army of India exists to promote ? How will Britain be able to dominate the Middle East, to say nothing of wars further afield, if she cannot draw at will upon the man-power of India ? These are the ignoble sentiments which possessed the Esher, O'Dwyer and Company in formulating their recommendations. And it is for this purpose that the Indian army is proposed to be linked to the British Army. Of course, Mr. Montagu says that there is no intention whatever of parting with the constitutional supremacy of the civil power, or of transferring the control of the Army in India from the Government of India to the War Office. These are fine sentiments, but if Mr. Montagu means what he says he ought to lose no time in repudiating the manifest designs of those who are mainly responsible for this report. The recommendations are already being acted upon, and it is high time that the Secretary of State for India carried out his good intentions. Even if the intentions of Mr. Montagu were given effect to, the other features of the report are so dismal that they also deserve equally severe condemnation. In the proposal to create a new member of the Executive Council with the portfolio of Military supply there is more than meets the eye. It is a dodge against which Indians would do well to guard. Again, racial discrimination which is made between British and Indian units is deeply exasperating. Distrust of Indians becomes patent in the observations of the Committee on the Indian Defence Force. Whatever other minor recommendations of the Committee be, the report is only worthy of being thrown on the scrap heap, if it be only on the grounds of finance and the contemplated establishment of undiluted militocracy in India to strengthen the hands of the

already much-too-powerful bureaucracy. If Indians do not rise and condemn the report they will be further ground down between the upper stone of bureaucracy and the nether stone of the new-hatched militocracy."

Government of Bombay should pardon Mr. D. B. Advani and other publicists just as the Punjáb Government have pardoned persons convicted by the Martial Law Tribunals.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Oct.

62. "The Government of the Punjáb the other day issued a belated communiqué 'pardoning' the leaders who were 'convicted' by the Martial Law Tribunals during the Punjáb nightmare last year. During that period of panicky repression there were some prominent publicists, like Mr. Durgadas B. Advani, in this Presidency, who were equally unjustly 'convicted' and soon afterwards released. The Government of Bombay have not yet thought fit to 'pardon' these individuals, so as to enable them to exercise their full right of citizenship. They must move in the matter without any delay."

Comments on the election of Muhammadan Council representatives for Poona and Bombay City.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Oct.

63. "The Moslem electors of the Poona division have done well to expose the back-door methods by which Mr. Haroon Jaffer and three others have managed to impose themselves on the community as its 'representatives' in the new Councils. Those who choose to enter the Councils are, of course, welcome to do so. But they are in honour bound to see that they conform to the universally recognised conventions and practices of representative institutions. Now the essence of representative government is that the 'representative' should enjoy the confidence of the majority of voters..... The manner in which Mr. Haroon Jaffer and his associates have sought entry into the Councils by a deliberate concealment of their intention till the eleventh hour is as improper as it is unedifying. Not less so was the 'election' of Messrs. Barodawala, Haveliwala and Haji as 'representatives' of the Muslims of this city. The temerity of these individuals in foisting themselves as 'representatives' of the community would be dismissed as being too farcical to be worthy of attention were it not that it is calculated to bring the community into ridicule."

Comments on Mr. Mead's reply to the Mamlatdars' Deputation.
Swarájya (139), 28th Oct.

64. The *Swarájya* complains that the Mamlatdars' deputation was not treated with respect by the Revenue Secretary, Mr. Mead, and declares that nowadays European officers have become so extremely overbearing that they show no regard even for high Indian officials like Mamlatdars. It goes on:—There is no doubt that the starting pay of 200 for a Mamlatdar is too low. Whether Mamlats should be accepted on such low pay is an individual question. But it is very bad that a Secretary of the Revenue Department should behave so insolently towards officials who have all along faithfully served Government. Any self-respecting Mamlatdar cannot but feel enraged on account of the utter insolence displayed by Mr. Mead. What did he mean by telling the Mamlatdars that Government would not like Mamlatdars forming Trade Unions? The Mamlatdars' Association is a temporary one, but it is well known that there are many permanent associations of the Civilians of the same type! Are they all Trade Unions? His Excellency himself should have received the Mamlatdars' deputation. That a Secretary should receive it is the first insult given, and Mr. Mead by his improper and illiberal speech has put salt into the wound. The deputation was of opinion that with the pay proposed, the children of mamlatdars cannot be kept in schools and colleges. Mr. Mead told them not to send their children to schools and colleges. If he spoke really in this wise, it must be said that he had not the common sense not to talk irrelevantly, which was very regrettable. Why was he told to receive the deputation? Had not the Bombay Government a wiser officer? The question naturally arises as to why European civilian officers should get ten times the pay of mamlatdars if Revenue officers like mamlatdars can be had for two to three hundred rupees. The reply given is that Europeans come from far off country and that Europeans have to send their children home for education: which is very expensive. Applying the above logic, why

should civilians send their children to schools and colleges in England? It is not reasonable to place before the Mamlatdars' deputation such absurd suggestions in a fit of anger. When told that the pay was inadequate and that if no increase was given, the Mamlatdars and their children would have to starve, the reply given by Mr. Mead was extremely insolent. He said: 'If you are not content with the proposal already drafted, you can clear away. This is Bolshevism. If you do not work, we shall have a new Mamlatdar'. In this passage the wrath burning in his mind has reached its extreme. His Excellency must certainly be repenting of having asked Mr. Mead to receive the deputation. As Mr. Mead must have falsely felt sure that the Mamlatdars could not resign, he must have told them to walk away if they liked. But has Mr. Mead considered how Government would fare if all the Mamlatdars perchance walked away? It is not after all quite impossible. Is it possible that they would not feel angry? Everyone is bound to feel indignant at the insolent language used. It is a little dangerous in these days of non-co-operation to ask the Mamlatdars to walk out if they liked. If the Mamlatdars stop their business of collecting revenue, what is to be done? Talatis of different places are going on strike. It is never a wise thing in such delicate times to wound the feelings of Mamlatdars. Their pay may or may not be increased. But it is necessary to maintain their honour in order that they may not lose their prestige in the talukas which they are to administer. It is quite impertinent and insulting to ask them to walk out if they like.

Failure of crops in East Khándesh.
Pragátik ( ), 25th Oct.

65. The *Pragatik* says that the anna value of crops in East Khándesh this year is:—Cotton 2 to 4 annas; jowári 2 annas and bájri 8 annas, but the average of bájri is small. It requests Government to consider how the rayats are to pay assessment and revised assessment this year and asks the rayats to place their condition plainly before Government. It suggests that the village punch with the Revenue and Police Patels if possible should be asked to ascertain the anna value of crops. It says that the District Conference had passed a resolution to the effect that the anna value of crops should be fixed by two officials and three non-officials and that it should be accepted by Government and that the Collector had consented to accept the proposal. It says that it will be necessary for Government to start relief works. It remarks that if suspension or remission orders are not received by November, the District Conference should be held in the last week of December or the first week of January, as the question is very important.

Comments on the sentence inflicted on boys in Bombay in connection with tea-shop disturbances.
Lokasangraha (117), 26th Oct.

66. Commenting upon the sentences passed upon four young men for creating a disturbance in a tea-shop in Bombay and causing damage to the owner's property, the *Lokasangraha* writes:—In India a European charged with any offence is sure to find a loop-hole for escape, but Indian boys accused of reckless conduct, whatever their motive, are sure to be punished. The Magistrate should have remembered that the boys who attacked the tea-shop were not a band of thieves. But then how can an English Magistrate be expected to show so much sympathy for Indian youths?

An Indian military officer's complaint from Mesopotamia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Oct.

67. "An Indian officer" from Mesopotamia writes to the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"We have read the Viceroy's speech and the crocodile tears he has shed for us, but are unrelieved. Will you bring to the notice of the public how unjustly we are detained here, and how the War Office has released the British at the cost of Indians? (1) Almost all British are released except a few officers. (2) Since the demobilization of British troops started it has regularly and steadily continued. (3) To satisfy the British troops, they were given Special Army of Occupation allowance. (4) The demobilization was not stopped even while the 'Kurdistan' trouble was going on. (5) Indians were not paid any sort of Army Occupation allowance, and their demobilization was

interfered with and suspended whenever any trouble arose. (6) At present there are Indians in this force who have been out here from the beginning of the war. Whenever applications for release are made to the higher authority the reply is, 'Cannot be released at present' or the 'war is not over'."

Indian troops from Mesopotamia should be withdrawn without delay.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Oct.

68. "Replying to a question in the Commons, Mr. Fisher stated that Mr. Montagu would duly consider the feeling in India with regard to the prolonged employment of the Indian troops in Mesopotamia. So Mr. Montagu has at last condescended to think of considering Indian feeling in the matter! And the reason why he has not yet actually begun to consider Indian feeling is that 'the question of when it was proposed to withdraw the British and Indian troops from Mesopotamia raised a large question of Policy which the Imperial Government was still considering'. Could callous disregard of Indian sntiment further go? It is for the British people to decide if they are to sacrifice men and money to make the Mesopotamian oil-fields safe for the syndicates. But what right—save the right of might—have British politicians to make India's name stink in the nostrils of all decent-minded people by employing her soldiers to fight the Arab because they wish to be free in their own country?"

Tewfik Pasha's proposal to carry out the terms of the Turkish Treaty with the help of the Allies.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Oct.

69. "We learn that Tewfik Pasha, the new Grand Vizier, has publicly expressed the hope that the new Turkish Cabinet, 'though difficultly situated owing to the severe peace terms and insurrection in Anatolia, will with the assistance of the Powers succeed in terminating the fratricidal struggle between the Central Government and the Nationalists and in carrying out the terms of the Treaty of Sevres.' Tewfik Pasha is a much more popular and trusted personality than was Damad Ferid Pasha, but he cannot work miracles, and nothing short of a miracle could 'terminate the fratricidal struggle'—as the Grand Vizier is pleased to call it, though Hellenic Greeks have no claim to be viewed as brothers by the Turks—while 'carrying out the terms of the Treaty of Sevres.' Even 'with the assistance of the Powers,' the feat is quite impossible, unless that assistance takes the form of a revision of the Turkish Treaty..... Has the new Grand Vizier received assurance that the only kind of help which can avail will be provided by the Powers?..... The sentiment of national honour is alas extinct to-day among the men who form the Governments of Europe. But it is not so in the East, where the bitter feeling rising against England is due primarily to the fact that the warlike peoples of the East, to whom their honour is the breath of life, behold her now as a dishonoured country. The Government of England has done things which no individul Englishman, not of the criminal class, would dream of doing. They have behaved, not as Englishmen are supposed to behave, but like ignoble Levantines. No wonder there is anger and confusion in the East. England and India alone were the conquerors of Turkey, yet England has doled out portions of the spoil to peoples who took no part in the struggle, peoples whom the Turks could have defeated easily, while she turns a deaf ear to the prayer of peoples who took part in the struggle, and breaks the solemn promises which she had made to them. No wonder that the warlike tribes of Asia spit upon the ground and say: 'The English are no longer gentlemen.' There is still perhaps a chance for England to regain some part of her prestige in the Near East—at least among the Turks, who are by nature placable. We hope that the new tone which we discern in Tewfik Pasha's manifesto means that she is going to take it."

NATIVE STATES.

An attack on the Maharaja of Kolhápur.
Lokasangraha (117), 26th Oct.

70. Commenting upon the activities of the Satyashodhak Samaj and the support extended to it by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur, the *Lokasangraha* says that Indian Chiefs are like beautiful women confined in a *harem* and their share in politics is confined to repressing such movements as are distasteful to the

English Government. It declares the 'political brain' of the Maharaja to be rotten, and remarks that as neither he nor his followers possess true patriotism, they both are engaged in the destruction of the national welfare. It recounts the services rendered by the Brahmins to the country in the past and remarks that the Maharajah's campaign against them shows that he is wanting in patriotism.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 5th November 1920.

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For the week ending 6th November 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Special Department, as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. In the course of an appeal to candidates for the Councils, Mr. K. I. Advani gives a pathetic account of the Jallianwalla Bagh Tragedy and remarks:—"Would you, I ask you, still go to the councils? You cannot say yes, specially when this same Dyer, your son's murderer, is drawing a pension by the grace of those with whom you will anyhow co-operate. Yet such things as I have made you imagine did happen. There are mothers wailing for their babies, there are fathers crying for their children, there are orphans weeping for their fathers. Are they not your brothers and sisters? Is not their sorrow your too? It might have been yours too if the event had occurred at Rambagh Talao ground in Karáchi. Is not their degradation, their sorrow yours too? You are Indians, you are human beings. In the name of fatherhood, brotherhood, and all that is sacred to you, tell me how can you have the heart of steel seeking election? Will you go there and shake hands with those officials who condoned this shooting by passing the Indemnity Act? See this eloquent earth red with the blood of the martyrs. Your eyes will see that blood still spotting the hands of those officials. Ah, will you then have the heart to expect co-operation from such men or to co-operate with them? Friends, if any of you has not the good fortune to possess a grain of this sacred earth let me present you with a little of it,—a very little of it for it is very precious to me. Sit only one hour at dawn with it and then think, and if after that you still adhere to your present intentions, then words fail me. To me it will be a greater tragedy than that of the Jallianwalla Bagh itself, that we should have you as congress leaders in Sind."

Appeals to candidates for Councils not to stand for elections.

New Times (9), 30th Oct.

2. The *Kesari* alleges that Government officers are arbitrarily exceeding their powers in order to make the Council elections a success, at least on paper, and are indirectly holding out threats in order to get voters to the polling stations. It goes on:—Really speaking, their duty ends when they publish the electoral list, the list of polling stations, names of candidates, and the time fixed. If the voters like they will vote, if not, they will not vote. The officers have no legal right to issue any orders to them. But still a Collector has issued an order that village officers should go to the polling stations with the voters. It is clear that the Mamlatdar's order would be still more forcible. The following is a sample: "You should by beat of drum announce on the day before the one fixed for voting that voters should be present at the polling stations at 7 A.M. on that day and you should without fail present yourself at the polling station with all the voters of your village." The village officers would issue still more stringent orders and drive the voters like cattle to the polling stations! The language of all the orders is needlessly threatening and illegal and beyond the powers of the officials concerned. The officials may do anything with the village officers, but not even God can issue orders directing the voters to go to the polling stations. What, then, of the village officers? It rests on the choice of the voters to vote or not. Nobody has any right to force them to the polling stations. If anybody does so or anyone exercises undue influence, it would be an offence. Even big Sardars are being served with invitations which are in essence summonses. The voters are conscious of their right and they may or may not exercise it. This is the last attempt of the bureaucracy to get somehow a few voters to the polling stations in order to belaud the Montford reforms. But reasonable and self-respecting voters loyal to the Congress and fully trained under Gandhi and Tilak will see through the game of officials and will in no way pay any heed to their threats; and it is trusted that they will behave courageously according to the dictates of their conscience.

Allegation that Government officers are using threats to induce voters to vote at the Council elections.

Kesari (114), 2nd Nov.

*3. "All the voters must be on the *qui vive*. All manner of temptations will be dangled before them to induce them into the polling booth and put in their votes for our Government-inspired Moderate friends. But let them remember that were they to go to the polling stations they will be pursuing the will o' the wisp ultimately leading to National ruin. Refusal to vote r equires no pecuniary sacrifices; it requires only genuine regard for the Nation. Those who, yielding to allurements or for some other reason, go to the polls, will be set down as traitors to their leaders, traitors to their Congress, traitors to their Mother-country. Boycott of Councils is the item of the most immediate interest and importance; if that proves thoroughly successful other items will be carried out with additional vigour."

Exhortation to voters not to be tempted to vote on the 16th November for the Council elections.
Mahratta (8), 7th Nov.

4. After criticising the position taken up by the moderate leaders with regard to the non-co-operation movement the *Loka Bandhu* goes on to support whole-heartedly the programme of Mr. Gandhi. In conclusion it exhorts intending candidates for the Council elections to withdraw their candidatures. It also appeals to the voters not to record their votes for any candidates who persist in standing for the Councils in spite of the Congress resolution.

Loka Bandhu ( ), 31st Oct.

5. The *Lokashâhi* declares that Government are about to resort to repression with a view to suppressing the non-co-operation movement. A glance at the history of the world, it says, would have convinced the bureaucracy that repression has not succeeded anywhere in achieving the desired end. It points to the American war of independence and the recent revolution in Russia and asks Government to draw obvious conclusions from these events. It warns Government that repression of legitimate movements will only make the people still more discontented and drive them ultimately to resort to violence.

Government should not resort to repression to put down the non-co-operation movement.
Lokashâhi (119), 1st Nov.

6. "Repression is a sign of weakness, not of strength. And the policy of repression which Sind officials have pursued and which the Punjáb Government have newly embarked upon, is an indication of the fact that the bureaucracy are no longer in a mood to let non-co-operation go unchecked..... Non-co-operation is not dead; it is a living, growing movement; the heart of the younger generation, of the masses and the great body of the Muslims is in it..... The movement has not 'fizzled out'; it is spreading; and a bureaucracy that believes in force is out now to crush it. Sir Edward Maclagan says frankly in his *communique* that those meetings are exempted which are 'held by or in support of candidates for election to the Legislative Council, the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State.' You are welcome to hold meetings to support candidates for the Councils; but you must not hold meetings to boycott the Councils! Sir Edward Maclagan frankly lends support to the 'co-operators'; 'non-co-operation' must be restrained by the Seditious Meetings Act. What is the plea offered? The Lieutenant.-Governor of the Punjáb says 'speeches given at public meetings in the Punjáb have only too frequently been violent in character and have extended to wider and less intelligent audience'. Let us say at once we are not for violent speeches; such speeches do no service to the Nation..... But if some speakers do indulge in violent speeches, is the government justified in taking away from the people the right of free speech? Sir Edward Maclagan says violent speeches must 'lead at no distant date to outbreaks of violence and disorders.' If at any time a speaker excites race-hatred or causes 'violence and disorder,' is this not the right course—to haul him up before a Court of Law?..... Why apply the Seditious Meetings Act and

Comments on the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to certain parts of Sind.
New Times (9), 30th Oct.; *Gujarât Mitra* (20), 31st Oct., Eng. cols.; *Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra* (32), 31st Oct.

thus encroach on a fundamental right of the people? Why launch a policy of repression, when you can prosecute 'violent' speakers in a court of law? It is easy for an executive officer to regard a free expression of views or public grievances as a 'violent' speech; and it is not easy for many to be self-restrained in criticising the conduct of a government not responsive to national aspirations..... Repression may give greater strength to the movement of non-co-operation; repression will make the rising generation yet more bitter against the bureaucracy; and can any Government cope with the situation if India become a Bigger Ireland? The reason for the action taken, we doubt not very reluctantly and under most pressing circumstances, is given in such clear and explicit language that we hope no sane person would dare stop to question the necessity which drove the Government to resort to the provisions of the law..... It is easy to see marked evidences of the limits transgressed and authority being flouted in some cases openly by these agitators, and claims for peace and orderly Government in the land demanded measures as a precaution for public safety of the large number of the people..... Sir Edward Maclagan has entered on his rule of the province with evidently the confidence and esteem of the people for being a sagacious and humane administrator who wanted the people to consign the past to oblivion and start anew with a clean slate. It must have given his heart a great wrench to be forced to declare the three districts as proclaimed areas under the Act in order to ensure the security of the province, which he thought rightly to be endangered by violence and abuse of the right of public speech." [*Pravasi*, writing in the *Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra*, expresses regret that the Government of a popular ruler like Sir E. Maclagan should have thought fit to apply the Seditious Meetings Act to certain parts of the Punjáb, and further remarks:—No better remedy seems to have occurred to Government. Instead of healing, by means of justice and kindness, the hearts of the people wounded by the heart-breaking and sickening incidents of last year, they have made an onslaught on their right of public speech. It is not in this way that Government can hope to receive that sympathy and co-operation which they expect from the people. At the time of the passing of the Act in 1911 Lord Sinha had said that it would be never applied except when quite necessary. But during the last decade we have seen that no opportunity has been missed to make use of it to crush the liberty of speech of the people. If there was anything which first gave cause for the hostility between Government and the people it is this law, which only a Lord Ripon can annihilate.]

7. Commenting on the application of the Seditious Meetings Act in the Punjáb, Mr. M. K. Gandhi remarks:—"The strong speeches are strong if calling a spade a spade be strong—if a demand for full independence, in case the Government do not repent, be strong. Only this repression need not worry us. It should strengthen our resolve to throw off a yoke which is intended to humiliate us and keep us in perpetual servility. The one indispensable condition of success is that we must not on any account lose our heads in the midst of the repression. We must not retaliate secretly or openly. We must bear the repression meekly and use it to stengthen our resolve to suspend or sever all association with the Government..... I see no gateway to liberty save the doors of His Majesty's prison. And when a single political offender is imprisoned for no fault save an expression of his opinion, we must rejoice in his sufferings. The best way of emptying the gaols of political offenders is to fill them. And the best way to fill them is ceaselessly to go on enforcing non-co-operation and unhesitatingly and unequivocally to demand full *swaraj* with the British connection if possible, and even without it if necessary."

Young India (14), 3rd Nov.

8. *Pravasi* writes in the *Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra*:—Ever since Mr. Montagu declared in Parliament, in reply to a question regarding Mr. Gandhi, that the Government of India possessed all authority to take suitable measures against those persons who interfered with the work of Government, people have been believing that Government are waiting for an opportunity for getting Mr. Gandhi and his associates within their clutches.

Will Government arrest Mr. Gandhi or his associates?

Rást Goftár and Prája Mitra (32), 31st Oct.

Mr. Gandhi also seems to think that Government keep a keen watch over him and would, if possible, check his activities. But in spite it he has not lost heart; he has not hesitated in carrying on his non-co-operation campaign, but has been extending it wider and wider. Moreover, he has gone on condemning the acts of Government; on occasions he has called Government's action "Satanic". Mr. Gandhi knows that he will some day get into the clutches of the authorities; but he regards his work as a religious duty and appears to be prepared to lay down his life for it. It is doubtful whether Government will take any such action. We do not think that so long as the non-co-operationists do not become excited and give rise to rioting, Government will, at the present stage, interfere and issue orders for the arrest of Mr. Gandhi or the Ali Brothers.

Young India (14), 3rd Nov.

9. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"On the top of this comes the suggestion that my activities must not be left unchecked. My activities must result in attainment of *Swaraj* within a short time, and if *Swaraj* must be delayed the people must be debarred from hearing or adopting my views. The Government have the right to take away my liberty so long as in their opinion my activities are harmful. It will undoubtedly be more honourable to deal with me than with my co-workers. They can not distinguish between my activities and that of my co-workers. Both are absolutely peaceful. We are concerned in merely spreading a certain class of opinions which if carried out can never result in a violence. And only a tyrannical government endeavours to supress non-violent propaganda. So long, therefore, as this Government of ours persists in its denial of justice to the Khilafat and the Punjáb, so long must it resort to repression—the only means available to a tyrant when he is thwarted in his purpose."

Comments on the Punjáb Government's *Communiqué* regarding treatment of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan while under trial.

Young India (14), 3rd Nov.

10. Commenting on the *Communiqué* of the Punjáb Government contradicting allegations made by Mr. Gandhi in a public meeting at Láhore to the effect that Mr. Zafar Ali Khan was confined in a small dark cell and given prison food while under trial, Mr. M. K. Gandhi remarks:—"I am glad that the Government have repudiated all the three statements. I could have no desire further to discredit the already discredited Government of the Punjáb by a single exaggerated statement. I know that the causes of India can only suffer by a single wrong statement. At the same time I must be forgiven for looking with suspicion upon al lGovernment contradictions. I have had more than enough experience of such contradictions during the dark days in the Punjáb. The majority of these contradictions were simply lies. I, therefore, ask the reader to reserve his opinion till Maulana Zafar Ali's son has given his explanation. He gave me the information with great deliberation and I have had no reason to doubt the accuracy of his statement. I am in communication with him."

Comments on the movement for the boycott of Government and aided educational institutions.

Gujárati Punch (21), 31st Oct., Eng. cols.

11. "The boycott of educational institutions in this country will, if carried out, result, if at all, in the least possible harm to our Rulers and the greatest harm to ourselves and, we, for one, fail to understand what is sought to be achieved by asking students to 'forego education for higher politics'. No country in the world can even dream of a bright future with its inhabitants rotting in ignorance and we have not yet heard or read of a nation foregoing education to achieve its political ends. In fact we do not know what end can be achieved by it—unless it is the moral, political and economic paralysis of the country. In these circumstances it is bad patriotism to ask the country to forego education on the erroneous assumption that it is inevitable. The education of a nation can very well go on side by side with its political struggles and the lessons of history being in our favour, it is for those who advocate a contrary course to proye that it is not so. Till, however, they do it, the students of India would be serving the best interests of their country by not listening to such suicidal advice. Will those who do not believe in this gospel help them to do it?"

12. The progress of the non-co-operation movement can be gauged from the rapid awakening of the student world. The minds of students have been strongly stirred up and the Moslem students of Aligarh have resorted to complete non-co-operation. Students are easily excited and when once they take a thing into their heads, they try to put it into practice without giving a thought to its consequences. Those who advocate non-co-operation have taken a great responsibility upon themselves. They should, therefore, devise means to keep the minds of the students occupied. We hope the schemes for national schools and colleges will not be kept long in abeyance. Care should also be taken to make education cheap and easy and to provide for industrial education for boys and domestic education for girls. But what is the present situation? Spinning wheels are still being tested in Mr. Gandhi's *Ashram* and people are asked not to requisition for more spinning wheels as the stock has been exhausted! We give due credit for what has so far been accomplished but would like to point out that slow progress in practical matters is not desirable when non-co-operation is being so strongly preached. [The *Káthiáwár Times* writes :—It is to be regretted that Káthiáwár is still quiet in the matter of national education when the movement is being enthusiastially supported in most of the provinces of India. The people of Káthiáwár are backward in matters political but they should take care to see that they are not left behind in the matter of national education. India has realised the need of national education long since and so the people of Káthiáwár should take up the movement in right earnest lest they be blamed for keeping the future generations in a backward state. Our first and second class Native States have full authority vested in them in the matter of giving education to their subjects and so they can very easily introduce national education in their schools. There are many private schools in Káthiáwár and they should impart national education and get themselves affiliated to the National University of Gujarát. We fail to understand the indifference shown by proprietors of private institutions in this respect.]

Non-co-operation in education.

Baroda Vartamán (60), 1st Nov.; *Káthiáwár Times* (28), 3rd Nov.

13. Some effete people among us are labouring under the false impression that if their sons are withdrawn from Government or aided schools and colleges, they would be utter losers in life and the country would be ruined. But the fact is that if private schools giving ordinary practical education are made available to our boys, about 95 p. c. of them will be able to do without the education imparted in Government and aided schools. Experience will hereafter show that the country will not be ruined if all the present colleges are emptied. The question before the young generation in the Maharashtra is whether they are only going to applaud what students elsewhere have done or they themselves are going to act. They can see how restless the authorities have become owing to the emptying of the Aligarh College. If the non-co-operation movement spreads in this manner, and if the Government educational institutions remain empty only for six months, the eyes of the insolent Moderates and bureaucrats will be opened. The people of Maharashtra should, instead of conducting themelves like imbeciles, achieve something 'that would evoke the approval of Mr. Gandhi.'

Students in Maharashtra should follow the example set at Aligarh and other places.

Rájakáran (129), 31st Oct.

14. It cannot be denied that Mr. Gandhi now sincerely believes that non-co-operation on the part of students at this time is indispensable. It is not our intention to dilate here on the harm to education which will result from such a propaganda. One plea put forward by these leaders for boycotting the Government and Government-aided schools and colleges is, that the kind of education imparted therein is utterly useless and is only calculated to sow the seed of slavery in the students. We admit that there are many drawbacks in the present English system of education, but it cannot at the same time be denied that even that kind of education, notwithstanding its drawbacks, has produced several men of learning who are an

Condemnation of the action of Mr. Gandhi and his supporters in inviting students to boycott schools and colleges.

Sind Vási (158), 19th Oct.

ornament to this country. It is a pity that these very men are now opposing tooth and nail the system which it never occurred to them to oppose before the scheme of non-co-operation came into existence. It is rather surprising to see them opposing the education system also on this ground that it is dependent on the charity of Government grants. They would condemn it as long as it is supported by Government grants, but would not object to it or consider it as sowing the seed of slavery, if the same kind of education were to be carried on in the Aligarh College and School by means of public donations. If they really do think that salvation of the people lies in their renouncing the bounty of education received at the hands of a "perverted" British or Indian Government, we fail to see why they should allow themselves to retain other bounties of lesser or greater importance than that of education, *viz.*, Telegraphs, Post, Railways, etc. Why should they boycott only education, for the development and extension of which our leaders have all along been pressing Government so hard? It is indeed regrettable to find that some of the leaders are now advising people to relinquish that which they have got from Government after many years' hard labour. If their attempts were directed to influence the parents alone in this direction, there would not be any serious objection to it. But Mahatma Gandhi and some Mussalman leaders have actually gone so far as to directly induce the students of the Aligarh College and School to boycott the institutions, which is a very serious thing. It is feared that their energies will now be directed to other parts of the country. This movement is bound to have baneful effect on the morals of students. So far as we know the parents of students in this province are averse to the idea of boycott of schools and colleges. If the movement spreads here the parents will not countenance it, but nevertheless some students will be found to go astray.

15. The *Political Bhomiyó* dwells at length upon Mr. Gandhi's activities and refers to his campaign against schools and Colleges as follows:—Mr. Gandhi has taken up many things in hand nowadays and it is believed that his aim is entirely pure and honest. We, for ourselves, do not mean to say, nor do we believe, that all that he is doing is wrong. Far from that, we observe that a good many of his achievements has been beneficial to all concerned, but some of his undertakings are such that they are bound to prove injurious in their consequences. With all our pride for what he has done and with all respect for him, we must say that his campaign against education, which is the genesis of all that is beneficial, is totally misdivided. The bulk of the Muhammadan population was till lately illiterate and ignorant; the British Government has been doing their best to improve this state of affairs and Muhammadans have only just begun to take education. The prosperity of the Muhammadans depends more upon education than upon anything else. We would warn our Muhammedan brethren that the campaign against education is the most ruinous of all Mr. Gandhi's activities, and we would advise them to refrain from the movement.

Political Bhomiyo (74), 29th Oct.

16. May God have mercy as there are bad omens for the country. Unfortunate Bharat has probably to go through the trials of a malignant fire. Every patriotic citizen will be aggrieved to hear evil news about the Aligarh College and Gandhi's hand in them. The Government's attitude on the one hand and the disunited opinion among the trustees on the other are creating a serious situation. Bad results are bound to result from such a movement. It is feared that the movement might grow to such proportions that the trustees might have to call in the aid of Police to suppress it. We would request Mahatma Gandhi to confine his activities in this direction to the parents and guardians and not to bring his influence to bear upon the students in a direct manner. Would to God, the rumours about the internment of the leaders of the country would prove to be false! Our advice to Government is not to touch Mahatma Gandhi and thus invite ruin to itself by its own hands. So long the movement is carried on in a quiet and peaceful manner it is neither proper nor prudent to lay hands on any non-co-operationist. Even if the movement leads to some excesses Government ought not to abandon its

Bharat Vasi (152), 26th Oct.

ordinary laws and law courts and have recourse to executive internment orders with a view to suppress such excesses. The internment of the leaders at this time is sure to raise a conflagration in India which it will not be easy for Government to extinguish.

Parents and guardians should proceed legally against Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers for inciting students to non-co-operation.

Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 31st Oct.

17. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* blames Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers for causing the uproar in the Aligarh College by inciting the students to non-co-operation and remarks:—Messrs. Gandhi and Company have now come to Bombay to stir up the students here. It is a well-recognised principle that a student, even though he may have become of age, is under the control of the father or guardian so long he continues to receive education at the expense of the parent or guardian, and that if any outsider tries to incite him to an illegal step contrary to the wishes of the parent or guardian, he can be brought within the clutches of the law. Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers have begun their campaign of inciting the students of the schools in Bombay to non-co-operation against Government, and if the father or guardian of any of these students led astray by them were to make a test case by dragging them to court, it would lead to much good and save many a student from ruin. It is quite proper that stringent measures should be taken to prevent such persons from inciting young and innocent students to wrong courses.

Can Indians celebrate the Diwali under British rule?

Navjivan (72), 31st Oct.

18. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—It is no exaggeration to say that, in this *Kaliyuga*, we have no right to celebrate the Diwali festival. To celebrate the Diwali would mean we are enjoying *Ramrajya*. Is there *Ramrajya* in India to-day? How can the subjects of a ruler, who is not prepared to listen to what his subjects have to say, whose subjects have no milk to drink, no clothes to wear, who slays his subjects without fault, who trades in liquor, opium and *Ganja*, who pains the minds of Musalmans by eating the flesh of the pig and the minds of Hindus by eating the flesh of the cow, who has brought Islam into danger, who gambles on horse-racing—how can the subjects of such a ruler celebrate the Diwali? Nobody should be under the impression that there is exaggeration in this description. If I am doing the slightest injustice to Englishmen, I am prepared to have my mistake explained to me, and if convinced I shall think it my duty to apologise. Even on the application of the lowest standard, British rule has become lowered in my estimation. All the love I had for that rule has been destroyed. I have the greatest respect for the valour of the English people; their capacity for united action and their power of initiation are excellent; some portions of their literature are praiseworthy; and by reading their Bible I can experience satisfaction of soul. But their tendencies towards self-interest hide their virtues. By these tendencies of theirs only harm has been done to India. India has become ruined and unmanly. It is my firm belief that the unmanliness that prevails to-day did not exist under the Moghul rule or at any other time in India. And this unmanliness has not come of itself, but has been created of set purpose. For this reason, I look upon this rule as *Ravanrajya*. The rule that we want I call *Ramrajya*. *Swarájya* can be such *Ramrajya*. How can such rule be established? [Then follows a list of the ways in which such rule can be established and it is practically a repetition of the non-co-operation programme, with the addition that people should go in for hand-loom weaving and use only hand-woven cloth made out of hand-spun yarn. Mr. Gandhi also advises the people to contribute the savings effected by not celebrating the Diwali to the funds raised in aid of the non-co-operation movement.]

The non-co-operation movement.

Gujarâti (19), 31st Oct.

19. How is it that Mr. Gandhi has been able to shake the whole of India? Those people only who are on the side of Mr. Gandhi can be said to be patriots and can possess courage and liberality. We do not mean to say that there are none besides Mr. Gandhi who can

think for themselves. It must he admitted that Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation has obtained a strong hold over the hearts of the people. This goes to show that faith and inspiration can achieve more far-reaching results than mere subtle arguments. If anyone can be said to have helped Mr. Gandhi in his hold over the people it is Government officials. Mr. Gandhi is so very popular because he has the courage of his convictions and openly points out the faults of the administration. Mr. Gandhi's power cannot be broken with the aid of the sage advice given by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and Sir Dinshaw Watcha or by the aid of armed police as was attempted by the District Magistrate at a public meeting at Broach. Mr. Gandhi's power can be destroyed by resorting to *Satyagraha* alone. The potency of Mr. Gandhi can be gauged from the fact that the Sikhs who form the flower of the British army in India have at a recent meeting held at Amritsar resolved not to enlist themselves for service in Mesopotamia. Giving up of military service is the last stage in Mr. Gandhi's programme, but the decision of the Sikhs referred to above goes to show that the non-co-operation movement has advanced to the final stage. Mr. Gandhi keeps nothing in the dark. He has openly declared that the present Government is a sinful and unjust Government and that the political disease from which India is suffering cannot be cured without paralysing that Government. In trying to achieve his end Mr. Gandhi has no hesitation in going to the length of severing the British connection. What should people do? Should they continue to suffer wrongs or should they sacrifice their present advantages with a view to getting those wrongs redressed? Who can say that the present is not the time for fighting for justice? For what greater injustice can we put forth a fight? Can Watcha or Chandavarkar say that Mr. Gandhi's statements are wrong? Can any one say that no injustice or insult of a serious nature has been done to India? No one has been able to offer successful opposition to Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement. His speech is doing the work of the sword. His selflessness has embarassed Government officials. His zeal and courage are his only shields. His open and above-board policy is his armour. A knight thus armed has come forward on behalf of the people. It is, therefore, the duty of the people to give continuous support to Mr. Gandhi and to keep their own feelings in check. The bureaucracy is evidently riding for a fall in trying to oppose a hero of the type of Mr. Gandhi. [Elsewhere the paper deprecates the attempts that are being made in various directions to break down the non-co-operation movement and blames the District Magistrate of Broach for having served a notice on avowed followers of non-co-operation not to make speeches within and round about the Town Hall of Broach when a speech in favour of co-operation was to be delivered and for keeping a party of armed policemen near the Town Hall at the time of the lecture.]

20. Mr. Trimbaklal S. Trivedi writes to the *Praja Bandhu*:—At present there are only two ways open to us. We should either continue to be slaves and bear the oppression and insult of the bureaucracy or achieve independence somehow or other. We can no longer remain as slaves and we must, therefore, take to the path of complete *swarájya* chalked out for us. Complete *swarájya* can be acquired in two ways: by brute force and by non-co-operation. We are not in a position to use brute force: Government have already deprived us of that force and, besides, it would reflect discredit upon our ancient civilisation to have recourse to it. The only way that we can adopt is, therefore, that of non-co-operation. Our share of slavery and public ridicule will not come to an end as long as we do not take all the responsibilities of Government into our own hands by resorting to complete non-co-operation. [The *Deshi Mitra* writes:—The non-co-operation movement is gaining strength day by day under the able leadership of Mr. Gandhi. Non-co-operation has become almost successful and those who are opposed to it should, therefore, hold their own tongues instead of making speeches that insult public opinion and bring ridicule upon themselves. People have now been convinced of the righteousness of non-co-operation and it is no use dissuading them from the path they

Praja Bandhu (30), 31st Oct.; *Deshi Mitra* (65), 4th Nov.; *Gujarát Mitra* (20), 31st Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 1st Nov.

have chosen for themselves. The incident that recently happened when a speech on co-operation was to have been delivered at Broach goes to show the futility of the attempts of the people who are opposed to non-co-operation and who mean to gain the favour of Government by flattery. The *Gujarát Mitra* on the other hand writes:—Political independence in India, as in other countries, can be achieved by a gradual process only. We, therefore, want practical politicians like Mr. Tilak. The success of the non-co-operation movement is solely dependent upon the single personality of Mr. Gandhi. Even such persons as Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali had to be won over by Mr. Gandhi to become his followers in non-co-operation. Public opinion has not yet been educated in favour of non-co-operation and the movement cannot, therefore, be called a popular one. The manner in which the constitution of the Home Rule League has been altered gives us an indication of the way the country will be administered under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. Parents and guardians of young students should take a warning from the inflammatory speech recently delivered by Mr. Gandhi at the Marwadi Vidyalaya in Bombay. They should organise themselves and convince young men of the harmfulness of the non-co-operation movement, as is being done by the Government College League of Order in the Punjáb. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the threats that are advanced to the Parsis to join the non-co-operation movement lest they might have to repent on the movement becoming successful and expresses confidence that the Parsis will remain firm against the activities of non-co-operationists and thereby prove that they are not wanting in political ardour and practical commonsense.]

21. Love for the democratic form of Government is the direct result of western education and British rule in India. Had, however, there been no marked alteration in the changed angle of vision of British statesmen after the war, the story of India's progress would have been differently written. Perhaps it was a Divine dispensation that the course of India's political progress should not run smooth and accordingly the bureaucracy changed their attitude towards the political aspirations of India and the hopes India had pitched so high came to naught. The wounds caused by the passing of the Rowlatt and Indemnity Acts were still fresh in the heart of India when the pledges given by Britain in the matter of the Khilafat were violated and the Report of the Hunter Committee gave the final blow to the hopes entertained by India in the matter of securing justice in the Punjáb affairs. All these causes have tended to make Indians lose faith in Britain and to make up their minds to resort to the means that were available to them to effect their political salvation. There might be honest difference of opinion in the matter of the programme of non-co-operation but it is not possible for the British to blame India for resorting to such an extreme measure as non-co-operation. India has lost faith in Britain and will no longer look up to her for helping her on the path of progress. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that India should make up her mind to remove her own wrongs herself instead of depending upon Britain for help. No country ever secured salvation with the help of another nation. There is, therefore, only one way open to India to end her troubles, and that is *Swarajya*. India cannot be happy as long as she does not get *Swarajya*. All minor political changes are of no avail without *Swarajya*. In the present circumstances it is the chief duty of India to secure *Swarajya*.

Gujaráti Punch (21), 31st Oct.

22. "Mr. Jinnah has now come out with the opinion that Mr. Gandhi's methods must lead to disaster, and yet he declared at the Congress that non-co-operation was the only method now open to India. The only inference one could draw from his support of Mr. Pal's amendment was that he approved the principle of Mr. Gandhi's proposal and wanted a short respite of some three or four months in which to prepare to carry it out in practice. Indeed, some of Mr. Jinnah's followers said so in open Congress. If Mr. Gandhi's activities should now lead to disaster, as Mr. Jinnah apprehends they will do, the moral responsibility for the consequences partly rests on those who, being

Mr. Jinnah and the non-co-operation movement.

Servant of India (10), 4th Nov.

really opposed to non-co-operation out and out, created impression that they were prepared actively to support it to a certain extent."

England will not grant *swarájya* to India voluntarily.
Lokasangraha (117), 31st Oct.

23. In the course of an article attacking the Moderates for advocating co-operation with Government, the *Lokasangraha* writes :—After co-operating with Government for about a century and a half we are subjected to terrible wrongs, the English spit at our faces, make us crawl on our bellies, massacre us, and then shamelessly tell us that if we continue to co-operate with them we would be given *swarájya* at some future date! How can people accept their word? India is under foreign domination and these foreigners will never give us *swarájya* of their own accord. We must compel them to give it to us.

Comments on the proceedings of the All-India Trade Union Congress.
Mahrátta (8), 7th Nov.

***24.** "The first Trade Union Congress has had the success that it full well merited and that was wished it by all advocates of the cause of labour..... On the whole, the occasion was unique in the history of India in so far as it witnesses to the great and profound awakening in the Labour world and also to the deep and heart-felt sympathy which political leaders are coming to feel for the teeming labourers of India..... The field of work before the new institution newly brought into being, is indeed vast both from the parochial standpoint of the class and the larger point of view of the nation as a whole. Both the tasks are essential, nay more, even imperative. In fact, they hang together if properly and wisely accomplished. Labour leaders will have to guard against class-consciousness gulping down national consciousness and labourers will have to see that they do not fall on the ground between the two stools..... The address delivered by Mr. Baptista, Chairman of the Reception Committee, was wontedly short, sweet and fitting..... The address of the President, too, was equally thoughtful, inspiring and patriotic. It is but natural that it should appear as 'highly coloured' to the *Times of India*. The sympathy of our learned Anglo-Indian contemporary for labour in India is not at all an unknown quantity now..... It is not putting the cart before the horse, as our contemporary thinks, but it is giving the requisite lead for the formation of more Trade Unions. It is only the part of wisdom to begin building when a workable basis has been firmly and irrevocably laid. Again, the *Times* censures Lala Lajpat Rai for vehemently denouncing Capitalism without suggesting any other alternative..... The picture painted by the President is not at all deeply dyed. Can any one deny that India has suffered and is suffering from these evils combined more heavily than any other country in the world? It is not at all very difficult to find the alternative. Plainly it is democracy, political as well as economic. Whatever unsympathetic critics night say, the movement is of great importance."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 1st Nov.; *Hindusthán* (23), 1st Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 2nd Nov.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 2nd and 3rd Nov.; *Káiser-i-Hind* (26), 7th Nov.

25. *Apropos* the first sessions of the All-India Trade Union Congress held in Bombay, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—The public in general know so little as to what are the rights of the labouring classes, what is their position in society, how very low is their standard of living, that there are great doubts as to whether their present struggle will be successful. Again, fears are entertained that if the increase in wages which they demand is granted to them, the cost of living will go higher than now and matters will, in no way, improve. There are those who are so terrified that they smell Bolshevism in the present movement of the labouring classes. To these we would recommend a perusal of the presidential address of Lala Lajpatrai at yesterday's sitting of the All-India Trade Union Congress. In the present movement of the labouring classes, there is nothing like an encroachment on the rights and privileges of the capitalists. The labouring classes of India are illiterate and they have taken a long time to wake up. It is only recently that their Unions have begun to come into existence. It is necessary that these Unions should go on increasing, and that

they should be supported by funds. These funds should be made up by monthly contributions from the wages of every operative so that the funds may prove useful to them in time of need. We wish every success to the movement of trade unionism. [The *Hindusthán* congratulates the leaders of the movement and endorses Lala Lajpatrai's views on the subject of ameliorating the condition of labouring classes of India. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* dwells at length upon the present condition of the labouring classes and adds that the movement of trade-unionism is a step towards the attainment of economic independence and concludes by pointing out to the capitalists that their interests will be best guarded by joining the movement in a spirit of sympathy and making it a success and not by remaining aloof. While approving of the movement, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* invites labour leaders and the authorities to recognise the usefulness oi trade-unions and concludes by calling upon them to properly guide the movement, pointing out that by so doing they will save the labouring classes from being captured by extremist politicians. In a subsequent issue, the paper refers to the message sent by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to the Congress and congratulates him on his expression of sympathy for the Congress. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—"The object of the Congress was to educate the public, especially workmen, regarding the necessity and importance of trade unions, but, strange to say, trade unionism was the subject least discussed in the Congress. The Chairman of the Reception Committee made thundering long speeches containing little or no information about trade unions. Quite a string of other topics which had nothing at all to do with trade unions were discussed, but the matter in hand was dealt with very vaguely. Colonel Wedgwood was the only speaker who spoke to the point."]

26. The *Lokasangraha* says that India was first dazzled by the British and that it adopted their manners and customs but that after a time the black thing below the white skin having begun to be perceived, now the whole situation is changed. It adds :—Within half a century, from the summit of full trust, Indians have been thrown into the terrible valley of utter mistrust! Moreover, the British rulers have left India without any spirit in it. It was necessary to find a way out. Indian Labour is adopting the ways of British Labour and it cannot but be successful. Lala Lajpat Rai is their leader and a self-sacrificing and intelligent man like Mr. Baptista is at their back. All-India is working at them with a loving eye and it is trusted that they will easily win success in their difficult task by God's grace.

Lokasangraha (117), 2nd Nov.

27. In the course of its comments on Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai's address as President of the All-India Trade Union Congress the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"It was a tactful speech, so far as Indian feelings are concerned, and it had to be, for the great Indian patriot was spreading forth a movement in which 'Moderates' and 'Extremists', 'co-operators' and 'non-co-operators' can surely work together, and, we hope, will do so. He was therefore wise to dwell upon the International rather than the Nationalist aspect of that movement, thus avoiding well known differences. But the Nationalist aspect of the movement, its immense importance in the present phase of Indian development must have been present in the minds of many of his hearers."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Nov.

*28. "Last week we expressed our doubt as to the propriety of selecting Lala Lajpatrai for the presidentship of the All-India Trade Union Congress, and his presidential speech shows that our doubts were more than justified. As an outsider, who was neither an employer of labour nor a workman, he was expected to take an impartial view of the relations between capital and labour, especially in the light of his knowledge of the position of affairs in Japan, America and England, and address his exhortation to both in a truly dispassionate spirit. That expectation has not been fulfilled. His speech shows that he is more of an ardent politician than of a thoughtful economist.....

Gujaráti (19), 7th Nov., Eng. cols.

We expected Lala Lajpatrai to take a balanced view of the duties and responsibilities of capital and labour. But whilst dwelling on the sins of the former he failed to point out to the Congress that labour in India is unsteady and unreliable, inefficient and wasteful and what should be done to remove those defects. Grossly irregular attendance, absenteeism and inefficiency are the great stumbling blocks in the improvement of their prospects..... Government and public bodies, capitalists and the public generally are bound to co-operate with one another in bringing about the uplift of labour. But it is no use taking a one-sided view of the sins of capital and ignoring the defects of labour. A goodly portion of Lala Lajpat Rai's speech would have been appropriate enough from the Congress platform. We should have liked him instead to examine the conditions of some prominent industry like the cotton industry, find out the evils and abuses associated with it and bring them home to the mill-owners and mill-hands. There is no question of greater importance to labour than the housing problem and Lala Lajpat Rai ought to have told them how it is being solved in Japan, the United States and Europe. But he had hardly anything important to say on this question of questions. As a politician he has spoken most effectively on the extravagance and other sins of our Government. But that is no new discovery. The Indian National Congress has been proclaiming them to the world for more than thirty years. The tale of the atrocities in the Punjáb was not relevant to the occasion, and his unfortunate lapse into politics on Monday last in moving the resolution from the chair, extending fraternal greetings to Colonel Wedgwood who had attended the Congress as the fraternal delegate from the British Labour Party, drew from the latter a gentle reprimand..... We are sorry the Congress, as it was organised and conducted, was made to look somewhat like a party affair..... Labour needs the cordial co-operation of all and their Congress ought not to degenerate into a party hostile to capital or wedded to a particular school of political dogma. Barring these defects to which we have referred in the very interests of the Congress, and differences of opinion on some other points, we are glad that its proceedings were, on the whole, a success."

29. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* protests against the attitude adopted by the various authorities towards the strike situation in Bombay and the hardships caused to the public on account of the strikes and proceeds:—The public in general have begun to be harassed by the continuation of the postmen's and other strikes in Bombay. The heads of the departments continue to draw princely salaries with ease and with having little work to do. They have nothing to lose, and are, therefore, careless about coming to an understanding with the workmen. They quietly tell the public that it is their duty to continue to suffer hardships and loss as long as the workmen do not return to work unconditionally. Why should the public suffer on account of their incapacity or unfitness? The princely salaries which they draw are given to them from the public funds, and what sort of justice is it that they should continue to do so even when they cannot be of service to the people? The fact that the responsible authorities of the public institutions whose workmen have gone on strike have failed to obtain recruits in spite of their wide influence and help from the higher authorities proves that they have not succeeded in showing that the claims of their employees are unjustifiable. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* protests against the help given by the merchant classes to the strikers and proceeds:—The merchants convened a public meeting and sent a telegram to the Viceroy complaining against the strike situation. The question which naturally arises is this. What part have the merchants played in connection with the situation? How many times did they go to the *maidan* and try to put the the workmen on the right track? Was the strike involving such a loss justifiable? Even at this late hour, instead of doing the proper thing, they threaten Government. They directly or indirectly encourage the strikers by liberally subscribing to the funds raised for keeping up the strike, and thereby create feelings of shamelessness, indolence and insolence in the workmen. Their attitude is, indeed, a disappointing one. The *Gujarátí* remarks that

The Bombay Strikes.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 3rd Nov.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 3rd Nov.; *Gujarátí* (19), 31st Oct.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 31st Oct.

the leaders of the strikers are men who have no regular profession and are, therefore, the least affected by the strikes. The paper is of the opinion that the wages now given to the various classes of workmen are quite sufficient and that their demands are totally unjustifiable. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks that the resorting to violence by some of the strikers shows that the non-co-operation movement is responsible for the strikes and that Mr. Gandhi who was then in Bombay would do well to see to it.]

30. The *Dnyán Prakásh* calls attention to the great losses suffered by the people, and specially by the mercantile classes, on account of the Postal strike, and says that the arrangements made by Government are not temporary and that all the efforts of Government cannot replace the experienced postmen. It further remarks that people have patiently suffered for a long time; but if the strike continues their patience might be sorely tried. It holds that it is not statesmanship to add to the already prevailing discontent and that it is necessary to take into consideration the present situation. The very fact that the postal strikers have maintained the strike so long without committing any disturbance, it continues, shows that their demands are worth serious consideration. It refers to other strikes in Bombay and adds:—People have needlessly to suffer while the conflict of masters and men goes on. The attitude of Government is one of indifference. Would the British Government have remained quiet with folded hands, if these strikes had taken place in England? During the recent coal strike the British Government was not a silent spectator of the show like our Local Government. Nay, it discussed the situation day and night with the strikers and found out a way for compromise. As soon as a strike is declared, the British Government considers it its duty not to allow the situation to develop seriously and tries to apply the brake. Why is there so much indifference in India alone?

Dnyán Prakásh (42), 5th Nov.

31. It is published that Government have permitted the export of four lakh tons of wheat from the Karáchi harbour and that all the balance of rice existing in the country has been exported. The excessive export of foodstuffs is the chief cause of the high prices, though India produces many times more foodstuffs than it needs. India helped the British Empire during the war and it was bled white. The Imperial Government starve their own subjects and supply foodstuffs exported out of India to their Allies and earn a good name and fatten themselves by making crores of profit. How long will Indians suffer this starvation? It is remembered still what terrible riots took place in Russia and how Petrograd was given up to massacre and loot for many days because of starvation. Do Government desire that the same conditions should prevail in India? Attempts are being made in Bombay to stop the export of foodstuffs from Bombay by labourers refusing to load the ships. But it will be found on consideration that excessive assessment is the reason why rayats in the first place sell their corn to foreign Companies. The masses have come to know now the root cause of their disease of starvation. In these circumatances, everyone would feel that the time is coming nearer when the rayats should adopt the last weapon in the non-co-operation campaign of non-payment of taxes in order to destroy the disease completely.

Protest against the export of wheat.

Lokasangraha (117), 2nd Nov.

32. A correspondent from Ahmednagar writes:—When Government issued the war loan, they were passing through difficult times and people helped Government then either because they were oppressed or because they were apparently willing but really compelled to give the help. Government have given a written promise that as soon as the time-limit is over, the war bonds would be cashed. The period expired on 14th August 1920 and on the next day some people presented themselves before the Treasury Officer and demanded payment. But they were told that statements of interest due were not received and that,

Amounts of war-bonds are not being paid though overdue.

Kesari (114), 2nd Nov.

therefore, the money could not be paid. The Bombay officials were thereupon requested to furnish the statements of interest, but after a great delay they said that the matter should be referred to Calcutta; but Calcutta referred the matter to Bombay. The Bombay people wrote that the statements were sent to the District Treasury office. So the Treasury Officer was written to, but there is no reply! A month ago a reminder was sent, but still there is no reply! Though the period expired two months ago, there is no money and no reply. Again, a notice has been sent that no interest would be paid after 14th August 1920. Is this justice or oppression or what? It is well known how mamlatdars and others oppressed the people while collecting the war-loan and now there is this delay. How are the people to believe in Government promises? It appears that Government officials would not come to their senses unless they are served with notices and unless steps are taken to file suits against Government.

Complaint about official *zulum* in the Dhanduka Taluka, district Ahmedabad.
Deshi Mitra (65), 28th Oct.

33. One Nandlal Manilal Shah, writing to the *Deshi Mitra*, finds fault with the system which permits superior Government officers to have their wants and requirements satisfied free of cost while touring. He points out that the fault is not that of the officers but of the system and that the customariness of such exactions has blunted their moral sense. If, he continues, the big officials thus loot the people in broad daylight, how great must be the exactions of the small officials? As an instance he refers to the representations made to the Sargavala Mahajan by two shepherds Sura Rada and Natha Bijal of village Nagadka in the Dhanduka Taluka wherein they complained that two excise peons Bhikha Gala and Nathu Jehangir (Nos. 54 and 55) carried away four of their sheep while grazing and threatened to pound all their cattle in case they complained against them. The Mahajan, he observes, is afraid of these peons who are empowered to pound stray cattle. As the writer considers it practically impossible to get redress in such matters from Government, he exhorts the villagers and the Mahajan concerned to take the law into their own hands and to stop all social communication and intercourse with such Government servants, to refuse to give them any food or drink, and to obtain such justice themselves as may be denied by Government.

Reflections on the Dussera festival.
Hindu (153), 22nd Oct.

34. Welcome Dussera! Thou art welcome!! With distressed hearts how can we greet thee in a befitting manner? Ah! in the country in which children have to long for a morsel of bread, where mothers have not got enough milk in their breasts to suckle their darlings, where famine and epidemics have made a permanent home, where people have not enough clothes to cover their bodies, where maidens have to remain within doors with nude bodies to preserve their sense of modesty, where all round there is distress and nothing else—tell us, under such distressing circumstances, how can we offer Dussera a warm welcome? There is mourning in India today. During mourning, what welcome can we accord to thee and in what language can we relate to thee the tale of our woe? The truth is that certain words come up to our mouths but they are choked within and cannot find utterance because our hearts are heavy with deep distress. India on this day achieved 'victory'. But those times are gone. Those were times of our triumph. Those good old days of India are gone now. Where is victory for us today when we are utterly emasculated and enslaved? Dussera! we feel no joy of a triumph at thy coming? When India had sons like Ramchandra, brothers like Lakshman and Bharat, and wives like Sita, India secured victory on a Dussera day. But what is the situation today? O unhappy India! there was once a day of thy triumph, when the sight of the suffering of mother Sita stirred up courage even in apes. Even trees, plants, animals and birds rose in revolt to fight for the truth. But today Sita (*i. e.*, Luxhami = wealth) is day by day being exploited and sufferings are innumerable and yet we dare not even move our lips. We are at loggerheads, brothers against brothers, and effecting, by such mutual contests, the ruin of India. Brethren! just reflect. On this Dussera day, long, long ago,

Shri Ramchandra had chopped off the ten heads of Ravana and emancipated India. This day was the monster done to death who had oppressed India. Shri Ramchandra effected liberation of the country by collecting round himself men who were very weak and monkey-like at a time when Ravana was ruthlessly oppressing the people on the strength of his armies and brute force. True it is, that weak people had filled the rank and file of Ramchandra's force, but they they had one virtue, *viz.*, that they were united and that unity encompassed the death of Ravana. Today, too, we have troubles around us. Famine, epidemics and other sufferings of various kinds are working havoc among us. When we gird up our loins to remove foreign exploitation, currency muddle overtakes us. When we tried our level best to get the Rowlatt Bill annulled, the Martail law was promulgated against us. What course should we adopt? We are in despair. Many of us feel that it is hopeles now for India to rise again. Indeed, the conditions are extremely ruinous. At such a time of despair we are reminded of Bhibhikshana's advice to Ramchandra. Ramchandra followed the counsel and Ravana was killed. Now, too, in the face of similar circumstances Gandhi Maharaj and other leaders have been counselling us not to give way te despair but act up to the advice of Bhibhikshana. Be united. Do you work with the combined force of Hindu-Muslim unity. You will then see how your sufferings and miseries disappear, how your country advances and how famines and pestilences cease to exist.

Death of the Lord Mayor of Cork.
Lokashdhi (119), 1st Nov.

35. At last the Lord Mayor of Cork fell a victim to the fiendish obduracy of the British Cabinet. He tried to earn *swarajya* for his country and for this heinous crime he had to rot in jail! This shows that in the eyes of the British Cabinet it is an unpardonable sin to struggle for the freedom of one's own country. What other crime had the Lord Mayor committed! He was not guilty of moral turpitude; why should then a great man like him be sent to jail? He was sent to jail because he adhered to the lofty principles of liberty. In defence of these very principles he fasted in jail for about a month and a quarter (*sic*). The Lord Mayor met with his fate at the hands of the very British Government who talked of the high principles of self-determination; and O, India, thou too hast to fight for thy freedom with the same Government! Wilt thou not learn from the example of this great Irish patriot how to suffer for the cause of thy freedom?

Comments on the change in the constitution of the Swaraj Sabha.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Nov.

36. Referring to the change in the constitution and object of the Swaraj Sabha the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"Coming to the question of British connection, we think the objection raised in regard to the omission of any direct reference to it in the new constitution has only an academic importance and has been effectively disposed of by Mr. Gandhi's explanation that the interpretative clause 3 of article 2 has been purposely introduced to keep the Swaraj Sabha strictly loyal to the Congress creed and its affiliation to the Congress pure and above board. Now, on this matter it is necessary to speak out frankly. It is time our loyalty to the British connection was taken for granted, and the Indian people not expected to proclaim it from the housetops; else it would be a loyalty dishonouring to India as well as to England. It is true the Congress expressly mentions British connection. But the creed of the Congress is not like the laws of the Medes and the Persians—final and unalterable. It can be altered by the Congress; and if the time ever came when the people of India demanded separation from the the British Empire, the imposition of British connection would clearly violate the principle of self-determination which, we are told, has been vindicated for all time by the Great War. We are convinced that if such a demand were made by the bulk of the Indian people, it would be a calamity not to India or to England but to the cause of humanity. For it would only mean this—that the English people were determined to keep India for their own benefit and thus to drive the Indian people to the necessity of severing connection with the British Empire—for it would not, in the circumstances contemplated,

be a Commonwealth—and destroy the hope of a federation of free peoples of the earth..... We have not the least doubt that the bulk of the Indian people have no wish to sever the connection with Britain. This, we believe, is also Mr. Gandhi's position when he says that he is not opposed to British connection by itself, but does not wish to make a fetish of it. And he means the same thing when he says that he is anxious to keep unadulterated Swaraj constantly before the country as an ideal to be worked for. Unadulterated Swaraj, we take it, means, not, as Mr. Jinnah suggests, complete severance of India from the British Commonwealth—for Mr. Gandhi does not say so—but that India should remain an equal member of the British Commonwealth so long as the people of India feel that it is not dishonouring for them to maintain that connection. And this is exactly what Mr. Jinnah himself means when he emphatically repudiates the suggestion that he and his co-signatories make a fetish of British connection and would be a party to keeping India not a single moment in slavery for the sake of the British connection. We do not think, therefore, that in this respect the difference between them and Mr. Gandhi is vital and fundamental..... It is, therefore, that we think Mr. Jinnah and his co-signatories have taken an unduly alarmistic view of the change in the constitution of the Sabha."

37. "The proceedings at the general meeting of the Swaraj Sabha, when the resignation of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and their co-signatories was accepted, are worthy of an assembly and a movement the object of which is to give to the world an example of Indian self-government..... To have refused a vote of thanks to Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues would have been to deny their honesty of purpose and their patriotism, and that, as we consider, would have a been great injustice. The opposition to the vote of thanks, however small, shows that there are still some members who do not yet perceive the greatness of their task and its responsibility. The Swaraj Sabha and the non-co-operation movement are in fact much greater than even the majority among us as yet realise..... If the Swaraj Sabha can provide the world with the example of Indians managing their own affairs with perfect dignity and perfect order, dealing in perfect justice alike with partisans and with opponents, they will have broken once for all the bondage not of India alone but of the whole subject East."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Nov.

38. In the course of an article on the new draft of the Congress constitution, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—" In my opinion the altered creed represents the exact feeling of the country at the present moment. I know that the proposed alteration has been subjected to hostile criticism in several newspapers of note. But the extraordinary situation that faces the country is that popular opinion is far in advance of several newspapers which have hitherto commanded influence and have undoubtedly moulded public opinion. The fact is that the formation of opinion to-day is by no means confined to the educated classes, but the masses have taken it upon themselves not only to formulate opinion but to enforce it. It would be a mistake to belittle or ignore this opinion or to ascribe it to a temporary upheaval. It would be equally a mistake to suppose that this awakening amongst the masses is due either to the activity of the Ali Brothers or myself. For the time being we have the ear of the masses, because we voice their sentiments. The masses are by no means so foolish or unintelligent as we sometimes imagine. They often perceive things with their intuition, which we ourselves fail to see with our intellect..... In my humble opinion, the Congress creed with the proposed alteration is but an extension of the original. And so long as no break with the British connection is attempted, it is strictly within even the existing article that defines the Congress creed. The extension lies in the contemplated possibility of a break with the British connection. In my humble opinion, if India is to make unhampered progress, we must make it clear to the British people that whilst we desire to retain the British connection if we can rise to our full height

Comments on the new draft of the Congress constitution.

Young India (14), 3rd Nov.

with it, we are determined to dispense with, and even to get rid of that connection, if that is necessary for full national development. I hold that it is not only derogatory to national dignity but it actually impedes national progress superstitiously to believe that our progress towards our goal is impossible without British connection. It is this superstition which makes some of the best of us tolerate the Punjáb wrong and the Khilafat insult. This blind adherence to that connection makes us feel helpless. The proposed alteration in the creed enables us to rid ourselves of our helpless condition. I personally hold that it is perfectly constitutional openly to strive after independence, but lest there may be dispute as to the constitutional character of any movement for complete independence, the doubtful and highly technical adjective 'constitutional' has been removed from the altered creed in the draft. Surely it should be enough to ensure that the methods for achieving our end are legitimate, honourable, and peaceful. I believe that this was the reasoning that guided my colleagues in accepting the proposed creed. In any case, such was certainly my view of the whole alteration. There is no desire on my part to adopt any means that are subversive of law and order. I know, however, that I am treading on delicate ground when I write about law and order, for, to some of our distinguished leaders, even my present method appears to be lawless and conducive to disorder. But even they must perhaps grant that the retention of the word 'constitutional' cannot protect the country against methods such as I am employing."

39. We are not of opinion that the Congress creed can never be changed, but the changes proposed at present by the Congress Sub-Committee are unnecessary and harmful. The question whether the Congress ideal should be *swardjya* within the Empire or outside it has often been debated, and all thoughtful people hold that India should be for the present and for a long time to come under shelter of the British Empire. It is natural that those who want to sever the British connection should try to to effect a change in the creed. But the wonder is that no one is willing to openly advocate this doctrine. Even these who have proposed the changes in the creed do not say so. If so, what is the object aimed at? Even Mr. Gandhi is not against the British connection, if *swardjya* within the Empire could be had. There is no difference of opinion that if there is no other alternative to living in slavery within the Empire, all people, like Mr. Gandhi, would be willing to bid good-bye to slavery along with the Empire. But the real question is whether Mr. Gandhi wants to sever the connection even if *swardjya* can be had and Mr. Gandhi is against such a view. Babu Bepin Chandra Pal used to say that colonial self-government is not possible; but now, since the August declaration, such an objection cannot be raised. The other objection is that though for the present it is undoubtedly desirable that Indians should live within the Empire, should not Indians aspire to achieve independence one day or the other? If the final goal is to be laid down, why not independence rather than *swardjya*? The Congress ideal should not be imaginary but practical. Again, explanation is necessary how the ties of the Empire are to be severed only by peaceful means. Why Mr. Gandhi is so much for changing the creed we do not know. The colonies can easily sever the British connection; but they stick to the Empire all the more. Does it not show that even from a selfish point of view it is advantageous to remain within the Empire? There is no sense in talking of the severance of the British connection, even before we have acquired *swardjya*.

Dnyán Prakásh (42), 5th Nov.

40. "His Excellency the Viceroy laid the foundation stone of a Training College for teachers at Babina last week while on a visit to Nagpur. It seems British Rulers of India are eager to push further the advance of education in the country on traditional lines they have been following so long, not failing to improve upon them in the light of experience and changes which time make necessary, while just at present there had sprung up suddenly into eminence men who found busy occupation in frantic efforts to demolish the whole fabric of education that was built by labours of a century and more of up-hill

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech on the laying of the foundation stone of the Teachers' Training College at Babina, Central Provinces.

Gujardt Mitra (20), 31st Oct., Eng. cols.

work without in the first place evolving a feasible substitute to take its place..... Those who witnessed today the wild histerics into which both students and teachers like in parts of the country revolted were left mute and awe-stricken at the mere thought of the fate that will await the youth of the country if this sad and mischievous agitation that is set up by designing politicians to secure political ends were permitted unchecked to spread and take root in the land. That these agitators led the youth to certain destruction would scarcely be denied by every thinking man and woman, and it behoved men of right sense and understanding in all parts of the country to awake betimes and act sternly before the situation which was already ominous enough as far as it went assumed wider proportions. Not only were their sons and wards being seduced from the legitimate studies in school and college but taught even to oppose parental authority and control as their inborn right. To return to the subject the training of teachers lay at the root of any real educational advance. His Excellency emphasised its value in his speech while laying the foundation-stone of the new college in words which, we hope, will direct attention today more than ever of those who were now busy helping an ill-conceived and thoughtless warfare..... .... From the way in which the solution of the great problems of national education for India was attempted by men who posed themselves as an authority it looked more than ever certain that they gave the country a wrong lead altogether and wanted to pull to destruction the present system even before they found a substitute to take its place."

41. Commenting on Mr. Mead's reply to the Mamlatdars' deputation the *Bombay Chronicle* says:—"The attitude assumed by the Secretay to the Government, Revenue Department, towards the demands of the Delegation strikes us as extraordinarily unsympathetic and at times discourteous. Certain statements which he is reported to have made appear debatable, and likely to cause considerable discontent; for instance, that Government would object to the Mamlatdars forming a union to protect their interests and that in readjusting rates of pay they could not pay much attention to the cost of living. Those statements are, at any rate, discordant with the recent practice of most European Governments. Instead of allaying the grievance of the Mamlatdars, the official's remarks must have increased them."

Comments on Mr. Mead's reply to the Mamlatdars' deputation.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Nov.

42. Commenting upon the interview given by Mr. Mead to the deputation of Mamlatdars the *Lokasangraha* writes:—Mr. Mead's utterances will convince everyone of the arrogance of the high officials of Government. The interview serves the purpose of showing Indians that the English look upon them as mere dogs. When the English mete out such treatment to Indians the latter cannot be blamed if they bitterly hate the English and give expression to their feelings in unrestrained language. [Here the paper quotes some of the remarks alleged to have been made by Mr. Mead during the course of the interview.] What else is necessary to prove our degeneration when even those of us who have reached the position of Mamlatdars quietly pocket such insults? Even a dog receives better treatment at the hands of the English! Is not hell itself preferable to accepting such crumbs from Government?

Lokasangraha (117), 31st Oct.

43. An entirely superfluous official called the "Director of Information" is enjoying himself in this Presidency at public expense. We say this because he serves no useful purpose and because he fattens on money earned by the people by the sweat of their brow, and paid by them into the public treasury in the shape of taxes. Last week the Director of Information published information about Mahatma Gandhi's Swarajya Sabha. This silly official alone knows what great feat he performed in publishing the old and the new constitutions of this body. If his idea was to disclose the fact that the change in the constitution of the League resulted in the resignation of twenty of its members, then he was mistaken since the fact had already been made public by several newspapers. Have Government created the post to enable him to indulge in such childishness?

Uselessness of the office of the Director of Information.
Lokashdhi (119), 1st Nov.

44. The *Kesari* runs down the Reforms, and says that from the point of view of financial power, they are not worth even a pice. It says that the Governor can make any changes he likes in the Budget of the transferred departments and that the minister cannot touch the Imperial Service men in his departments and that the pay of the Imperial Service has been increased abnormally and that their interests have been guarded by the Government of India Act itself. It holds that the question of the increasing military expenditure has been neglected in the Reform discussions. It says that the war has ceased in Europe because there is nothing left to conquer and that it is now threatening Western Asia. It goes on:—The English Imperialists have surely an eye on the countries that unfortunately produce goods that would be of use to maintain English industries. Another reason is that these countries in Western Asia lie across the road from England to India. England thinks that there should be no rival or enemy nation on its road to India or near India for a considerable distance. Therefore, England wants to keep under its control Arabia, Persia and Mesopotamia, whether as friendly nations or by force of arms. India does not like all this arrangement and expenditure. The whole thing is being carried out for the sake of England, and England will be really benefited, while India will have only to bear the expenditure. But Government are making an attempt to convey the idea that all this is for India's good. The Director of Information has issued a pamphlet describing invasions of India from Mahomed of Ghazni to Ahmedshah Abdali and presenting a terrible picture and arguing that India is threatened in the same way by the Bolsheviks and that the gates of Herat and Basra should be guarded for the security of India. The pamphlet does not mention the Esher Committee, but it is written in support of the Esher recommendations. The Director of Information seems to be very simple-minded if he thinks that Indians will consent to maintain troops in Mesopotamia or bear their expenditure if they are reminded of Nadirshah or Tamerlane. It is murdering sense and truth to convey the impression that Lenin and other Bolshevist leaders want to invade the country in order to loot and massacre the inhabitants. The sin of exploiting the country is being continued unchecked in the name of military arrangements and nobody can put a stop to it now; but there is no need of adding to it by putting forth false evidence. It is the object of English Imperialists to establish British rule in Western Asia in order to keep under their control its mineral wealth. In order to carry it out the British Military Department wants the Indian army and treasury to be under its direct control. If the Esher recommendations are accepted, the dodge will be successful. Indians are being tempted with the offer of responsible Government, in order that they may not object to bear the military burden. Government want to give little and take away much. Indians should carry on a strenuous agitation to put down these reprehensible attempts.

Comments on the Esher Committee's Report.
Kesari (114). 2nd Nov.

45. The *Hindusthán* quotes the comments of the London *Times* on the Esher Committee's report and remarks:—If the recommendations of the Esher Committee are carried out not only will a poverty-stricken country like India have to bear the unbearable burden of military expenditure, but the army maintained at the cost of the Indian taxpayer will be made use of in the interests of other parts of the Empire. The control which the Viceroy exercises over the Indian army will disappear, with the result that the army will be utilised outside India whenever the necessity for doing so arises. It is not desirable that the Indian army should be instrumental in bringing about the subjugation of other countries. India has never hesitated to render military aid in times of danger to the Empire. She has no voice in the laying down of the policy of the war office in England, and so no just-minded imperialist will ever agree to India's sharing the financial burden of such a policy. The London *Times* has raised a just and strong protest against the proposals. India must raise a similar protest in order to have this injustice removed.

Hindusthán (24), 4th Nov.

46. It is officially announced that Sir Ali Imam and the Maharaja of Nawanagar and Sir William Meyer have been appointed India's representatives to the League of Nations. The news will not be received by the Indians with any great joy or with the least pride. In the first place the League of Nations is as good as still-born. Sir Ali Imam is a statesman. He was the Law Member and now he is the Prime Minister to the Nizam. But if there be any conflict between the interests of India and those of the Empire, it is not very difficult to guess to what side he would lean. The Maharaja of Nawanagar is but a Chief and nothing need be said about him. Sir William Meyer is a fully-baked bureaucrat. The dead League of Nations with such representatives from India will not make for any advance of India in the path of *Swarajya*.

India's representatives to the League of Nations.
Kesari (114), 2nd Nov.

***47.** Hakin Ram Lal Ram Narayan writes in the *Mahrátta*:—"It is officially announced that the delegates from India to the coming assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva will be the Maharaja of Nawanagar, Sir William Meyer and Sir Ali Imam. Now, *cher messieurs*, the Moderates and Co-operationists kindly see how beautifully the Co-operation which you preach in and out of season is practised by our paternal Government. Please rejoice and fire off crackers in gladness (the Dewali is near), for the selection of the delegates is according to the noblest tradition of the co-operation between the *mabaps* and children. Has not the cricketeering fame of the Maharaja of Nawanagar (Our Ranjit) spread the fame of India all over the world? Is not Sir William Meyer the High Commissioner for India? As for the talk that he is appointed by our Dada, the Secretary of State and not by ourselves, that is all nonsense. Is not Sir Imam, the premier of the premier State of India? Are you, grandpapa Surrendra, with all your fervid eloquence—are you, guru Shastri, with all your antiquated ideas of plain-living and high-thinking and you, Sir, the remover of all Chintas (cares) whose leadership has produced revelations in this twentieth century of science and materialism which are one of the wonders of the modern world, are you not transported with delight that India is considered worthy of sending three delegates to the Council of the League of Nations, while the rude mountaineers of Switzerland, the children of William Tell, will perhaps be allowed only one?"

Mahrátta (8), 7th Nov.

48. The *Swardjya* says that although the League of Nations was ushered into existence with the avowed object of ensuring the peace of the world, recent developments show that it is being utilized by its members to serve their own ends. In its opinion India will not at all be benefited by being represented on it by such men as His Highness the Maharaja of Nawanagar and Sir Ali Imam since they will obviously look to the interests of the Government of India whose nominees they are. The paper asks the country to demand that its representatives shall be chosen by the Congress and not by Government. [The *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* writes:—Can the Indian representatives on the League of Nations be said to be elected by the Indian people? No, not in the least. Those persons who are merely nominated by the Government of India will be considered as the representatives of the people. India has only nominal representation on the League of Nations and its so-called representatives will do nothing else than say "ditto" to the representatives of Britain. We are, therefore, in a position to say that the people of India cannot be held responsible for the good or bad actions of the League of Nations.]

Swardjya (139), 4th Nov.; *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* (85), 29th Oct.

49. "Mr. Churchill's statement in the House of Commons last week regarding the employment of British and Indian troops as army of occupation in different parts of the Empire and mandatory areas, has an interesting aspect in connection with our standing grievance—the use of Indian troops as cannon fodder for British Imperialism. The Indian public would naturally like to know how much of the Indian tax-payers' money is being

Government should make a statement as to who is paying for the Indian troops employed in the mandatory areas.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Nov.

drawn from the Indian Treasury for this purpose. The Director of the Central Publicity Board at Simla may very usefully employ his abilities to enlighten the Indian public if they are still paying through the nose for the vagaries of the British Imperialists, whose rabid thirst for empire-building and creating 'spheres of influence', solely for the purposes of exploitation, will go down to posterity as the worst of the crimes of that irresponsible bureaucracy which regards neither the past nor the future. Besides men and materials India has paid over a hundred million pounds in cash, while her own children were lying impoverished, uneducated and groaning under heavy taxation..... In the interest of Indian tax-payers it has to be pointed our that neither India's man-power nor her resources should be used for so-called Imperial necessity any longer, unless the authorities are prepared for a catastrophe in the near future. There is strong feeling in the country, and we would cry 'halt' to the Government of India."

The British army in Mesopotamia should be withdrawn if it is really intended to establish an Arab State there.

Lokasangraha (117), 1st Nov.

50. Whatever the professions of British statesmen, their actions clearly show that they ardently desire to make additions to their Empire. The English tell us that the Arabs of Mesopotamia were tired of Turkish rule. This may or may not be true but the Arabs have made it quite plain that they do not at all want British rule. The English tried to impose their own rule upon the Arabs but when they met with stubborn resistance at the hands of the latter, they announced that they intended to withdraw from the country after establishing an Arab State there. If they really wish to establish Arab rule in Mesopotamia why do they maintain there an army of ninety-eight thousand men? The Arabs are opposed to British rule and not to the Arab rule which the British profess is their intention to establish in Mesopotamia. The Arabs are certainly not fools to indulge in disturbances if the English can convince them of their *bona fides*. But how can they do so since they have no idea of withdrawing? If they really wish to establish an Arab State why are they busy disarming the Arabs? How can the disarmed Arabs defend themselves against foreign aggression when the English withdraw? Or do the English intend to justify their presence in Mesopotamia by disarming the Arabs and thus making them incapable of defending themselves like the Indians?

Comments on the reported negotiations between the Sultan of Turkey and Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Nov.

51. "The report from Reuter's Agent at Constantinople to the effect that a staff colonel attached to Mustafa Kemal's army has arrived there with the terms of peace of the Angora Government would in itself be satisfactory to every Muslim, as showing that negotiations of a serious kind are really contemplated by Tewfik Pasha's Government and, therefore, by the Allies. But the peace terms as reported must cause consternation and misgiving in Central Asia, India, North-East Africa, and even, we believe, Arabia itself. Mustafa Kemal Pasha insists upon the restoration of Smyrna and Thrace, and upon Turkey being freed from some of the restrictions, financial and economic, imposed on her by the Treaty of Sevres. So far, so good. But according to the Reuter's telegram, he also insists upon 'the separation of the Khilafat from the Sultanate, the latter to be passed down to the eldest son of the Osman family and the former to the descendant of the Prophet enjoying the confidence and reverence of the whole Islamic world'. There is enough in the wording of the above message to justify a doubt of its authenticity in the mind of anybody well acquainted with the Turks. It has never been the custom in Turkey for the Sultanate to pass to 'the eldest son'. Though it has always been hereditary in the House of Osman, it has passed from uncle to the nephew, from cousin to cousin, the succession being decided by the choice of the Ministers, and, since the Revolution, by elected leaders of the people. And who on earth is 'the descendant of the Prophet' who enjoys 'the confidence and respect of the whole Islamic world'? There are hundreds and thousands of descendants of the Prophet, many of whom do not speak Arabic colloquially. And we know of no one of them whose position corresponds at all with this description. If there is any truth in the report at all, we imagine that the

stipulation was that the Khilafat should pass not to *the* descendant of the Prophet', but to '*a* descendant of the Prophet enjoying the confidence and reverence of the whole Islamic world' *i. e.*, to someone yet to be discovered and elected by a general Council of the Ulema. The present Sultan, by the acceptance of the unjust terms of peace imposed on Turkey by the Allies, and by his action, lukewarm and reluctant though it was, against the Turkish patriots, has forfeited, in the opinion of those patriots, the chief qualification of a Khalifah—the position of Defender of the Faith. If, before the Allies occupied Constantinople in force and robbed him of the power of independent action, he had done what it was in his mind to do, and what his best advisers counselled, and had frankly thrown in his lot with Mustafa Kemal Pasha and joined the army in Anatolia, he would have reconquered his capital in six months and would not to-day have heard his subjects talk of separating the Khilafat from the Sultanate. A man bred up in palaces, and used to luxury, he could not face the arduous life of camps even for six months. But the heir-apparent is a different type of man. He tried to flee to Mustafa Kemal on more than one occasion, and was kept in durance therefor, thus showing that the princes of the House of Osman are not all effete. In any case the Turks have not the right to make so great a change in the Khilafat by themselves. It can only be done with the consent of all the Muslims. A general Council of the Ulema would have to be convened, and an election, according to the Shariat, held. Let nobody imagine that the reference to a descendant of the Prophet necessarily implies a wish to remove the Khilafat from the non-Arabs to the Arabs. There are very many thousands of the Prophet's true descendants in the world to-day who are non-Arabs; there are thousands of them who are Turks and proud to be so. The English reader, prejudiced by England's wartime propaganda, will naturally rush to the conclusion that 'the descendant of the Prophet' referred to must be the Sherif of Mecca. Does he enjoy the confidence and reverenee of the whole Islamic world? Distinctly not. If a general Council of the Ulema had to decide the matter he would not stand a chance in the election. Supposing the Khilafat to be vacant and the election of a new Khalifah a necessity, Mustafa Kemal Pasha (whether he is or is not a descendant of the Prophet) would stand the best chance of election in the present position of affairs, for he stands as the Defender of the Faith against unjust attacks."

52. "The Government at Constantinople under the tutelage of the Allies is going to send a diplomatic mission headed by a prince of the imperial house of Osman to negotiate with the Government of Mustafa Kemal Pasha with a view, we must suppose, to some arrangement. If there is no arrangement in view there would be no use in sending a mission; and what arrangement can there be with Turkish patriots, which does not remove the causes of offence to Turkish patriots—the cruel and oppressive clauses of the Turkish treaty. It is feared in some quarters (according to Reuter) that the Imperial prince may go over to the Nationalists. We go further; we should say that it is certain that not the prince only, but the whole mission will go over to the Nationalists if the negotiations are not to be based upon revision of the treaty. If the Government of India had not in the person of the Viceroy declared the terms of the treaty to be reasonable and in accord with Mr. Lloyd George's pledge to Indian Muslims—a most strange delusion!—they might have said a word in season at this juncture to the British Government."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Nov.

53. "The reason of the sudden eagerness of the Constantinople Government under the surveillance of the Allies to negotiate with the Turkish patriots is not far to seek. The alliance of the Angora Government with the Bolsheviks has long been an accomplished fact—'We are not Bolsheviks, but you have forced us to become allied with them', wrote Talaat Pasha to an English friend of his three months ago,—but owing to local obstacles it has not till now borne any fruit in help to Mustafa Kemal. But now munitions have begun to pour

A great war likely to result from the reported alliance between Turkish nationalists and Bolsheviks.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Nov.

through steadily, and the first Russian reinforcements have already arrived. There is the prospect of a great war in the East within the next few weeks unless the Turkish patriots can be won over in the next few days, and, considering the condition of Central Asia and the weariness of war in every European country, no one can predict what the result of such a war would be."

MUNICIPALITIES.

54. "The statement of deaths in the town of Bombay for the week ending 30th October 1920, contained in the *Bombay Government Gazette* of yesterday, is rather disquieting. The mortality is mounting up, and has reached the alarming figure of 989 as compared with 471 in the corresponding week of 1915..... The death-rate has nearly doubled and it is high time that something was done to fight the evil. European countries have brought down mortality by introducing sanitary reforms, but here, though the people are dying in large numbers, still the sanitation is half-hearted. Will not Government throw off lethargy and introduce genuine measures to fight the alarming death-rate?"

Alarming rise in mortality in Bombay.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Nov.

RAILWAYS.

***55.** "The Government of India needs to be told that committees, again committes and more committees do not mean the solution of a long standing grievance but their redress does. Grievances in connection with Indian Railways have passed beyond the province of grivances and become scandals. In press and on platform they have been, time after time, sufficiently ventilated. But while the people of India are being brutally treated, while Indian industries are sought to be nipped in the bud by differential rates, the Government of India, or for the matter of that, the Secretary of State, is standing at gaze, like Moses in the Vicar of Wakefield, with its or his gross of committees and commissions. There are no two opinions in India as to whether Indian Railways should be managed and run by companies or by the State. The Companies have become inebriated with power; they are openly exploiting India. True, they have benefited India to a certain degree, but the benefit is so dearly purchased that it is high time that the game of Company management is given up. Not that we imagine things to assume a new complexion immediately State management comes into force, but it is at least hoped that the Government would prove less unbendable to the force of public opinion than the companies."

Comments on the Indian Railway Committee.
Mahratta (8), 7th Nov.

56. Referring to the likelihood of an increase in the railway fares, the *Sind Vasi* remarks:—With the increase in railway fares dissatisfaction among coolies and workmen will also increase, who will then naturally demand increase in their wages. If their demands are not satisfied they will go on strike. But if their wages are increased the Railway authorities will probably again think of increasing their own earnings to meet such increase and thus there will be no end to the trouble. The proposed increase in the fares will no doubt cause great anxiety in the mind of the Indians and it will be a short-sighted policy on the part of Government if it will allow the Railway authorities to increase the rate of fares. The economic condition of the country is such that it cannot bear any further burden. What an amount of money goes out of India every year for the purchase of the rolling stock? Why should not arrangements for the making of the rolling stock be made here so that no money may go out of India? What has the Government done in that direction? What will be the position of a country from which crores of rupees go out every year for the purchase of rolling stock? Sir George Barnes has recommended that some capital should be raised in India for the proposed improvements in the railway system. There is no objection to the Indian money being invested in the railways, but the least that is due to the

Indians cannot bear a further increase in the railway fares.
Sind Vasi (158), 21st Oct.

Indians is, they should have an assurance that the money invested by them is spent here in India and not in England. Before thinking of any increase in the rate of fares the Railway authorities should also take this thing into consideration what huge profits they have been making during recent years. If their expenses have increased their earnings have also increased side by side. There was a time when railways were being worked with little or no profits. In recent years however the mania of making more and more profits has increased, with the result that when any improvements are needed, the authorities refuse to carry them out by foregoing their profits.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 12th November 1920.

*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 13th November 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "There is a tendency in certain high official quarters to regard the organised agitation for immediate and complete self-government in India as essentially seditious, and bound to lead in a short while to violence. This notion, if it ever found a lodging in the mind of Government, would be disastrous; for it is based on a total misunderstanding of the whole position of affairs, organised agitation being in fact the one alternative to violence in the present state of Indian feeling. Particularly mischievous are the attacks upon Mr. Gandhi and the other leaders of the agitation, and the clamour for their arrest in certain quarters. From a fairly intimate knowledge of the Khilafat agitation, we can truly say that Mr. Gandhi has been from the first the chief restraining influence as far as the Muhammadans of India are concerned. If the advice of certain English and Anglo-Indian newspapers were to be taken and Mr. Gandhi were to be arrested, then indeed there would be no alternative to violence; for there is no one else possessing the same wide-spread influence to restrain the wilder spirits of the nation, and the noise of his arrest would rouse the people..... This must be perfectly well known to the Government of India unless their information is incredibly defective. But it is evident from the tenor of the last pronouncement from the clouds of Simla that the Government does not yet realise that all educated Indians—Moderates and Extremists alike—are quite united in demanding *Swaraj* at the earliest date, and that if the promised blessing is delayed, the Moderates themselves will soon become 'Extremist'. It is an impasse which must seem a nightmare to the high official who thinks his own position and prestige worth fighting for. But one sincere and generous gesture of the rulers would remove it."

Government of India's Resolution on non-co-operation.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Nov.

*2. "The Government Resolution on non-co-operation was preceded by a Viceregal speech at Sylhet, in which the people were asked to consider who suffered by the exodus to Afghanistan, and who will suffer by the boycott of colleges. Perhaps the answer expected was that the non-co-operators suffer, and not the officers of Government. The non-co-operators welcome suffering. Officials may not suffer in person or pocket. But if they care for a good name, they certainly suffer in reputation when the Viceroy is not received with the usual address of welcome by representative bodies, and people try to desert the country by way of protest against the Government's policy. The Resolution says that the movement is unconstitutional, but that the Government does not care to create martyrs, as if Mr. Gandhi and others yearn for the glory of martyrdom. This is goading them to more daring measures. Would it not have been nobler to express the hope that they may change their minds?"

Bombay Chronicle (2), 14th Nov.

3. Though we cannot agree with what the Government of India have said in their recent *communique* on the non-co-operation movement we must congratulate them on the announcement made by them to the effect that they are not at present going to adopt any repressive measures in connection with that movement. We would have no objection to Government prosecuting Mr. Gandhi or any other popular leader if they find him transgressing the bounds of the law; but we would not like them to arrest or deport any one of our political leaders without a trial. Such a step on their part will stimulate the non-co-operation movement instead of killing it. We confidently assert that the non-co-operation movement will receive its death-blow the moment Government give justice in the matter of the Punjáb affairs and fulfil the pledges given in respect of Turkey. We cannot persuade ourselves to believe that there is anything unconstitutional in the programme of non-co-operation adopted by the Congress. If Government really consider the non-co-operation movement to be unconstitutional it is nothing but a serious mistake on their part to allow it to continue even for a day. The movement started by the Moderate leaders to counteract the influence of the

Sánj Vartamán (33), 8th Nov.

non-co-operation movement has had no effect and it is not likely to have any. The Moderates have also asked Government to remove the causes that have driven the people to non-co-operation. The Moderates seem to enjoy the confidence of Government. Why do not Government listen to their advice?

4. "'The most foolish of all foolish schemes' supposed to be dying of inanition and to have 'fizzled out' long since has been blessed by the Government of India with a resolution for a declaration of 'policy' and 'attitude' for 'dissipation of danger' calling upon 'sane' and 'sober-minded' men 'who have the good of India at heart' to expose 'the evils of Non-Co-operation'! The diplomacy of affected indifference has been abandoned and a definite declaration made to grapple with the definite issues involved in the movement. From the short telegraphic summary we have received we find that the Government have not only misrepresented the motive and aims of the movement of non-co-operation, but have indirectly admitted the success of the movement and its non-violent character, adding to the discomfiture of the bureaucracy preventing it from embarking upon a policy of naked repression..... The causes of the daily deepening unrest in India are well-known to the Government and they have sunk deep into the people's consciousness. The Government of Lord Chelmsford makes absolutely no efforts to reconcile the people, or in any way make any atonation for the grievances in the Punjáb and Khilafat questions. Instead, there is the brandish and the rattle for putting down imaginary 'disorders'. Far from being indifferent, the Government prosecuted and sentenced several Khilafat workers to imprisonment. The liberty of the press in India is yet a dream. There has been, no doubt, some freedom of speech for Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Shaukatali, but insidious efforts have been made, specially in Sind, to stifle agitation in Sind and put chains on the freedom of several lesser lights wherever you can avoid public criticism and the 'martyr' spirit. A few thousands of press securities were returned to keep faces before the civilised world specially after the Royal amnesty and the Reforms, but the security mania soon returned. The official frowns, executive powers and the Press Act are there. We do credit Government with a sense of shrewdness in avoiding persecution of the leaders of the non-co-operation movement though we regard the attempt to discredit them among the masses as a part of an insidious propaganda to discredit the leaders. .....But the Government in its present attitude of hostility and contempt is sure to repress and suppress when it finds popular support increasing; and repression will give it the additional life it needs for its very success..... The men who are out to win better conditions of life and freedom in this country are not going to stop short of their work because of any engine of oppression, much less the brandish and the rattle, while the inspiring faith is a moral war with a Government which has flouted the deepest susceptibilities of the Indian people. In Gandhi we have a living MacSwiney who would not hesitate to make any the greatest sacrifices for the cause..... The 'common-sense' of the masses and the classes has welcomed non-co-operation; and it is no use pretending that all is well for the Government, that the 'Mischievous' agitator has no solid support behind him. But the unreality of Government's position is transparent from its own statement. When you trust the common-sense of the masses and the classes, and know that the best minds of the country have declared against it, and approve of the manly position of Aligarh Trustees, when you are sure of your power, prestige and above all, your sense of justice, why need you be afraid even of a host of 'martyrs'?..... The common-sense of India has rallied to the banner of non-co-operation and therein the Government smells its 'danger'! Any farsighted statesman would, under the circumstances, instead of standing on the war-path, at once come to terms with the leaders of the movement."

New Times (9), 8th Nov.

*5. "Our first observation should be one of felicitation to Government on the policy they have been following for the last few months. It has been justified by its results, and we earnestly trust that they will not allow any Local

Indian Social Reformer (7), 14th Nov.

Government, as in the Punjáb in 1918, to force their hands into a policy of repression..... We do not care to look too closely into the reasons given by Government for their adopting a wise, commonsense policy. These were equally valid two years ago as to-day, and many of our troubles are due to Government not having realised their force then as well as they do now. They are, in fact, always true. It would have much conduced to the revival in some measure of public confidence if Government had marked their final abandonment of their old, bad policy by announcing their intention early to repeal the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and other similar laws and regulations. The section of the public which is opposed to non-co-operation would have better relished the compliments bestowed on it, if Government had associated the sentiments of the Resolution with something tangible to show to the public that they are bent upon a policy not merely of passive but of active confidence in the commonsense of the country. As it is, the Moderates and others who are opposed to non-co-operation do not appreciate being patted on the back by Lord Chelmsford's Government the end of which they would welcome more heartily than the Extremists into whose hands it has throughout been playing, though, of course, with no intention to do so. It is a matter of no satisfaction to them that in opposing non-co-operation they should seem to be supporting the Chelmsford regime..... The Government of India say that how far they will persevere in their present wise policy will depend on the success which attends the efforts of those who are opposed to non-co-operation. In other words, if these succeed, Government will adhere to their present policy. If they do not, they will resort to their old methods of repression notwithstanding that they have been ghastly failures as means of promoting peace and goodwill. If the anti-non-co-operationists succeed, we do not see that any forbearance will be required of Government. Non-co-operation will, for the time being, have failed, and no question of taking action against non-co-operationists can arise. If, on the other hand, the efforts of sober and responsible leaders against non-co-operation fail, Government evidently mean to revive repression. As everybody will then be more or less a non-co-operationist, it will be even more unwise to embark then on a policy of repression than it is now. It is the duty and the interest of Government, therefore, to do all they can to enable the anti-non-co-operationists to succeed quickly and completely. They can do this by announcing immediately their intention to get all repressive Acts repealed; by admitting that they had been grievously misled in regard to the Punjáb by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and visiting with severe punishment every officer, high or low, responsible for the martial law excesses; and by so amending the Government of India Act as to indicate unmistakably that the bureaucratic regime is dead and buried, and that it is the firm resolve of the British Government to expedite the attainment of full responsible Government by India in all ways, as an earnest whereof a preponderant proportion of all services should be immediately Indianised. If Government do not in some such striking ways give irrefragable proof of their determination to turn over a new leaf in Indian administration, non-co-operation is bound to rear its head under more scientific and less disinterested leadership at no distant date. The Liberals brought up on the strong meat of English history cannot support a foreign Government which means to perpetuate itself as a foreign Government. Englishmen will not forget that they fought to retain their own bad King, John, in preference to the more enlightened French invader. Self-respecting English-educated Indians can only support the British connection if and so far as that rule gives proof of its determination and anxiety to shed everything in it which restricts the free play of Indian national aspirations and to promote with all its resources the interests of this country within and without the British Empire."

6. *Servant of India* (10), 11th Nov. "The utterance of Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers in the past week had given rise to a widespread apprehension that the Government of India were contemplating repressive action against the promoters of the non-co-operation movement. But we are relieved to

learn from the Home Department's Resolution just published that, for the present at any rate, the Government do not intend to interfere with the liberty of those who are engaged in carrying on the non-co-operation campaign and that they are willing to let their propaganda go on unchecked. Beyond question this is a very wise decision; any restrictive action on the part of the Government would have set the country ablaze. The good sense of the country will certainly assert itself and will render abortive any further sinister developments of the non-co-operation plan. A policy of forbearance in the presence of the strong popular agitition will not weaken but only enhance the Government's moral prestige..... In any case, the Government must never think of resorting to any but the ordinary processes of law against anyone who in their opinion has transgressed the bounds of law in the pursuit of non-co-operation. This caution is necessary because the Government, while leaving the prime movers of the movement alone, may be tempted into seizing hold, under one or other of the 'lawless laws,' of the smaller fry. It is to be hoped that the Government will not be guilty of such cowardly action. The Government of India hold that they are entitled to take criminal proceedings against the advocates of non-co-operation, but forbear to do so from consideration of policy. While the wisdom of the policy of let alone till actual violence breaks out is clear, the Government's right to repress non-co-operation, so far as it is practiced now, as an unlawful and unconstitutional movement must be seriously questioned. We are well aware that not only the ex-Advocate-General of Madras, Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyengar, but such Radical politicians as Messrs. Pal, Patel and Jinnah have dubbed the movement of progressive non-co-operation as unconstitutional. But no one will imagine for a single moment that the programme which has been at present taken up for action is anything but strictly legal and constitutional. The leaders of the non-co-operation movement claim that when the entire programme is carried into execution, it will result in a paralysis of the Government machine, but that does not entitle the Government, despite the authority of Mr. Srinivas Aiyengar, to treat every single item in the programme, however innocent in itself, as unconstitutional and to apply coercion under that pretext..... The movement may be condemned as suicidal, but it must also be recognised that it is an indefeasible right of the people to withhold co-operation from Government or a section of the public when circumstances render that course necessary or desirable. The withdrawal of children from Government's educational institutions is easily the most unwise feature in the cult of non-co-operation; but the parents have certainly a right to withdraw their children if they so choose and the Government cannot coerce them into keeping the children at school. While we appreciate the regard which the Government of India pay to liberty of speech and freedom of the press, we must say a word in respect of the appeal which they have made to sober-minded people in the country. The latter will naturally feel impelled to denounce the movement because of the mischievous consequences it is apt to bring in its train. But the Government must not suppose on that account that the sense of the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs of what they call the moderate people is any the less keen than that of the non-co-operationists. They differ as to the remedy, but are at one as to the appalling character of the injustice. The most serious obstacle in the way of sober-minded and moderate people exerting a full measure of influence on public opinion lies, however, in the Government's utter unresponsiveness to popular demands. So long as the Government do nothing but counsel resignation in regard to the two national wrongs, the opponents of non-co-operation can have but limited success in their attempts to wean people from a movement which has in it infinite potentialities of mischief. To put the Khilafat question on one side for a moment, why cannot Government take strong action against officers who perpetrated shocking inhumanities on the people in the Punjáb? If they cannot do this, because else the army and the civil service will be in revolt, the Government must clearly choose between that position and the people they govern being in revolt. At present, no one is a greater friend of the non-co-operationists than the Government of India who condone such culprits as the Punjáb officials are."

7. There were thick rumours that Government was about to stop the activities of the non-co-operationists. Even Mahatma Gandhi and his co-workers publicly announced that Government meant to restrict their liberties. The Government of India's resolution on the policy they propose to adopt with regard to non-co-operation must, therefore, be considered to be most opportune. Government announce that they will not proceed against the advocates of non-co-operation so long as they abide by their resolution not to countenance violence. We are pleased to note that Government have recognised, at least on this occasion, that to resort to repression to suppress a movement is only to feed it. We would ask them, however, to let nothing induce them to depart from this resolve. It would have been better if Government had not touched upon the question of the constitutionality of the movement. Before definitely accepting the conclusion of Government that the movement is unconstitutional, we must pay due regard to one or two salient points. The Government of India is not the first to describe the movement as unconstitutional, but it has been so described by an eminent lawyer like Mr. S. Ayangar, a former Advocate-General of Madras, and by prominent Extremist leaders like Messrs. Pal, Patel and Jinnah. Although the ultimate object of the non-co-operationists is to render the Government completely helpless, it cannot be said that their present activities are either illegal or unconstitutional. The items in the programme which will have the effect of paralysing the Government have not yet been preached. The present programme only aims at inculcating discipline and endurance. Even Mr. Gandhi does not expect that its acceptance by the people in its entirety can bend the Government to his will. We cannot pass over the exhortation of Government to the Moderates to help in combating the non-co-operation movement. The Moderates hold that the movement is harmful and have always said so. Evidently, therefore, the present invitation of Government to them is superfluous. Even in the absence of such an invitation they would have continued to do their duty in this respect. If Government really desire that the efforts of the Moderates should meet with success, they should remove the causes to which the movement owes its origin. The Moderates denounce non-co-operation as well as the causes that drove the people to resort to it. Although the Government of India can plead helplessness in regard to the question of the Khilafat, they could certainly have meted out adequate punishment to the offending officials in the Punjáb. Indeed, the Secretary of State specially entrusted them with this duty, and had they discharged it impartially, it is just possible the present movement would not have come into being. If there is any party from which non-co-operation indirectly receives encouragement, it is the Government of India. [The *Indu Prakásh* says that although the non-co-operation movement may appear to succeed for some time, it is sure to languish soon, and tells Government that they would be well-advised not to resort to repression.]

Dnyán Prakásh (42), 10th Nov.; *Indu Prakásh* (45), 9th Nov.

8. The Government of India have evinced admirable foresight in issuing their Resolution on the non-co-operation movement. The wise and far-sighted policy therein outlined by Government will not fail to enlist the sympathy of the educated and sober-minded people of this country and they will gladly extend to Government the co-operation expected of them. It is, however, the duty of Government to correct without any further delay some of the serious blunders committed by them and to set right the injustices done to the Indian people. Since Government place their confidence in the Moderates they should nave no hesitation in taking prompt steps to adopt the suggestions made to them with a view to pacifying the minds of the people. If the advice given by the Moderates is accepted by Government the non-co-operation movement will die a natural death and the British rule will flourish in India with the help and sympathy of the people. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The *communique* though couched in very mild terms warns the people to be prepared for the serious consequences of non-co-operation. We hope the

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 9th Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 9th, 10th and 11th Nov.

leaders of the movement will give it serious consideration and give up the movement after being convinced that the propaganda they have organised is likely to give rise to atrocities similar to those perpetrated at the Jhallianwalla Bagh. Government have characterised the non-co-operation movement as unconstitutional, and we are constrained to say that we are not in a position to contradict their opinion. In a subsequent issue the paper writes :—There can be no two opinions as to the appropriateness of the policy outlined by Government in respect of the movement. Can Mr. Gandhi give us a guarantee that the present movement will not be taken advantage of by scheming persons as was done in the case of the *Satyagraha* movement and that it will not result in serious crimes? What does the Irish Home Rule movement teach us? It is this that some undesirable persons get the confidence of the people under the guise of saints and commit heinous crimes and that the responsibility of such actions of theirs has to be borne by the people who cannot prove their innocence. Some of Mr. Gandhi's followers have been of late giving us warnings not to write against the non-co-operation movement; but we would ask them to prove that our fears as regards the evil consequences of the movement are baseless. In a further issue the paper eulogises the policy adopted by Government and asks the non-co-operationists to refrain from doing further harm to the country in the matter of education and commerce and exhorts them to make efforts in the right direction to effect the regeneration of India.]

9. "That the movement of non-violent non-co-operation has made the best beginning we could have made in this direction goes without saying. We would, therefore, assert that in merely asserting India's moral spirit which revolts against the present system the movement of non-co-operation has eminently succeeded. But it has not stopped there. It has achieved some practical results worthy of note. The student unrest at Aligarh has shown itself to be a genuine movement fruitful of good results. To cynical critics we would point out the National Moslem University at Aligarh as a sign-post of the students' movement. We are sure the students' movements in Lahore, Calcutta, Madras, United Provinces, Sind and elsewhere will leave some sign-posts though less marked and noteworthy than the Aligarh National University. The spell of college education in state-controlled institutions as making for unqualified national good is broken. Though very few title-holders have given up their titles the institution of giving titles stands discredited. And the *johukums* are anxious to see that Government does not go so far as to confer a title on them lest they be discredited before the people—a position exactly reverse of what it was before non-co-operation. Again, not one per cent. of the Indian people believe in, or care to think about, the utility of the Councils. Above all, the movement is succeeding wonderfully in freeing the national mind from the grip of the fear of Government which is no longer regarded as a *mábáp* trustee..... The programme of non-co-operation may change according to practical needs, but there is absolutely no doubt of the fact that the movement has already begun to operate, and successfully."

The success of the non-co-operation movement.

New Times (9), 5th Nov.

10. Discussing Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Poona the *Kesari* says :—Government have not yet imprisoned Mahatma Gandhi and they have in a way neglected him, but it does not mean that Government have become more good-natured or tolerant. Government are certainly afraid of the impetus that will be given to non-co-operation and the spread of discontent that will be caused by the imprisonment of Gandhi. Who knows Government may even still imprison him! What do Government care for the discontent of the people? They may ask the teachers to tell the children the legend that they rely on the contentment of the people and not on their army, but so long as they have the haughty military spirit in them, they may pass ten Rowlatt Acts and cause ten massacres like the one at Jallianwalla Bagh. They may not do these things if they possess any shame somewhere in their mind, but Government have not yet lost their fancy for putting down every political movement by repression. Whether Government will imprison

Kesari (114), 9th Nov.

Mr. Gandhi or not, the movement of non-co-operation will not hereafter stop till the underlying causes are completely removed. If Mr. Gandhi is free, he will surely conduct the movement but if he is imprisoned, Government cannot put the whole country in jail. Or, as Mr. Shaukat Ali said, they cannot at least imprison God. There is no chance of the cessation of the movement. The reason is, non-co-operation has not been started for the glorification of anybody. The principle of non-co-operation sprang into existence because Government killed co-operation by their own hands and the movement will in one form or another live till the national demands are satisfied.

The movement of non-co-operation should be spread from end to end of the country.
Kesari (114), 9th Nov.

11. A correspondent writes in the *Kesari* that the message of non-co-operation should be carried to the villages and says that the educated leaders possessing lands in the villages should take up the work. He wants a punchayat to be started in every village and says that the rayats should be taught the principles of non-co-operation and the necessity of practising it. He says that Government have by permitting the export of four lakh tons of wheat afforded a golden opportunity for enforcing non-co-operation and that the rayats should be strongly advised not to sell any corn to foreign companies even if they thereby have to part with it at lower rates. He wants the rayats to be also convinced that they will sink further in the mire of slavery if they submit to *veṭh* and *begar* or otherwise perform *sarbharai* to the Government officials on tour. He wants that every one in the villages should feel that he is for non-co-operation.

India refuses to remain a slave to any foreign power even for a minute.
Praja Bandhu (30), 7th Nov., Eng. cols.

12. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's open letter addressed 'To every Englishman in India', the *Praja Bandhu* quotes the following sentence from it, 'You can compel the Government to summon a Conference of the recognised leaders of the people, duly elected by them and representing all shades of opinion, so as to devise means for granting *Swarajya* in accordance with the wishes of the people of India' and remarks:—"This is the only way to reconcile the ever growing feeling in India, and if there is a shred of statesmanship in the Councils of the present Government in India or England, they ought no longer to think of attempting to hold in subjection a proud nation of 315 millions of civilized people—one-fifth of the entire human race—against their united and persistent wish and will. Freedom and equality is in the air all over the world, and India refuses to remain even for a minute a slave to any power, either foreign or indigenous, liable to be afflicted and oppressed with the Punjáb, Khilafat and Colonial wrongs."

Mr. Gandhi's condemnation of rowdyism by non-co-operationists at public meetings.
Young India (14), 10th Nov.

13. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Our difficulties are of two kinds: those that are imposed from without and those that are of our own creation. The latter are far more dangerous, because we often hug them, and are, therefore, reluctant to remove them. Thus, for instance, the disturbance created at Mrs. Besant's meeting at Bombay was of our own making. And it is easier to deal with a seditious meetings proclamation than the disturbance at Mrs. Besant's meeting. A prohibition of 'seditious' meetings gives us strength. Disturbance created by us undoubtedly weakens our cause. The verbal rowdyism at Mrs. Besant's meeting was a type of violence. It was a distinct departure from the creed of non-violent non-co-operation. It may easily result in physical violence. Those who created the disturbance ought to realise its seriousness for the sacred cause they have at heart. It is the very worst training we can give ourselves in *Swaraj*. *Swaraj* presupposes mutual toleration of views, no matter how distasteful they may be to us. If the non-co-operationists refuse to listen to the other party's view, they lay themselves open to the same charge as the Government, which, they complain, comes to decisions without considering their view-point. Non-co-operation against the Government is based on, and is possible with,

co-operation among ourselves. We must bring about, as far as possible and consistently with our creed, harmony among ourselves. Rowdyism is hardly the way to do so. By their action at the meeting in question non-co-operationists have still further estranged from themselves Mrs. Besant and her friends and followers..... In so far as the students were concerned in the insult offered to Mrs. Besant, they have discredited themselves at a critical period in their evolution..... And, after all, do we not owe anything to Mrs. Besant's years, her past brilliant services, and her sex? The rising generation will commit suicide if it becomes ungrateful. India's gratefulness ought to ensure for Mrs. Besant a respectful hearing even when she opposes India's sentiment. She does so from pure motives..... Surely rowdyism is not the only way of expressing dissent. The best and the chosen way would be not to attend her meetings, unless we wish to go in order to be convinced..... ... A noisy demonstration is a sign of our weakness. A dignified withdrawal is a proof of our strengtb. Rowdyism is, as a rule, intended to cover a minority that wishes to break up a meeting."

Condemnation of Mr. Gandhi's activities.
Akhbár-e-Islám (58), 10th Nov.

14. In the course of an open letter to Mr. Gandhi appearing in the *Akhbár-e-Islám* an anonymous correspondent writes as follows:—I, who am an admirer of your past services, am deeply grieved to see the ruinous agitation spread by you throughout the country. I pray to God that even at the eleventh hour He may show you the right path and that the fanatical members of my community who are your followers might save their community from ruin. If you will cast a glance at the result of your activities in South Africa, you will see in what a sorry plight Indians live there. Your agitation there did not meet with success, hence you find it impossible to set foot again in that country. You want to wipe off the stigma of that failure. You have, therefore, taken up a new agitation here, and by your intellectual abilities have succeeded in gathering round you a handful of Muhammadans. Every activity of yours has led to the ruin of your countrymen: the Punjáb massacre is an instance. In spite of all this, you persist in your obstinacy. The one unpardonable error which you have committed is that you have introduced political intrigue among students. May God forgive you for the poison poured by you in their ears. This act of yours is calculated to utterly ruin the Muhammadan community. I pray to God that you and your Muhammadan associates may not become so swollen with pride on account of the recent announcement of Government in connection with your movement as to forget yourselves. That statement appears to be innocent on the surface but embodies a grave warning to sensible people.

Servant of India (10), 11th Nov.

15. "If every kind of co-operation is *haram*, the use of Government's railways must be as sinful as the use of Government's schools; but it is sometimes urged, in palliation of the use of railways, which non-co-operationists cannot avoid, that the railways are somehow less contaminating than the educational institutions. Mr. Motilal Nehru employs this plea, and perhaps Mr. Gandhi also favours it. It is said that the riding on Government's railways is a physical act, while the imbibing of education in Government's schools concerns itself with intellectual development, and as such the latter is more harmful than the former. This reasoning would have force if it were proposed to boycott Government schools on the ground that they imparted instruction destructive of the national ideals or the impulse of patriotism. The boycott is in fact recommended merely because the schools are associated with Government. So far as association is concerned, the railways, if anything, give greater cause for non-co-operation than schools, and it is idle to extenuate the use of railways or the post and telegraph services in the way some people attempt to do. If, then, the governing idea in applying the principle of non-co-operation to the public services is nothing but expediency, is it wrong to say that, in selecting schools and colleges for the immediate practice of non-co-operation, the leaders of the movement only show that they have little faith in the value of the education."

16. "Since we wrote on the subject it has become clear to the world that non-co-operation is the maddest political enterprise in India's long and chequered history. Just at a time when India's greatest need is hearty co-operation between all races and creeds, to pass a scheme like non-co-operation in the Congress by 'wrong methods of voting and other grave irregularities,' to intimidate candidates and voters in the first popular election India has ever had, to seek to withdraw Indian students and children from college and school and undermine the authority of teachers and parents—these things and many others can be described by no other word than madness."

Dnyánodaya (41), 11th Nov., Eng. cols.

17. Under the heading "If I am Arrested" *Young India* publishes the following translation of an article in the *Navjivan* of the 7th November 1920:—"Rivers of bloodshed by the Government cannot frighten me; but I would be deeply pained even if the people did so much as abuse the Government for my sake or in my name. It would be disgracing me if the people lost their equilibrium on my arrest. The nation can achieve no progress merely by depending upon me. Progress is possible only by their understanding and following the path suggested by me. For this reason, I desire that the people should maintain perfect self-control and consider the day of my arrest as a day of rejoicing. I desire that even the weaknesses existing to-day should disappear at that time. What can be the motive of the Government in arresting me? The Government are not my enemy, for I have not a grain of enmity towards them. But they believe that I am the soul of all this agitation, that, if I am removed, the ruled and the rulers would be left in peace, that the people are blindly following me. Not only the Government but some of our leaders also share this belief. How, then, can the Government put the people to the test? How can the Government ascertain whether the people understand my advice or are simply dazzled by my utterances? The only way left to them is to arrest me. Of course, there still remains an alternative for them and that lies in the removal of the causes which have led me to offer this advice. But intoxicated as they are with power, the Government will not see their own fault and even if they do, they will not admit it. The only way then that remains for them is to measure the strength of the people. They can do this by arresting me. If the people are thus terrorised into submission they can be said to deserve the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs. If on the other hand the people resort to violence, they will merely be playing into the hands of the Government. Their aeroplanes will then bomb the people, their Dyers will shoot into them, and their Smiths will uncover the veils of our women. There will be other officers to make the people rub their noses against the ground, crawl on their bellies, and undergo the scourge of whipping. Both these results will be equally bad and unfortunate. They will not lead to *Swaraj*. In other countries governments have been overthrown by sheer brute-force, but I have often shown that India cannot attain *Swaraj* by that force. What, then, should the people do if I am arrested? The answer now is simple. The people (1) should preserve peace and calmness; (2) should not observe *Hartals*; (3) should not hold meetings but (4) should be fully awake. I should certainly expect (5) all the Government schools to be vacated and shut down; (6) Lawyers to withdraw from practice in greater numbers; (7) Settlement by private arbitration of cases pending before the Law Courts; (8) Opening of numerous national schools and colleges; (9) Renunciation of all foreign cloth in favour of the exclusive use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments by lacs of men and women, and selling or burning of any foreign cloth in stock; (10) None to enlist in the army or in any other Government Service; (11) Those able to earn their livelihood by other means to give up Government Services, civil and even military; (12) Contribution of as much as is wanted towards national funds; (13) Title holders to surrender titles in greater numbers; (14) Candidates to withdraw from elections, or if already elected to resign their seats; (15) Voters who have not yet made up their minds, to resolve that it is sin to send any representative to the Councils. If the people

What Mr. Gandhi would like Indians to do if he were arrested.
Young India (14), 10th Nov.

resolve and carry this out, they would not have to wait for *Swaraj* even for a year. If they can exhibit this much strength we shall have attained *Swaraj*. I shall then be set free under the nation's seal. That will please me. My freedom today is like a prison to me..... In conclusion it is useless to find fault with the Government. We get what government we deserve. When we improve, the government also is bound to improve. Only when we improve can we attain *Swaraj*. Non-co-operation is the nation's determination to improve. Will the nation abandon the resolve and begin to co-operate after my arrest? If the people become mad and take to violence and as a result of it crawl on their bellies, rub their noses on the ground, salute the Union Jack and walk eighteen miles to do it, what else is that but co-operation? It is better to die than to submit to crawling, etc. In fine, consider it from any point of view, the course suggested by me is the right one for the people to take."

Appeal to Government to leave the non-co-operation movement to die of inanition.

Sind Vasi (158), 28th Oct.

18. Rumours have been afloat that the Government is about to intern Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers or to arrest them. It is not known what amount of truth there is in these statements. At all events the prayer of every well-wisher of the country is that Government may take no such step. We are sure that the internment or confinement of Mahatma Gandhi and his associates will not mend matters. It will rather give an impetus to the movement started by them, because of the popular excitement that will be caused thereby. We believe that the non-co-operation movement is waiting for this step of Government in order to burst into full vigour. Repression on the part of Government will, as in the past, make matters worse. We hope that this time Government will not stumble but will, as was suggested by Lord Sinha before his departure from England, leave the movement of non-co-operation to die of inanition.

Why Government allow Mr. Gandhi so much latitude.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 5th Nov., Eng. cols.

19. "A good many people possessing moderate views have been wondering why Mr. Gandhi is allowed so much latitude by our Government in his non-co-operation propaganda. The answer to these people is given by Mrs. Besant in the address she wished to deliver last Thursday in the Excelsior Theatre but was prevented from doing. Mrs. Besant has often spoken, let it be said to her credit, some very unpalatable truths but rarely has she put her finger so unerringly on the weak spot of a system as when she says in the address now published :—'I am anxious that Government should not interfere in any way with the agitation carried on by the non-co-operation people because that will only strengthen those people. The movement, left to itself, will die a natural death'..... Mr. Gandhi realises this as does the Government of Sir George Lloyd. The only measure necessary and calculated to give an enormous impetus to this movement is repression on the part of the Government and this urgent help which Mr. Gandhi seeks by his own arrest will not be given him, not by the Government of Sir George Lloyd at any rate. Left to itself the whole movement as well as Mr. Gandhi's great popularity will die a natural death."

Comments on the sentence of imprisonment passed on Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the *Zamindar*.

Al-Wahid (151), 29th Oct.

20. The dreaded hour has come and our great worthy Moulana Zafarali Khan has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment because he created an awakening in the Punjáb. The manner in which he has stood by his religion will afford inspiration to workers in the cause of India's freedom. This is not the first time for the Moulana to have suffered at the hands of the Punjáb bureaucracy. Since the war with Tripoli the Moulana's life has been a life of trials and sufferings. The cruel bureaucrats of the Punjáb must remember, however, that they have today snatched away and subjected to injustice a highly respectable leader of a province with whose help their countrymen have brought the world at their feet, and with whose support they have been planning great schemes. It is

certain that no Punjábi, however dull of feeling, will, after this open high-handedness, co-operate with them. The incarceration of Zafarali will rather quicken the sense of honour and spirit of non-co-operation in the Punjáb.

Political Bhomiyo (74), 5th Nov.

21. Commenting upon the sentence passed on Mr. Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the *Zamindar*, the *Political Bhomiyo* writes:—We do not mean to criticize the British Constitution, for which we have great respect; but it is possible that there should be some defect in it, inasmuch as it is a man-made constitution. It is, therefore, natural that there should be some error in the judgment delivered in the case of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan. Great disaffection prevails among the people on account of the sentence passed upon him. Government must pacify the people in this case, particularly because Government were the complainants, the offence was committed against Government, and a Government servant was the judge. The punishment meted out to Mr. Zafar Ali Khan is an additional wound to the already wounded heart of the Islamic world. Mr. Zafar Ali Khan's offence is in no wise an offence at all. Lectures and speeches infinitely more inflammable than the one for which he was convicted are daily appearing in the papers and are being delivered to the people every day. These are scarcely taken notice of. We are very proud of the principles of British justice and its administration. We wish that any misunderstanding which might mislead the people with regard to that justice may be removed.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (160), 7th Nov.

22. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* declares that the witnesses against Zafarali Khan of Láhore were all Government servants: the judge was likewise a Government servant; hence the accused could not be acquitted under any circumstances. If the accused had really incited the people to hate Government, such witnesses ought to have been brought forward as were totally unconnected with Government. The paper inquires if anything can be more ludicrous than that a renegade Inspector of Police should read an indictment and that he should be followed by parrots who utter ditto to him. It threatens the accusers of Zafarali Khan by reminding them of the wrath of God about to befall them, and adds that the jail is a pleasure-house (*lit.* his wife's home) to the prisoner.

Comments on the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to certain parts of the Punjáb.

Gujaráti Punch (21), 7th Nov.

23. The *Gujarátí Punch* strongly condemns the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to certain portions of the Punjáb and remarks:—We do not say that no seditious speeches are being delivered in the three districts of the Punjáb to which the Act has been applied. But the Police are very quick to scent sedition, and it is not right that the provincial rulers should pass orders merely on the strength of the report of the Police. If in other provinces also a similar policy is adopted towards public speeches and the Act applied to harmless districts out of a desire to create an impression, in a very short time India will be reduced to a very troublous condition, and at such a time the authorities will declare even the ordinary actions of the public to be seditious. We once again appeal to the authorities not to make use of old weapons of repression and take hasty action under them like the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb, but to patiently feel the pulse of the people and to try to give careful consideration to their demands. Provincial satraps must also bear in mind that the unrest is not confined, as they imagine, to their own provinces but has spread over the whole of India, and the remedy for removing it is not repression. So long as the authorities will not try to allay the sufferings of the people and will persist in their futile policy of repression, it will be like groping about blindly in a dense jungle.

Repressive measures will convert India into another Ireland.

Vande Mataram (159), 25th Oct.

24. We want *Swaraj*; but we do not want to fight the battle of *swaraj* with the weapons with which battles are ordinarily fought. Our only weapon is non-co-operation. It is a weapon which will tell in the contest with brute force. It is a weapon which every man, woman and child can wield and is peculiarly suited to the people of this country who are weak from starvation. If

obstacles are put in our way a critical situation will arise. We are not afraid of repressive measures. We would, however, warn the bureaucracy that their repressive measures will only convert India into an Ireland. Those who say that if non-co-operation is checked there will be no trouble in the country, are mistaken. If non-co-operation is checked there will be disaster in the country such as there was in France. We would request one and all not to lose the opportunity. There are some people who say that the sinner must be punished and violence resorted to. They must remember that freedom is too sacred a thing to be obtained with sin. England also has a fine opportunity to acquit herself. If England wishes that India may not be another Ireland she should give her *swaraj* immediately.

25. "The Non-co-operation movement has reached its zenith and is fast moving to its inevitable nadir. Aligarh has dealt it a blow from which it will not recover. After defying the Trustees of the College for two days, Mr. Mahomed Ali acceded to the request of the District Magistrate to remove himself and his adherents from the College quarters of which he had taken possession. The significance of this event is that the bulk of the Trustees, representing the most influential and enlightened strata of Islam in India, including all the Mahomedan States, have marked their severe hostility to non-co-operation, one of whose professed reasons is the fate of the Khilafat. Non-Mahomedan adherents of non-co-operation are only making themselves ridiculous by following a course which implies that they are more Moslem in their sympathies than His Exalted Highness the Nizam and Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, and distinguished Mahomedan leaders like many of the Trustees. The second great reason adduced for non-co-operation is the wrongs of the Punjáb. The speech of the venerable Lala Hans Raj to the students of Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College shows that the men who most keenly feel for the wrongs of the Punjáb, and have most cause to do so, are firmly of opinion that boycotting schools and Colleges can only land the country in disaster, without redressing its grievances. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose recent recantation in regard to the Councils evoked the plaudits of the non-co-operationists, has declared his intention not to give up Government grants to the Benares University. The Trades Union Congress has wholly thrown non-co-operation overboard, as evidenced by the fact that Lala Lajpatrai has been recommended for nomination by the Government of India as the Indian delegate to the International Labour Conference affiliated to the League of Nations."

Setback in the non-co-operation movement.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 7th Nov.

26. It is against religious dictates and social code of honour that students should give up their studies in opposition to the wishes of their parents. We are greatly aggrieved to find that Mahatma Gandhi, for whom we have always entertained great reepect, is at the head of such a pernicious movement. Whether a non-co-operation movement succeeds or not, is a different question. But if that movement is injurious to religion and morality of the people, it is bound to result in disorder in the country. How then will Mahatma Gandhi be able to get Swaraj to the people within a year?

Disapproval of the boycott of schools by immature minds.
Sind Vasi (158), 26th Oct.

27. We consider the non-co-operation movement as an inopportune and ill-advised one. The present policy of the bureaucracy is no doubt opposed to the true interests of India, but we think that no special harm will come to us if we were to continue to suffer for some time more what we have suffered for years past. We should not, therefore, resort to non-co-operation and thereby give the bureaucracy an excuse for adopting a repressive policy. The Labour party will soon come into power and give us self-government on colonial lines. We fail to understand why Mr. Gandhi has become so very impatient. Mr. Jinnah has rightly warned Mr. Gandhi against leading India into the path of ruin. We are surprised to see that Mr. Gandhi has directed his energies towards students and has incited them to boycott schools and

Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár (85), 5th Nov.; *Insáf* (60), 12th Nov.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 6th and 10th Nov.

colleges. It is feared the movement will spread very rapidly. The boycotting of schools was the last item in Mr. Gandhi's programme. The major part of the programme seems difficult of achievement and so Mr. Gandhi has adopted the easier course. We do not think it wise on the part of Mr. Gandhi to agitate the minds of the students. [The *Insáf* expresses fear that great harm will be done if Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali succeed in inducing the students to boycott the existing educational institutions without making adequate provision for their instruction in national schools and colleges. The *Sánj Vartamán*, on the other hand, writes:—Many boys have boycotted schools and colleges and many more are prepared to do so. The need has, therefore, arisen to provide instruction for them. Mr. Gandhi has issued an appeal for funds for national education and we hope the public will give a hearty response to it. Only five lakhs have been asked for by Mr. Gandhi and the people will be failing in their duty if they do not provide him with the necessary funds. In a subsequent issue the paper expresses gratification at the progress of non-co-operation and appeals to the people to give liberal donations towards national education on the Hindu new year day and during the course of the year.]

28. 'Corporator Faineant' writes in the *Hindi Punch*:—"In the midst of the season of Joyous Merry Divali, there are cries of defiance heard all round from the lips of the non-co-operationist. He is busy fomenting strife in family circles between fathers and sons, and blighting the fair prospects of future hopes of poor and middle class families. The son is asked to defy the authority of the parent and his teacher, to cast his school and college books aside and to leave his school and college receiving Government grants and join a mushroom so-called national one, with no establishment, no equipment, and no funds,—or to loaf in the streets and enjoy himself as best he can. The insane Gandhi cult is being utilised to ruin the happiest of families, to rent assunder family ties, to propagate social feuds and to bring grief and tears to the mother and father who considered themselves happy in possessing obedient, dutiful and docile sons now turned into disobedient, loafing truants. Can the large sensible, sober and sane portion of the community any longer tolerate this madness? Can it allow this insanity of Gandhi cult to run riot without any restraint? It is high time the whole community of parents and guardians moved to suppress this insane cult by speaking with one unanimous voice against it. A number of families are now in mourning in this season of the Feast of Lamps."

Hindi Punch (22), 7th Nov., Eng. cols.

29. Messrs. Shankarprasad Mishra and Ramantar Ramnarayan Terani, proprietors of the City High School, Ahmedabad, write to the *Gujaráti* complaining against the decision arrived at by the Senate of the National University of Ahmedabad at a recent meeting presided over by Mr. Gandhi making it compulsory upon all institutions to be affiliated to the University to admit boys belonging to the untouchable classes on an equal footing with boys of the higher castes, and remark:—The decision of the National University is likely to insult the feelings of orthodox Hindus. If orthodox Hindus have respect for their religion they would not allow their boys to sit along with boys belonging to the untouchable classes. We are very much grieved at the abovementioned decision of the Senate of the National University. We have come to believe that the so-called National University, instead of protecting the Hindu religion, will do harm to it. [The paper remarks:—The good work that Mr. Gandhi has commenced is likely to suffer by the step adopted by the Senate of the National University. Mr. Gandhi should, therefore, refrain from causing confusion in social matters while he is making an effort to cause confusion in the political field. We have to be careful to avoid internal dissensions in the matter of education and to profit by the example of the feuds caused between the Roman Catholics and Protestants in Ireland. It Mr. Gandhi wants to continue his struggle for *swardjya* he should make haste to remove the difference of opinion that has been caused

Protest against the decision of the Senate of the National University of Ahmedabad that untouchables should be admitted in schools affiliated to it.

Gujaráti (19), 7th Nov.

on the question of the education of the untouchables or else the movement for *swarâjya* will lose its vigour.]

30. There is no doubt the reforms confer substantial rights upon the people although they fall short of their expectations. There is also no doubt that a judicious use of the rights that have now been conferred will help considerably to accelerate our progress. The path of evolution is no doubt a long one but will surely lead us to the goal. No one dare openly preach revolutionary doctrines, but every attempt is being made to discredit all talk of evolution. Non-co-operation will only harm the people and will not materially influence the policy of Government. The backward classes particularly stand to lose more than the advanced classes by identifying themselves with this movement. Under the reforms, sanitation, education, agriculture, etc., will be transferred to the control of the people. The masses will certainly derive much benefit if the present rights are wisely used.

The backward classes will lose by taking part in the non-co-operation movement.
Jâgriti (47), 6th Nov.

*31. "The ignorance of a large number of voters has provided non-co-operators with an opportunity to persuade them not to vote in the coming elections. For this purpose Mr. Gandhi has personally issued a sort of manifesto calling upon voters not to go to the polling station on the day of the election and to dissuade others from doing so. We earnestly caution all voters not to be so unwise as to throw away their votes either on account of persuasion or on account of direct or indirect pressure brought to bear upon them. The right to vote is one of the most valuable rights of a free citizen and he who tries to dissuade him from using it tries to rob him of his freedom..... Now when a man gives up his vote he thereby declares three things: (1) He declares that he does not want to have any voice in the administration of the country; in other words, he does not want self-government or does not care to have it. (2) He declares his unfitness to enjoy one of the elementary rights of citizenship. (3) He declares that he gives up his freedom and is willing to remain under a despotic system of government. We are sure no sensible elector, having learnt the value and importance of his vote, will be persuaded by misleading arguments to renounce it."

Exhortation to voters not to throw away their privilege of voting.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 14th Nov., Eng. cols.

32. The *Kesari* contends that the Nationalists do not force anybody not to vote and that they only explain the Congress resolution and maintain that it is for the electors to decide whether they should or should not vote, and that if the majority approve of their opinions and take a vow not to vote they are free to do it. It argues that those who are really guilty under section 171A of the Indian Penal Code are the officials and their parasites who threaten every voter that he must go and vote. It proceeds:—Whatever the bureaucrats of Sátára and other places may threaten, voters, remember that it entirely depends upon you to vote or not to vote. If your conscience tells you not to vote, not even God can order you to vote. Even the notifications in big letters issued to threaten you do not say that it is an offence not to vote. They are not worth a scrap of paper. If you are determined not to vote, do not yield. If any Rao Bahadur, Rao Saheb, Talati, Kulkarni, Police Patel or some such person tries to take you to the booth against your will, show him the notification and tell him that if he forces you he will be liable to one year's imprisonment. Government have sent a voting paper and a registered packet in connection with the Council of State elections. It is a way of exercising indirect influence. If voters have no desire to vote, they should freely tear it up or burn it. Government cannot proceed against them under any law.

Section 171A of the Indian Penal Code does not apply to non-co-operators.
Kesari (114), 9th Nov.

33. "Judging from the proceedings of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the resolutions passed and the addresses of the President and the Chairman it seems the Congress was a success..... Indeed, in the Indian Trade Union Congress we see a part of the much wider movement of Indian awakening and political emancipation, though the Congress has

Comments on the proceedings of the All-India Trade Union Congress.
New Times (9), 4th Nov.

not technically defined, direct political ideal before it except so far as the influence and power of labour to shape Government machinery for certain economic and social ends is concerned. But the Trade Union Congress aims, directly, at the awakening of the great mass of low-paid workers in this country—an object which is the cherished aim of the Indian National Congress. The labourer is asserting his rights of manhood and citizenship and in so doing he is, above all, a political animal. There is nothing dearer to the heart of the nationalist, to whatever school of political thought or category he may belong, than to see the 'dumb' millions of India speaking straight from their own lips their own demands, directing their own methods of work and having their own organisations. Lala Lajpatrai did well, therefore, to suggest an outlook to the Congress that may be national without any suggestion of following any school of politics in the National Congress..... The Indian labour movement is a patriotic and a national movement..... The platform of labour is one on which the moderates, the so-called 'extremists' and conservatives could unite in helping the masses of our countrymen. Only, in the labour movement we need an awakening of the real soul of India not an imitation of western methods and then again aping the so-called solutions which sometimes aggravate the problem. The foundations of an Indian Labour movement have been laid under happy auspices."

34. "We would like to refer to an impression which was left on the mind of the reader of the Congress proceedings that they were dominated by people who were not themselves workers to an extent neither desirable nor necessary. No doubt every one will admit that in the present condition of Indian labour it is necessary that the working classes should be assisted in their movements by some members of the educated classes who sympathise with their aspirations. While admitting this, it is necessary to state that if this outside guidance is carried beyond a certain limit it will come in the way of teaching self-reliance and self-help to the workers. The outsiders should take care not to overstep the position which properly belongs to them in the labour movement, *viz.*, that of mere advisers. If, on the contrary, the outside helpers take upon themselves the duty of sole direction, the educative value of the movement to the workers will be lost. The golden mean is difficult to hit. But there must be a deliberate attempt at reaching it."

Servant of India (10), 11th Nov.

35. "The speech of Lala Lajpatrai reads like an irresponsible utterance of the characteristic stump orator. It does not befit a man in the responsible position of a president, especially of the Congress of the Trade Unions to be. We are sorry we have to say this. But what else can we say of a man who is out tracing practically all existing evils in this world to a single cause, and that, organized Capital. It is out-marxing Marx. 'Capitalism has destroyed many an old civilization, enslaved religion, chained science and placed in bondage all the forces of nature and human intellect, etc., etc.' Such sweeping assertions stand self-condemned."

Subodh Patrika (49), 7th Nov., Eng. cols.

36. "We have been daily receiving numerous letters from very respectable correspondents on the reckless destruction of letters by post, which perhaps the authorities would like to have us believe is one of the efficient working methods for meeting the situation caused by the postmen's strike. The other day a correspondent saw hundreds of letters in the water at the Kennedy Sea Face. We wonder if this is the way to cut the gordian knot of the postal strike. There are innumerable complaints of letters taking weeks to be delivered from one district to another in the City of Bombay. In the Fort district a letter from one sub-office took eight solid days to reach and be delivered to the addressee in another sub-office of the same district. The authorities must understand that the fact of the postmen holding out so long is a sure sign of the genuineness of their grievances. Rebellion of the belly, says Bacon, is the worst form of social disorder, and its

The Postal strike.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Nov.

evil effects have to be forestalled by humane administration of the laws. But sun-dried bureaucrats are accustomed to see two candles where there is really only one."

Stoppage of the export of foodstuffs is not such an easy matter as it seems.
Gujarâti (19), 14th Nov., Eng. cols.

*37. "After setting aside sufficient food-grains for the maintenance of his family, an agriculturist must sell the surplus in order to buy sufficient clothing and all other important necessaries of life, or to pay the expenses of marriage and other ceremonies, the outstandings due to his creditor and the land revenue and other dues. If there is a demand abroad for the food-grains of this country, naturally they will fetch a good price and the producer will profit *pro tanto*. If the monsoon is unfavourable in any particular year, the price of food-grains will of course go up. If exports are stopped, it will no doubt fall but the ryot will suffer. As a rule any artificial interference with the natural operation of economic laws is productive of greater evil than good. Of course there might arise exceptional circumstances justifying a temporary embargo upon the exports of particular goods or articles..... The question, therefore, arises under what circumstances the policy of restricting exports should be resorted to. The ryot has a good ground to complain that whilst the wealthy mill-owner is allowed to reap a rich harvest without any let or hindrance and make even the most necessary articles of clothing unduly expensive, he alone is called upon to make a sacrifice in the interests of the consumer who is in a position to make his voice heard. The growers of cotton and jute are not handicapped in this fashion and why should the producers of foodstuffs alone be subjected to a loss? That is a fair question to raise and must be faced in an impartial spirit. If they get discontented and begin to grow more profitable crops like cotton, the mischief will be intensified rather than lessened by the consequent shortage of food-supplies. All these aspects of the problem must be carefully considered, and although there is some danger that our Government is apt to be influenced in their decisions by the food and other economic requirements of England and the exigencies of her imperial policy in different parts of the world, the problem is, after all, a complex one and cannot be solved by insisting on the stoppage of exports whenever prices go up. There is, however, no reason why Government should not lay before the public all the data in their possession and state in a straightforward manner the principles on which their policy is based. This silence is viewed with great suspicion and surely they have it in their power to remove it by a candid and impartial exposition of the grounds on which they wish to regulate their control of the exports of wheat and rice."

The change in the constitution of the old All-India Home Rule League.
Gujarâti (19), 7th Nov.

38. Commenting upon Mr. Jinnah's letter to Mr. Gandhi in connection with the change in the constitution of the Home Rule League, the *Gujarâti* writes:—We think that Mr. Jinnah's argument, that the rule as regards the three-fourths majority for making changes in the constitution of the League is applicable equally to the Council of the League as to the League itself, is quite correct. If Mr. Gandhi's ruling is to be accepted, there will be no difficulty in effecting changes in the constitution of any Society almost every day. We, therefore, do not consider Mr. Gandhi's ruling to be correct. *Swarâjya* as outlined by Mr. Gandhi leaves scope for the Swarajya Sabha to participate in non-constitutional agitation against the Government. Mr. Jinnah cannot be accused of being hasty in tendering his resignation of the membership of the Sabha.

Are not Indians better fitted for the rights of *Swarajya* than the Arabs?
Sanj Vartamân (33), 9th Nov.

39. The Arabs of Mesopotamia will be given *Swarajya* and the right of self-determination. The British Government have thus taken a noble and courageous step, but we cannot congratulate them upon it as in our opinion the British have no right to remain in that country as mandatories. As advised by His Highnesss the Aga Khan, the British should

evacuate Mesopotamia and let the Arabs shift for themselves. But are the Arabs more civilised than the Indians? Do the Arabs possess more administrative experience than the Indians? How have the Arabs been able to secure *Swarajya* at one stroke? Are the Arabs considered fit for *Swarajya* because they rose in an armed rebellion against the British and all the Indians considered unfit for it because Indians are unarmed? Will not the world consider Indians to be of a lower type than the Arabs? Are Indians still considered unfit for administering their own affairs? How long will they continue to bear this stigma? On a careful consideration, Britain will be convinced that India is better qualified for *Swarajya* than Mesopotamia. If Britain wants India to continue as an integral part of the Empire she should bestow self-government upon that country on colonial lines.

Condition of Ireland no credit to England.
Sind Vasi (158), 27th Oct.

40. Ireland is in a bad plight indeed. There is no safety of person and property in the country. Atrocity and inhumanity have made a permanent abode there. And all this is happening in the regime of Lloyd George under the protection of the British Government. The Sinn Feiners alone are not responsible for this state of affairs. The Government are much more so. For each murder committed by the Sinn Feiners, the Police and soldiers destroy villages, as will be seen from the reports in English papers. From these papers it would appear that British soldiers in Ireland are following the example of German soldiers in Belgium. When the Germans committed atrocities in Belgium Mr. Lloyd George himself raised a loud protest against these proceedings. What has he got to say to the atrocities committed by the British Police and soldiers on his behalf in Ireland? In the House of Commons a member proposed a vote of censure on the British Policy in Ireland but the motion was lost. This attitude of the House of Commons does no credit to its members. What is surprising is that the high principles on which the war was declared have now been receiving blows from just those persons who were loud in their protestations. While Ireland is in this state, there is confusion all over Asia. Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and India are feeling aggrieved as the result of the violation of the principles referred to above. All this shows that there is no peace in the world in spite of the tremendous sacrifices made in the war.

Comments on the death of the late Lord Mayor of Cork.
Gujarâti (19), 7th Nov.

41. The *Gujarâti* applauds in very high terms the way in which McSwiney, the late Lord Mayor of Cork, sacrificed his life in the cause of his country and remarks:— The people of Ireland call his death murder at the hands of the Government of England. McSwiney has allowed himself to be murdered at the altar of the liberty of his motherland. The question arises whether good or harm will come to the English Government through this. Is it possible that the people of Ireland will remain quiet after this? The world asks why it is that England which fights for the independence of the smaller nations is not in a position to satisfy the people of Ireland. Our only wish is that God may give Ireland the strength to secure her independence!

Indians should have a day of national mourning.
Hindusthán (23), 7th Nov., Eng cols.

42. Referring to the setting aside by the Irish of a day of mourning for Mr. McSwinney, the *Hindusthán* remarks:— "We, Indians, who are like the Irish in several respects should try and set apart such a day for spreading the spirit of patriotism in the country. Why can we not observe the day of the Jhallianwalla Bagh Massacre as our day of national mourning. We have talked enough about it; we have complained enough about it; we have raised funds for it, why not then go into mourning over it every year? It is national. It will bring Indians together. It will serve to bring together Hindus and Muslims. And it will enable us to work better for the welfare of our country in future. It is by such measures, such teachings, such observances, etc., that a 'nation' is created in the modern, Western sense of the term!"

43. Reviewing the Government of India's communique regarding the condition of Indian students in England, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—It appears from the statement published by Government that Indian students, especially those desirous of taking instruction in engineering, cannot be accommodated in any of the Universities of England and Scotland. Government further declare that students should not proceed to England without having taken adequate preliminary training in engineering, and that they should obtain the necessary information from the Committee appointed by Government to guide them. This statement of the Government of India has given rise to a number of inferences by the people. Did not Government obtain any information about the congestion in the universities of Great Britain before a large number of students were stranded there? Is not any Government Department responsible for not having been prompt in noticing the situation? Again, what do Government propose to do with regard to the students who have not been able to get admission to English Universities? Government must also ascertain the proportion of Indian students in the English Universities as compared to those going there from other countries. Again, they must inquire if the condition of acquiring adequate preliminary knowledge enforced in the case of Indian students also applies to students going to Great Britain from countries such as France, Japan or Italy. If that is so, the Indian public will have no cause for any protest. But if that condition applies to Indian students only, the people as well as the Government of India must enter their emphatic protest against such treatment of Indian students. We would, therefore, request the Government of India publishing a detailed statement with regard to the situation.

Plight of Indian students in England.
Bombay Samáchár (61), 8th Nov.

44. Bad times appear to be in store for high officials of Government. Of late we often read in the newspapers that the Viceroy was to visit a certain place but that the municipality thereof refused to vote him an address. The same people who were formerly ready to lick the shoes of Viceroys and Governors now refuse to honour them! How can these big men put up with this insult? We are afraid they might get disgusted with this treatment and return to their country before their term of office expires! The English are a proud people. When they differ from their superiors they send in their resignations. They do not submit to an insult even at the hands of their superiors. How can these great men then submit to an insult at the hands of their inferiors, whom they have conquered and who are *kala admis*! It is indeed our good luck that they have put up with it so long! If this goes on for some time—and there are indications that it will—then there is no knowing as to when these officials would be driven to relinquish their authority!

How the relations between high officials and the people are being changed.
Lokashahi (119), 18th Oct.

45. The attempt made by Mr. Moysey, the Collector of Sátára, in the course of his speeeh at his recent Durbar to defend the Satya Shodhak Samaj is very reprehensible. It is proved by the speech that some officials encourage or at least turn a deaf ear to the obscure *tamashas* of the Satya Shodhak Samaj in order to put down *swardjya* and specially non-co-operation movements. It is absurd to compare the Satya Shodhak Samaj with the Protestant movement in Europe. We pity the District Magistrate for his strange ideas of the responsibility of maintaining peace. He himself admits that there are things in the *tamashas* which wound and excite the feelings of Brahmins. Is it not then the duty of the Magistrate to exercise his powers of censorship or to proceed under 153-A and compel the excision of the objectionable portions? To advise the people not to go to the *tamashas* if they do not like them is for the District Magistrate to resign his powers! Is he prepared to allow a *tamasha* abusing Jesus Christ or the Pope in the way the Satya Shodhak show men abuse Hindu deities? When asked to stop the obscene *tamashas* which cause excitement, the Collector brings forward

The Collector of Sátára and the Satya Shodhak movement.
Kesari (114), 9th Nov.

the excuse of freedom of speech and tells Congressmen that he does not stop their meetings also. As if the Congress speeches and the ravings of the Kolhápur showmen are of the same type! We ask this unreasonable District Magistrate to enforce censorship and 153-A as much against Satya Shodhak Samajists as against Congressmen. It is quite necessary to remove another great delusion of the District Magistrate. His speech identifies the Samaj with non-Brahmins, and suggests that if Government do not protect Brahmins, the Samaj would suppress the handful of Brahmins in no time. It is quite a mistaken idea. The Samajists do not form even a hundredth part of non-Brahmins, and Sanatana non-Brahmins like Brahmins feel indignant at the *tamashas*. If the Brahmins are a handful, Samajists are not even a thimbleful! If some officials had not backed the showmen for some special object, their rampings would not have continued. The Satya Samajists had a sudden inspiration when the *swardjya* movement was begun. An impetus was given when the non-co-operation movement spread. An inference can be drawn as to what is at the bottom of the movement. In order to rebut it, the Collector says that the Samaj is an old one. Nobody at least in Poona need be told as to its age. If the District Magistrate were to tell us when the present leaders of the Samaj added obscene *tamashas* to their movement and under whose encouragement and how many Hindu castes complain against them, it would be easily seen that the whole argument is mistaken.

46. "In the course of his banquet speech at Trivandrum in reply to the toast proposed by his Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, Lord Willingdon is reported to have played the role of a godfather to the numerous Christian subjects of His Highness, whom he pathetically described as 'of the same religious denomination as I and my wife belong to' and 'the most loyal and devoted subjects of your State'. The mischievous consequences of such invidious distinction between different classes of Travancore subjects cannot be over-estimated. The sectarian mentality of the Governor of an Indian Province which occasionally indulges in communal bickering is very much to be deplored. Lord Willingdon was there as the Head of a Province and not as a Christian Missionary and should therefore have avoided all reference to sectarian proclivities, suggested to him doubtless by his ecclesiastical friends on the spot. The Indian mind, as a rule, is very sensitive on such matters, and praise of a particular class of people, is invariably taken as an indirect aspersion on the character of the rest, however unintentional it may be."

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's recent speech at Trivandrum.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Nov.

***47.** "His Excellency's reply to the Deputation was considerate, thoughtful and sympathetic..... It is clear that Sir George Lloyd thoroughly appreciates the importance of the labour problem..... Whatever that may be, we are glad to find that His Excellency is in favour of maintaining a policy of benevolent neutrality, and that Government are prepared to play the rôle of an active ally in matters affecting the permanent interests of labour. The development scheme in Bombay was cited by His Excellency as an illustration of their benevolent attitude. The present strikes have once more exemplified the difficulty of adjusting the wages of strikers to the cost of living ..... It is proposed to set up a Labour Bureau competent to advise Government on all matters affecting the interests of Labour. The Government have, therefore, secured the services of a highly experienced and competent official on the Board of Trade to inaugurate the work of this Bureau. The compilation of workmen's budgets is at present an impossibility owing to the absence of accurate statistics. This problem must be tackled as soon as possible and it is to be hoped that the new official, who will be ignorant of the conditions of Indian labour, will be able to master all the factors of the problem he is called upon to solve with the help of experienced and competent Indians. We further hope that Indians will be regularly trained under him for the performance of this important work, and that the new office will not be

Comments on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's reply to the All-India Trade Union Congress Deputation.
Gujarâti (19), 14th Nov., Eng. cols.

converted, as usual, into a close preserve for European assistants, supervisors, etc. Indians with their close experience of Indian life will easily qualify themselves under the sympathetic guidance of a European expert and the country will profit by their experience in the long run. We attach special importance to this point, if the scheme is to be successful and of abiding value. His Excellency was right in his contention that Government cannot be expected to interfere in disputes between capital and labour. They must be settled by the parties concerned..... 'I regard,' said His Excellency, 'the organisation of labour on sound and economic lines as an unquestionable advantage to labour, to the community and to Government, and progress in this direction will receive my sympathy and support.' That is a gratifying assurance to the Deputation and to all well-wishers of labour."

*48. "The speech which His Excellency the Governor made in reply to the representation of the deputation from the Trade Union Congress which waited on him, betrays a lively appreciation of the fact that the Congress, such as it is, seeks Co-operation from Government at a time when non-co-operation is a popular shibboleth to which even some of the members of the deputation itself, had professed adherence..... His Excellency's creed as to the limits of the function of the State in India in ensuring fair dealing for factory labour, is considerably behind his policy. We hope it will soon be abreast of it. There is no use clinging to the formulæ of Western economics, even after experience of the country has imposed on an administrator the necessity of a radical revision of them. Government in India have recognised by passing factory legislation that the unorganised condition of Indian factory labour imposes on them duties which in Great Britain properly belong to labour organizations..... His Excellency announced the early establishment of a Labour Bureau, among other things, to record continuously and accurately the principal factors which affect the economic condition of labour and their inter-relation to one another. This is an excellent idea..... We are, however, not convinced that it is necessary to get a costly expert from England to organise this Bureau. These expensive experts have seldom justified their employment, and no wonder. They are totally at sea as to the conditions with which they have to deal in this country, which makes them, after a brief vain effort, to hand themselves over to the bureaucracy which, in the name and under the authority of the imported expert, does much what it would have done without him..... One is nowadays afraid to speak of reform in any department, because the one thing certain to come out of it—and it is often the only thing—is the importation of another costly 'expert'. We have also a suspicion that several of these 'experts' are meant for Indian export only."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 14th Nov.

49. Reviewing the reply given by His Excellency to the Trades Union Deputation, the *Hindusthán* writes:—In their address the deputation made a reference to the present strikes in Bombay, and requested His Excellency to intervene. His Excellency, shrewd statesman that he is, gave a non-committal reply. He also gave a clear indication of the attitude of Government towards the situation. He talked about the Labour Bureau which his Government propose to establish and its advantages, and he gave consolation to the deputation by saying that he would give all possible help to the labouring classes. We will, for a moment, accept His Excellency's argument that it would not be proper for Government to interfere in every dispute between the capitalist and the labourer. But the present circumstances are of a different type. There has been great discontent already prevailing among the people on account of various causes, and the strikes of the agitated labouring classes only add to the prevailing disaffection. In their own interests as well as the interests of the people, it is not desirable that Government should remain silent at such a time. If His Excellency will take the present situation into consideration and intervene, there is every likelihood of the strikes coming to an end. [The *Sánj Vartamán* also expresses great disappointment at His Excellency's refusal to intervene, and

Hindusthán (24), 12th Nov.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 12th Nov.

remarks that when the people not only suffer hardships but have also to undergo losses on account of the continuation of the strikes, it becomes the first duty of Government to intervene and bring about a reconciliation.]

50. In view of the sufferings of the country the Congress held at Calcutta passed a resolution in favour of non-co-operation. The programme of non-co-operation is to be carried out step by step in order to give the people the necessary training and the Government an opportunity to correct itself at any stage. If, however, the Government does not relent the end can be no other than the severance of the British connection. In view of this contingency the Sub-committee has after careful consideration come to the conclusion that the creed of the Congress should be for India to obtain *Swaraj* by peaceful and constitutional methods. Whether or not this *Swaraj* is to be obtained under British protection the committee has not clearly stated. Nor is it necessary that this point should be made clear. India has resorted to non-co-operation and if while non-co-operation is on in the country Government comes to its senses and listens to the demands of the people, India will be only too pleased to continue to be under British protection. But if the Government has its own way and instead of conciliating the people gives them cause for further dissatisfaction then India fortunately or unfortunately must have that *Swaraj* in which there is no place for British protection. This, however, depends on the attitude of the Government. The people have suffered indignities and cruelties, and it rests with the Government to pacify them or to inflame them.

Comments on the proposed amendment of the Congress Creed.
Hindu (153), 28th Oct.

51. What do the Indians want? Whether to be under British protection or to sever connection with the British? In reply to this we cite hereunder a case from history:— In 1907 Bolbis, the Duke of Poland, besieged the town of Bligar, and sent two flags, one white and the other red, to the towns-people with the message asking them to retain the white flag if they wanted to surrender, and the red one if they wanted to fight. The towns-people kept both flags, sending word to the besiegers that they wanted peace, but that in case he wanted war they were ready to fight. The same is the case with us. We have kept both flags. We are prepared to live under the British, as well as to separate from them. Man's essential need is self-respect, for which he will stake everything. What course of action India will decide upon depends upon what course of action Government will decide upon.

Hindu (153), 29th Oct.

52. The Government have now moved and Press Notes are issuing from the Commissioner's Press. In their Press Note No. 2 Government say that there is unrest in the country, and that 'in the country districts the peasants are grumbling to pay rent to the zamindar and land revenue to Government, and in the cities the labourers are complaining that while rich men live lives of comfort and ease, they are condemned to toil early and late, to live in miserable hovels and to go clad in rags'. The Commissioner's Government states that these ideas are the result of high prices. Poor Government! Then the Press Note goes on to say that there is fear of Bolshevik propaganda spreading in the country because of the restlessness referred to above and that it is impossible, however much Government may try, entirely to exclude this propaganda from a country, the size of India. Government is mistaken. It is impossible to exclude it even partially. The admission on the part of Government that the peasants are grumbling to pay rent to the zamindar and land revenue to Government, points to the conclusion that the Bolshevist doctrine has already spread smong them. Then the Government warns the rich, the educated and the middle class people not to join in the Swaraj movement which is to bring trouble to them. There is an idea in the Press Note which is excellent: 'the choice is in the hands of the rich and the educated. India is their country and it is for them to see that there is no Bolshevism in the country.' The

Comments on the Press Note No. 2 issued by the Commissioner in Sind on the need of arresting the spread of Bolshevism.
Bharatwasi (152), 30th Oct.

Government at the same time has given a very good advice to zamindars and rich people in asking them to improve the condition of the masses and to deal with them with generosity and kindness. In short the Sind Government has now taken to preaching generosity and kindness and quoting scriptures.

53. "On November 11th, 1918, the Armistice was concluded which ended the war between England and Germany. How different were our feelings then from what they are to-day! Then we, all the peoples of the world, had hopes of a new era of peace and goodwill. In Asia, and in India more especially, it was believed that the Allies, having been mercifully relieved of Czarist Russia, who had seemed their evil genius, would at last show some consideration for non-European and non-Christian peoples. Those hopes and that belief have been most cruelly belied. But to-day when the gun fires, and we stop in our work for a moment to remember, and to pray for, the brave men, Indian and British—our sons, our brothers, comrades, friends and foes—who gave their lives, as they believed for the great cause of humanity, let us return for just two minutes to the hopes of two years ago, the hopes of peace which spring from common sacrifice."

Reflections on the anniversary of the Armistice Day.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Nov.

54. "The news that the task of forming a provisional Government in Mesopotamia has been entrusted to 'His Highness the Naqib, guardian of the shrine of the Revered and Famous Saint Abdul Cadir Jhilani', in a message from Simla, is interesting. The choice of the Naqib, his elevation to the rank of Highness (which is perhaps only a mistranslation of his Turkish dignity) and the honorific epithets applied to Sid'na Abdul Cadir suggest that the whole move is a bid for Indian rather than Mesopotamian sympathy. In Baghdad, Mosul and Basra there are strong progressive parties, formerly affiliated to the Committee of Union and Progress, including men who have at any rate some slight knowledge as well as experience of the routine work of self-government on modern lines. It is from these men that any mandatory power desiring to set up an efficient Provisional Government in Mesopotamia would have chosen its personnel. 'His Highness the Naqib' may call upon them for his Council, though we seriously doubt it; but there is no doubt that if the people of Baghdad had been allowed themselves to choose their representatives, no religious leader, who was not also a political leader and associated with the thought of Muslim progress, would have stood a chance in the election."

The proposed provisional Government for Mesopotamia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th.

55. "The decent Englishman, whose fate it is to represent England among Orientals, has had to suffer shame in these last years. Obliged by his position and the mentality of the people among whom he works constantly to pledge his personal honour for the national honour, he has been placed in an entirely false position by the diplomatic subtleties of the British Government and by the new type of official superior which those subtleties have evolved..... Think of the story of the Turkish Dreadnoughts, bought and paid for by the patriotic efforts of the people of a bankrupt country, forced to fight for bare existence, a country whose navy England had undertaken to improve and strengthen; seized by our Government in a most insulting manner and the money not refunded, while Great Britain still 'wished' Turkey to maintain neutrality! Think of the effect of that small incident upon the East. It is only one of many little incidents—and not the worst—which have damaged England's name for honest dealing. And still hundreds of Englishmen in Asia and North Africa are talking of the honour and the perfect uprightness of England—to Muhammadans! Can they not see? This minister is an honourable man. That bureaucrat is an honourable man. 'So are they all honourable men.' But, in the aggregate, a monstrous rogue. The rogue must learn to mask his leering face when looking East, to put on the behaviour of a gentleman, and that consistently, or, by his very cleverness, he will destroy his country's influence."

What has damaged England's name for honest dealing in the East.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Nov.

56. Referring to the speech of Lord Curzon delivered at a dinner at the Central Asian Society, London, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* declares that since Lord Hardinge's appointment as French Ambassador, and the withdrawal of Mr. Balfour from the British Foreign Office, Lord Curzon has become a dictator at the abovementioned ministry. When he was Viceroy of India he was asked to refrain from meddling with the foreign policy of the British Empire. Since he became an independent minister he appears determined to carry out his old desires. He is an Imperialist. Since the days of his Viceroyalty he has been longing to bring Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan, etc., under British influence and to see the British flag flying in those countries. Not only Mr. Lloyd George, but also the London *Times*, which is an advocate of the expansion of British capitalists, has become alarmed at Lord Curzon's recent shameful speech. In fact Lord Curzon has harboured a grudge against Persia ever since he returned crestfallen from his tour of the Persian Gulf when he was in India. Persia is frightened, and hesitates to ratify the Anglo-Persian Agreement.

Condemnation of Lord Curzon's Eastern policy.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (160), 7th Nov.

57. Reviewing His Highness the Aga Khan's opinions in the London *Times* regarding Britain's commitments in the Middle East, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:— His Highness the Aga Khan's contribution, treating as it does of the imperialistic policy of the British Government, the great disaffection prevailing among the people of India and their distrust of Government, is indeed a valuable one. While we agree with what he has said, we would point out that if measures calculated to remove the causes of unrest are not soon adopted, the result will be disastrous. Lord Curzon, Lord Milner and Mr. Churchill are the most prominent champions of Imperialism. The menace to the British Empire has shifted from Europe through Turkey and Persia into Asia. The champions of Imperialism declare that for the safety of India their policy is necessary, and that India must, therefore, maintain armies on a large scale. The recommendations of the Esher Committee are to be traced to this policy. Unfortunately, the political leaders of India are so busy with dissensions among themselves that they do not care to devote attention to the question as to what would be the result of the Imperialistic policy. It is necessary that all the parties must set aside all other questions and raise an unanimous voice against that policy, and declare, along with His Highness the Aga Khan, that India has no ambitions in Mesopotamia, Persia and other territories and that they strongly protest against the maintenance of Indian armies outside India, and that India would refuse to pay the expenses of the armies as long as she is not given a voice in the constitution and administration of the Indian Army. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Bombay Samáchár* endorses His Highness the Aga Khan's views, dwells at length upon the dangers of the policy of the Imperialists, and concludes by adding that His Highness the Aga Khan has rendered a valuable service, not only to Great Britain, but to the British Empire by raising his voice against it.]

Comments on His Highness the Aga Khan's views on the British policy in the Middle East.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 10th Nov.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 10th Nov.

58. "The plea made by the Constantinople Government for the postponement of the ratification of the Treaty of Sevres because such ratification at the present time would wreck the chances of negotiation with the Turkish patriots is no mere subterfuge, but a very serious warning at this crisis of affairs. The news from Moscow of famine and disorder may mislead the Allied Governments, as such news has done before, into supposing that the Bolsheviks are finished. It is just at such a moment that the power of Moscow is most to be feared..... A war to Russianise the East (to some extent) under the pretext of destroying British influence in all Asia would appeal to every Russian, even to the few who still oppose the Bolshevist regime. And the only chance that we can see of preventing such a war is by complete revision of the Turkish Treaty.

Recent victories of the Turkish nationalists and the ratification of the Turkish Treaty.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th and 12th Nov.

Instead of that, the Allied Governments are urging on the Porte the ratification of that Treaty. What are we to think? If the Government of India stands in any sense for India, and is not merely an agent of the English Government in London which persistently ignores the state of Indian feeling on this subject, it will give the mandarins of Downing Street a wigging at this juncture." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—" Considering the recent successes of the Turkish Nationalists as cabled by Reuter, the Porte's temporising note to the Allies, in response to the Allied demand for ratification of the Treaty of Sevres, saying it would defeat the chances of an understanding with Kemal Pasha's followers, seems to be highly significant. The routing of the Wrangelites and the rumoured fall of Alexandropol with the capture of Kars will perhaps give pause to the preachers of international immorality, who may now see the necessity for coming to terms with the Young Turks, who have, as is well known, the support of Soviet Russia. Materialistic Westerners appreciate the clash of arms better than any argument of fairness, justice or mercy. However, taking one thing with another, it appears certain that a new phase of the Near Eastern question has begun, and we trust the good sense of the Powers will yet mend matters before the world is plunged into another war. The policy of grab will no longer be tolerated in any civilised country, and the Turks may yet see the fulfilment of their dream of national emancipation and secure their own place in the Sun."]

59. " A danger, which need never have existed, has been created, and we have the Bolshevik bogey robbing English statesmen, and particularly Anglo-Indian statesmen, of their sleep at nights. We do not wish to minimise the danger. It is real and imminent. We merely wish to state our fixed opinion that it is a danger entirely of England's making; a danger which she could avert at any moment by an act of justice towards Asia. It is no use to go telling people that Bolshevism is mere anarchy, which is the reverse of true; that Bolsheviks have women in common (whereas they executed the leaders of the small group of anarchists who tried to introduce that practice in a country town); that they are blood-thirsty ruffians, and so forth. Orientals are perfectly aware of what is acceptable and unacceptable to them in Russian Bolshevism as displayed till now in practice. The Soviet system is merely the old Asiatic system of self-government in modern garb; there is nothing diabolical or inhuman about that. But the Dictatorship of the Proletariate is another matter altogether. It is a temporary measure for the period of revolution, in order to secure the fruits of revolution to the class that made it, and there has been no attempt to force it on another people. Still the horrors perpetrated in its name have been sufficient, as reported, to make the Dictatorship of the Proletariate synonymous with Bolshevism in the minds of Orientals, to whom it is in general abhorrent. Bolshevism is not beloved in Asia, but England is hated for the reasons which we have already given; and Bolshevism, as the enemy of England, can count upon innumerable adherents. [Here the paper quotes the recent threat of Lenin to the British Empire and proceeds:—] The Bolshevik propaganda could not reach India if it were not for the Islamic agitation. The discontent of Moslems runs a fuse through Central Asia to the Frontier Tribes. Revise the Turkish Treaty in accordance with Lloyd George's pledge to India; allow the Arab provinces their right of self-determination; give India full self-government immediately; and Lenin's words will be an empty boast."

How the Bolshevist danger may be averted.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Nov.

60. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes on the dangers of Bolshevism as follows:—The words 'Bolshevik' and 'Bolshevism' are to be heard from the mouth of every person, young or old, but only a few realize the danger that these words imply. For some time past the Bolshevists have been working against the British. The Bolshevists know that if any power could raise its head against them, it was the British Empire, and the British Government have been active in dealing an effective blow to them so that the Asiatic empire might remain

Bombay Samáchár (61), 10th Nov.

safe. The Bolshevists have, therefore, resorted to all sorts of conspiracies and scheming against the British. The aim of the Bolshevists is to ruin the British Empire by any means. They have, therefore, from the beginning spread their activities in Central Asia. Wherever they have gone, they have freely used arms when they were opposed, and shed the blood of innocent people. They have spread their net of conspiracy and intrigue in Egypt, India, Ireland, Turkey, Persia and elsewhere and found supporters in irresponsible and reckless people who had nothing to gain and nothing to lose. It cannot be said that the Bolshevists have not been successful at all. They have been fighting their enemies within and without Russia and have kept at a distance any foreign invader. It is a wonder that Bolshevism has been able to cope with the powerful internal revolts that have been raised against it in Russia. Now, the one reason why it has been successful is that Bolshevism is not only a militarist force, but it is a thought force also. Bolshevism, therefore, cannot be overcome by the use of arms. It is a thought force—it is a doctrine. It must be met by thought. The spreading of literature exposing its baneful effects is more likely to succeed against it than the use of arms. Again, the hearts of the people residing in Central Asia must also be won over. The granting of independence to Egypt brought an end of all trouble there. A frank and straightforward policy with Persia will avert the danger in that quarter also. The Nationalists of Turkey have fallen into the hands of the Bolshevists, and the hearts of Indian Muhammadans have been grieved on account of the unjust treaty with Turkey. If the people of India had been taken into confidence and granted more liberal reforms and if justice had been given in the Punjáb affairs, there would have remained no cause for any agitation. Friendly relations, confidence, and fairness between one nation and another will alone defeat the intrigues of Bolshevism, and it will disappear of itself without the use of the sword.

Why Persia is opposed to England.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Nov.

61. "Even in Persia, where England is the firm ally of the Government and its protector, there is a strong element in sympathy, with the designs of Communist Russia. ..... The idea prevailing throughout Asia at the present day is that England is opposed to Oriental progress in precisely the same manner and degree in which Czarist Russia was of old opposed to it. And the Anglo-Persian Agreement did not weaken that idea..... The progressive Persians naturally thought that they were being thrown back to despotism, and that England would absorb their country at her leisure. Now when all the mischief has been done, and the progressives by dint of agitation have become irreconcilable opponents of the Agreement, the said agreement is to be submitted to the Mejliss! Somewhere in the British Foreign Office there must lurk an ass."

MUNICIPALITIES.

The non-official president of the Kánara District Local Board should be elected and not nominated.

Kánara Leader (38), 2nd Nov.

62. In furtherance of the policy of making local self-government really popular, the Kánara District Local Board has been given a non-official president in the place of the official one. Though Government have really gone a step further in the extension of local self-government in giving a non-official president, it might as well have given the power of election of such a president to the Board itself rather than inflict on the Board one of their own creatures as president. This step really deprives the Board of the real benefit of the new concession granted inasmuch as the new non-official president will inspire no better confidence in the minds of the members than the former official president, as he is only nominated and not elected by the members or the people. The appointment of a Chief Officer to help this president in carrying on the work is another step which shows that Government are still not prepared to accord the privilege of having a non-official president without seeing that an efficient and trustworthy Government clerk is there to carry on the administrative work as a

chief officer. If this Chief Officer is elected by the members of the Board, he would be able to carry on work to the entire satisfaction of the Board and Government. If, however, as is reported now, his choice will depend upon the will of the nominated president, there will surely be little or no real confidence in him. We hope Government will see to it that this defect in an otherwise liberal policy is removed.

NATIVE STATES.

63. A correspondent in the *Indu Prakásh* makes adverse comments on the administration of justice in the Jawhar State. He points out that the judicial officers of the State possess only a smattering of law with the result that the interests of the parties appearing before the courts suffer woefully. The writer exhorts the Chief to attract men well versed in law to judicial posts by offering them decent remuneration instead of appointing incompetent men on a mere pittance as is done at present with an eye to swelling the balance in the treasury.

A complaint about the Jawhar State (Thána).
Indu Prakásh (45), 10th Nov.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 19th November 1920.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 20th November 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Government of India's Resolution on the non-co-operation movement.

Young India (14), 17th Nov.

1. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The *communique* issued by the Government of India on the Non-co-operation movement may be regarded as its first triumph of a striking order. For the Government have decided in view of its non-violent character to refrain, for the time being at any rate, from repressing by violence what they consider to be an unconstitutional movement. The Government, as well as the people, may be congratulated upon this wise decision; and I have not the slightest doubt that, if the movement continues to be purged of all violence, whether in deed or in word, it would not only be impossible for the Government to resort to repression, but also to resist the ever growing volume of public opinion against it, when that opinion is backed by well-directed acts of renunciation of Government patronage or support, on a national scale. But the *communique* is careful to hold out the mailed fist, if the leaders of 'moderate' opinion fail to check the onward march of non-co-operation..... Thus repression is to replace reason and argument, if non-co-operation becomes effective to the extent of making it impossible for the Government to exist whilst refusing to retrace its steps and repent of its crimes against India. For it must be noticed that the danger here feared is evidently not of violence but of the loss of the existence of this Government. If my analysis is correct the Government are wickedly playing with the 'moderates' and with India. If they mean well let them make an irrevocable announcement in the clearest possible terms that, so long as the movement remains non-violent, they will not interfere with it even though it demands, and may result in, complete independence. That they will have to make that announcement sometime or other I have no doubt, if we, the non-co-operators, are able to keep the movement free from violence. But the announcement made when they are driven to it by irresistible public opinion will have lost all its grace. The rest of the *communique* is quite in keeping with the traditional policy of the Government. It is full of the usual self-adulation and misrepresentations about non-co-operators. It is wrong, for instance, to say that those who have been repressed have been so dealt with for their departure from the principle of non-violence. I challenge the Government to produce from the speeches or writings of those who have been imprisoned any instance of incitement to violence..... It is equally untrue to say that those who have been punished have been so dealt with for 'tampering with the loyalty of the army or of the police,' unless a public appeal to recruits, not to sell themselves as mercenary levies for robbing other countries of their independence, amounts to such incitement. The Seditious Meetings Proclamation in the Punjáb and the action taken against some non-co-operation papers is an eloquent repudiation of the statement that the Government 'have been reluctant to interfere with the liberty of speech and the freedom of the press at a time when India is on the threshold of a great advance towards the realization of the principle of self-Government.' The misrepresentation about the leaders of the movement and the cheap sneer at their supposed desire to seek martyrdom is beneath notice. The Government ought to know what a relief it is to the Ali Brothers and myself to learn that, at least for the present, they do not propose to imprison us. Everybody knows that the danger of an outbreak of violence is the greatest if we are imprisoned. ..... The Government's third argument, in favour of the exercise of their self-restraint, is the most specious, and calculated to entrap the unwary. They describe non-co-operation as 'a visionary and chimercial scheme, which, if successful, could only result in widespread disorder, political chaos, and the ruin of all those who have any real stake in the country.' In this one sentence we have the satanic character of the Government. They must know that successful non-co-operation means orderly and peaceful destruction of the present system of the Government, and its replacement not by disorder and chaos but by political order of the first magnitude, and protection of every legitimate interest in the country—not excluding that of the European

merchant who desires to earn an honest living in India. Mention of the 'real stake' is a wilful insult to the masses of India, and a mischievous incitement to the monied classes to range themselves against the masses. Have the masses no stake in India? Are they not the only people with any real stake in the country? The monied classes, if the worst happened, could even migrate from the country. The masses know no other home save the few yards of earth-space which they possess in this land of sorrow and tears. It lies ill in the mouth of the framers of the resolution to say 'that the appeal of non-co-operation is to prejudice and ignorance,' when they are aware that from every platform the appeal is made for self-sacrifice, self-purification, and discipline. The misrepresentation of Satyagraha is no less wicked..... The resolution in question is an appeal not merely to our ignorance and avarice, but it is an appeal also to our helplessness. For this document proceeds: 'the full consummation of their hopes would leave India dafenceless alike against foreign aggression and internal chaos.'..... In my humble opinion this paragraph is, indeed, the most mischievous, the most misleading, and to borrow the phraseology of the Government, 'the most immoral'. If the argument advanced is sound, India must ever remain in a defenceless condition without the British bayonet. I cannot imagine for India a prospect more gloomy, more immoral, and more unworthy of a nation, that only a century ago was capable of putting in the field more sturdy warriors than all the soldiers that can be mustered together to-day by any three powers of Europe, barring Russia. What severer condemnation can be pronounced upon the British Government than that, for the commercial greed of the British nation, it has emasculated a whole people? The framers must be aware that the full consummation of our hopes means an India with the whole of her population having one mind, one purpose, self-contained and self-reliant, producing enough for all her daily wants, and therefore well able to stand a blockade by all the naval powers of the world combined. This may all be a day-dream but that is the exact meaning of 'the full consummation of our hopes.'..... I have implicit faith in the ability of my countrymen to hope that all the bitter experiences of the British rule, at present lying sub-conscious in the minds of the nation, may any moment take definite shape in the nation recognizing the necessity of unity and self-sacrifice, such as to compel either repentance and a real change of heart, or withdrawal, on the part of the British Government. I must refrain from burdening this article with any refutation of the charges of immorality, etc., regarding my advice to the student-world. The pages of this journal have made clear to its readers the ethics of the fundamental position taken upon this question. I must close this lengthy article with noticing the absence of the only thing that can stop the inevitable progress of non-co-operation, *viz.*, a full and satisfactory revision of the Khilafat terms and complete satisfaction about the Punjáb. When, and if, the British nation respects the wishes of India on these two points, co-operation will replace non-co-operation, and Swaraj within the Empire will be the most natural consequence. But till that clear repentance comes, in spite of all the resolutions and all the repression that may be resorted to by the Government, so far as I can read the national mind, non-violent non-co-operation will and must remain the creed of the nation that has grown weary of camouflage, humbug, and honeyed words."

2. The Government of India have issued a noteworthy resolution on non-co-operation. They have announced their intention not to take steps against some of the people who are taking part in the agitation lest they be regarded as martyrs by the public. Government seem to have learnt wisdom rather too late in the day, for had they acted on this principle in the past much good would have resulted from it. Government have come forward to express their confidence in the ability of the educated section of the people to counteract the influences of the non-co-operation movement, but they seem to forget that the Moderates and the Nationalists as also the educated Europeans with one voice had asked for the trial of the officials guilty of the Punjáb atrocities. Government now want the sympathy of the very people whose voice they themselves have ignored. Should Governmont continue to trust the educated public and

Hindusthán (24), 13th Nov.; *Bharat Seva* (16), 19th Nov.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 14th Nov.

refrain from adopting a policy of repression they will not have any occasion to face any disturbance of the peace. [The *Bharat Seva* remarks:—Government have done well in relying upon the good sense of the people. Had Government trusted the good sense of the people and respected their feelings by not getting the Rowlatt Act passed there would not have occurred the Punjáb atrocities and the consequent universal excitement, nor would there have been any non-co-operation movement in the country. We are, however, glad that Government have realised that no government can endure which acts contrary to the voice of the public. The Moderates feel as keenly for the Punjáb atrocities and the Khilafat as the non-co-operationists and they only differ in the method of securing justice in the matter. The Moderates will not be listened to by the public as long as Government do not redress the wrongs done to the people in the matter of the Punjáb affairs and the Khilafat question. The people who are convinced that the non-co-operation movement is fraught with mischief will do their best to counteract the movement, but it rests with Government to create a situation that will bring success to their efforts. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—We hope the leaders of the non-co-operation movement will appreciate the good motives underlying the Government Resolution and will not force Government to have recourse to repressive measures. Government have adopted a very liberal attitude towards the movement, and it is hoped that the Moderates will be successful in their appeal to the good sense of the people and counteract the evil influences of the non-co-operation movement.]

3. "On the whole, the policy of non-intervention which the Government of India have adopted in respect of the non-co-operation movement might be taken to be the wisest course. Government would have done infinitely better, both for their own prestige and in the general interest of the country, if they had adopted that course much earlier in the history of Indian unrest..... It is difficult to say beforehand if a certain policy is wise or unwise; for it is really justified or condemned only by events. Events have totally exposed the unsoundness of the policy of repression adopted in relation to the early nationalist activities. Events may still show the present policy of non-intervention with regard to the latter-day nationalist activities, as fatally mistaken. But perhaps it is wise to profit by experience and not repeat a course which has proved futile or mischievous in the past: It is best for a well-established Government to ignore political agitations, secure in its own strength or the good sense of the people..... Mr. Gandhi and his associates have certainly exceeded all limits of permissible patriotic agitation. They have done everything calculated to provoke a foreign or even a native Government to take repressive or punitive action. An extraordinary latitude—extraordinary not only in the history of Indian nationalism, but of all—has been allowed to them. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali have strained every nerve to pass from the patriots' pedestal to that of the martyr. They are determined to be martyrs, and the Government are determined to disappoint them. Mr. Gandhi and his associates, in the pursuit of their ideal, have gone to perilous lengths, perilous for themselves, perilous for Government, and perilous for the country. Government too, it would seem, have been perilously patient and passive in their tolerance of these activities. They have given a sufficient rope to Mr. Gandhi to justify or expose himself. The movements, lacking the stiffening and stimulus which opposition invariably furnishes, may die out. Or, lacking the resistance which might have checked them, the movements might spread and surge forward until they become irresistible. It is a dilemma with which every bureacratic government is faced on the rise of nationalism. One may do too much or too little. Generally, from the standpoint of Government, it is best not to take any notice of popular enthusiasms."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 15th Nov.; Eng. cols.

4. We cannot refrain from saying that Government have acknowledged the injustice done to Indians as regards the Khilafat and the Punjáb. Government themselves have expressed their grief about these questions. Why do not

Mufid-e-Rozgár (160), 15th Nov.

Government grant the request of the people? On account of this (refusal) such a dreadful movement as the non-co-operation one has come into being. If to-day their demands be granted, who would be foolish enough to engage in such a stupid movement? We know the British Government are wise, and we think they will wisely refrain from interfering with this movement. At the same time we are afraid that the Moderates and Extremists would come to blows owing to differences between them. His Excellency the Viceroy says that those men only have been arrested who transgressed the limits. But Indians have not yet known the limits beyond which it is improper for loyal subjects to tread.

Lokashahi (119), 15th Nov.; *Lokasangraha* (117), 16th Nov,; *Chaitanya* (101), 15th Nov.

5. Whatever Government might say to disguise their real feelings, the movement has no doubt brought about a remarkable change in their attitude and they no longer talk of repression. Does this not denote the moral triumph of non-co-operation? Again, a pedant like Lord Morley who thought that for India to ask for *swarájya* was tantamount to asking for the moon, lives to see this country fully awakened and fit for the enjoyment of *swarájya*. This is how a great politician of Lord Morley's calibre miscalculated! What then of Lord Chelmsford who is only a soldier and who entirely lacks statesmanship! Are the Indians likely to attach the least importance to his childish views? [The *Lokasangraha* says that the Moderates are likely to take advantage of the complimentary terms in which the Resolution speaks about them and harass their countrymen but declares that the allegations made by the Moderates against the non-co-operation movement are utterly false. It remarks that as soon as the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs are righted the non-co-operation movement will automatically cease to exist, its *raison d'être* having disappeared. The *Chaitanya* on the other hand welcomes the resolution of the Government of India on the ground that it will no longer make it possible for the pseudo-non-co-operationists to enlist the sympathy of the people by saying that Government propose to take legal action against them. The paper, however, demurs to the opinion expressed by Government that the movement is unconstitutional and asks them to remove the causes to which it owes its origin.]

Swarájya (139), 18th Nov.; *Karnátak Vaibháv* (86), 16th Nov.

6. The resolution of the Government of India on non-co-operation amounts to a confession on the part of the Simla prophets that their prophecy that the movement would die for want of support from the people has, after all, not come true. The movement instead of dying out is spreading to every nook and corner of the country. People scrupulously follow the advice of their leaders not to resort to violence. This being the case, how can Government lay any claim to magnanimity by saying that they will not proceed against those who preach only non-violent non-co-operation? What merit is there in saying that you will not punish a man who does not commit a crime? The authorities declare that they do not wish to elevate the leaders of this movement to the position of martyrs by prosecuting them. We welcome their decision not to take legal steps against our leaders although we do not accept their conclusion. Men like Mahatma Gandhi and Moulana Shaukat Ali have reached such a degree of popularity that it cannot possibly be increased even if Government were to prosecute them. [The *Karnátak Vaibhav* is of opinion that the recent resolution issued by the Government of India asking the sober-minded section of the people to fight the non-co-operation movement, shows that Government wants to create divisions among the people, and it asks the Moderates to see through the trick being played by Government.]

Swarájya (139), 18th Nov.; **Mahrátta* (8), 21st Nov.

7. The authorities entrusted the task of crushing the non-co-operation movement to the Moderates who enjoy their confidence; but these latter have totally disappointed them. These wise men tell the authorities that they have badly blundered in respect of the Punjáb and the Khilafat, and that they would tackle the non-co-

operation movement if only the authorities would right the wrongs done. How can the Moderates give expression to such silly utterances? Do they suppose that the authorities have no sense whatever? What need would there be for the aid of the Moderates if Government were to remove the cause that gave rise to non-co-operation? It is an established law that the effect disappears with the cause. These Moderates fed themselves so long on crumbs from the bureaucratic tables, and now when they can really be of some use to the authorities they tell them to remove first the causes of unrest and then leave the rest to them! But these foolish men do not know that the authorities do not want to do anything in regard to the Punjáb and the Khilafat. Had they any desire to redress the wrongs done they would have done so without calling in the aid of the Moderates and thus earned all the credit accruing from their action for themselves. They do not want, however, to do it and so have planned to transfer the odium to the Moderates! But then it requires a little intelligence to understand their real motives. [The *Máhratta* remarks:—"We are glad that the Government of India has at last recognised that the movement of non-co-operation is essentially a movement which must be fought out by intellectual weapon and not by brutal strength..... The Government asks the 'sober-minded and moderate men to organise themselves and to take measures to combat the movement'. However it assures the moderates that if they failed in their attempts the Government is ready to use its resources and put down non-co-operation. Let the moderates take heart and see if they can intellectually convince the people that in their interests the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs ought to be forgotten."]

8. Writing on the eve of the Election Day, the *Lokashahi* says that the next few hours will decide whether or not India is fit for *swarajya*. In its opinion people would have welcomed the reforms, inadequate though they are, if the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs had not embittered their minds. It tells Government that people cannot possibly forget the cruelties inflicted on them in the Punjab and the indignities heaped upon their women there. Government depend, for the success of the reforms, it remarks, on the co-operation of the Moderates whose sole ambition is to hob-nob with them. It expresses its belief that Government would have been forced to grant *Swarajya* to the people within one year if only the Moderates had not proved traitors to the country and the Congress. It sneeringly remarks that the farce of the elections is being gone through by the bureaucracy with the help of the traitorous Moderates and the non-Brahmins. The paper concludes with an exhortation to the people not to vote at the elections in conformity with the resolution of the Congress on non-co-operation. [The *Gogras* says that agriculturists cannot usefully interest themselves in Council elections since those who are now standing for election belong to a class which generally takes no interest in agriculture and agriculturists. The *Swarajya* says that the poor attendance at the polling stations on the 16th instant must have sorely disappointed the authorities and the Moderates. This excellent result, it remarks, was due to the vigorous pushing of the non-co-operation propaganda. It also expresses its satisfaction that the people refrained from any acts of violence on the day of the elections.]

The Council elections.
Lokashahi (119), 15th Nov.; *Gogras* (110), 13th Nov.; *Swardjya* (139), 18th Nov.

9. Yesterday was fixed for the election of non-Muhammadan candidates for the Bombay Council in Bombay; but in fact there was no election as such. A large majority of voters in Bombay belong to the Hindu community, but most of them refrained from making use of the franchise. A large majority of the voters who went to the polling stations to record their votes belonged to the Parsi community. The election in Bombay may, therefore, be said to be a communal election for the Parsis and a farce enacted under the unnecessary supervision of the Police force in large numbers. Bombay City has boycotted the elections and asserted itself, while the Parsis have, without giving a thought to the future or to the feelings of the sister communities, taken an enthusiastic interest

Sánj Vartamán (33), 17th Nov.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 19th Nov.

in the same. We entertain grave fears for the future of the Parsi community and deplore the lack of a good political leader in them. [The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks :—The Bombay public have given unmistakable proof of their feelings by refraining from recording their votes, and it now rests with Government to take steps to redress the grievances of the people. It is no use resting in the false confidence that the people will forget their wrongs in course of time and that they will co-operate with Government when the new Councils begin their work. People want a guarantee of the good faith of Government and this can be furnished by giving justice in the matter of the Punjáb affairs and the Khilafat and removing from the Statute Book those legislative measures against which the people have a grievance and whose repeal they have asked with one voice.]

10. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* publishes an account of the meeting held by the Musalman inhabitants of Madanpura, Bombay, at which they condemned those Musalmans who had got themselves elected as Members of the several Legislative Councils. The paper adds:—We too curse these Musalmans who did not obey the commands of God and Mahomed, and the decrees of religious leaders inasmuch as they got themselves elected as Members of Council.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (160), 11th Nov.

11. The following letter purporting to be from "Voters of Shiggavi group" (Dhárwár) appears in the *Ráj Hansa* :—As the voters did not go to the polling station, the Patils came to the voters' houses and told them that the Mamlatdar wanted them. When they went there the Mamlatdar forced them to put their votes in the red box. Though one of the voters wired to the superior officer, there was no redress. One illustration of the force used by the Mamlatdar will be seen in the fact that as one of the ignorant voters could not understand anything about voting, he put a rupee in the box through fear. Such illegal and unjust things have taken place in the name of the elections. Is this an election or the Durbar of Ravana ?

Election complaint from the Dhárwár District.

Ráj Hansa (88), 20th Nov.

12. The 16th November has been fixed as the election day for the Bombay Presidency. But the Indian National Congress has passed a resolution asking people neither to stand as candidates for election nor to vote for any candidates. The voice of the people is the voice of God. Some persons have come forward as candidates for the Council elections. They may go to the Councils, but it is the duty of every voter not to make use of his vote. The non-co-operationists should respect the advice given by Mr. Gandhi and should use no force against those who mean to make use of their votes. We hope the Bombay Presidency will stand firm and refrain from recording its vote on the election day and thus force Government to consider the question of giving justice to the people. [In the subsequent issue the paper writes :—We feel confident that to-morrow's elections will be boycotted by the general public and that none but the Parsi voters will go to record their votes in Bombay. It rests with Bombay to prove that the election is a farce and thus add to its own fame. The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, on the other hand, appeals to its readers to record their votes and thus make full use of the rights conferred on them by the new reforms. It feels sure that the Parsis will not fail in discharging their duty of recording their votes on the election day.]

Exhortation to voters not to vote at the Council elections on 16th November.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 13th and 15th Nov.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 15th Nov.

13. The present prosperity of the British Government is in a very large measure due to India. Therefore, it is impossible to believe that the British Government will sacrifice its economic interests by making India free. But it is also impossible that the British Government can think of keeping India by physical force alone. Hence the trick of making Indians submit to alien domination by means of concessions like the present Reform Act. The Reforms are a bait which if

The Reforms will only perpetuate India's slavery.

Ráj Hansa (88), 18th Nov.

swallowed would only help in perpetuating India's slavery with the apparent consent of the nation.

14. We are of the opinion that the revival of the spinning wheel and the earthen lamp, advocated by Mr. Gandhi, instead of making India more independent will make her condition worse. Mr. Gandhi declares that he would be able to secure *swarájya* for India within a year, but he does not take the trouble to adduce any historical example or proof in support of his statement. The example of Hungary is trotted out in certain quarters, but we fail to understand how that can be made to fit in with the present situation of India in relation to the non-co-operation movement. Those who set the example of Hungary before us seem to forget that the people of Hungary were not disarmed and ignorant of the art of warfare like the Indians and that they were ready to take up arms in case of violence being used against them. Supposing for argument's sake the British Government were to give *swarájya* to India as asked for by the non-co-operationists, will India be able to protect herself against a foreign invasion? India must be placed in a position to defend herself before she is granted self-government. India will not be able to secure and maintain self-government by the revival of spinning wheels and the discarding of the use of the modern mechanical appliances. We should follow the example of Japan and learn everything we can from the West. India must have a powerful army and navy before securing *swarájya*. She should also develop her industries and bring them to a high state of efficiency. It cannot be denied that we shall have to avail ourselves of the new reforms in order to enable us to attain that proficiency and to increase our national wealth.

Refutation of Mr. Gandhi's ideal of *swarájya* for India.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 15th Nov.

15. The Viceroy, who from his viceregal seat condemned non-co-operation as a stupid method, has become the first victim of it. Wherever he goes there is *hartal*. His advent into a city is the signal for the people to close their shops. He must have been awfully annoyed at the action of the Municipality and the Local Board of Jabalpur which after voting him an address of welcome cancelled their resolution. The Viceroy's conscience must be biting him and reminding him that the attitude of the people is the result of the evil deeds which he has done. The people of India at the same time realise that their destiny is in their own hands and that they cannot obtain Swaraj through addresses of welcome and flattery. A new consciousness has now appeared in the country, a consciousness which believes that the time of servitude is now over and that the day of struggle for liberty has now dawned. If this new awakening is the result of the non-co-operation movement, it is sure to lead the country step by step to liberty.

The Viceroy the first victim of non-co-operation.
Hindu (153), 5th Nov.

*16. "Whatever may be the views of the Government of India on the matter of fighting out the movement of non-co-operation Mr. Moysey, the Collector of Sátára, would have nothing to do with that d—d nonsense. He is out to fight the non-co-operationists with all fair and unfair, scrupulous and unscrupulous methods, and is ready to brandish his rod at any time. In a speech which he delivered at Sátára at a Durbar held on the first of this month the Collector tried to frighten the non-co-operationists by dangling before their eyes section 171F of the Indian Penal Code with his own interpretation on the meaning of it. We do not wish to quarrel with his defective knowledge of law and interpretation because none was frightened out of his wits by his useless thunders. But he went further and roundly told the Brahmin non-co-operationists that he would let loose the hoards of the Satya Samajists with their threats of non-co-operation against Brahmins. He chuckled over the prospect and was enjoying the dream of non-co-operationists appealing for help and protection. We assure the Collector that these threats will not avail him, because if the nation is convinced that non-co-operation is a weapon which will secure for them the desired freedom, it will not hesitate to sacrifice the small Brahmin

The Collector of Sátára and the non-co-operation movement.
Mahrátta (8), 21st Nov.

community, nor will the Brahmins hesitate to sacrifice themselves on the altar of the Motherland. But history will record to the lasting shame of the British that they ruled by dividing the people against themselves. Let the Satya Samajists learn betimes how and for what nefarious purpose they are being used by these bureaucrats."

17. "Patriot" writes to the *Lokasangraha* and says that the Police Jamadar of Umbraj (district Sátára) having got the placards about non-co-operation, issued by the local Home Rule League, removed, the matter was brought to the notice of the Collector of Sátára who said that it had been done under his orders because shortly before his arrival at the village the place was placarded with the intention of impressing upon the villagers the fact that non-co-operators did not care for Government. The correspondent says that the Collector reminded Mr. Shiralkar, the Home Rule League Secretary, and his friends of the new section incorporated in the Indian Penal Code and contended that the offence under it had been nearly committed when the ignorant people were told that the Congress order was that no votes should be given. [The paper comments on the above:—The Umbraj letter once again shows to the Maharashtra how the overwise Collector of Sátára plays with the people under him. If Government will allow its officials to play such pranks, day by day greater complications will arise and it will be believed that Government also want it to be so. It will be better for both parties, if Government stop this in time. We have no time to discuss the Collector's letter at greater length. We have made the above suggestion because we could not help doing so.]

Lokasangraha (117), 18th Nov.

18. "The Gujarat National University stands to-day as a protest against British injustice and as a vindication of National honour. But it has come to stay. It draws its inspiration from the national ideals of a united India. It stands for a religion which is the Dharma of the Hindoos and Islam of Muhammadans. It wants to rescue the Indian vernaculars from unmerited oblivion and make them the fountains of national regeneration and Indian culture. It holds that a systematic study of Asiatic cultures is no less essential than the study of western sciences for a complete education for life. The vast treasures of Sanskrit and Arabic, Persian and Pali, and Magadhi have to be ransacked in order to discover wherein lies the source of strength for the nation. It does not propose merely to feed on, or repeat, the ancient cultures. It rather hopes to build a new culture based on the traditions of the past, enriched by the experience of later times. It stands for the synthesis of the different cultures that have come to stay in India, that have influenced Indian life, and that in their turn have themselves been influenced by the spirit of the soil..... The Hindus may thus have an opportunity of studying the Koran and the Moslems of knowing what the Hindu Shastras contain. If the University has excluded anything, it is the spirit of exclusion that regards any section of humanity as permanently untouchable. The study of Hindustani, which is a national blend of Sanskrit, Hindi and Persianised Urdu, has been made compulsory. The spirit of independence will be fostered not only through religion, politics and history, but through vocational training also, which alone can give the youths of the country economic independence and a back-bone that comes out of a sense of self-respect. The university hopes to organise higher schools throughout the mofussil towns, so that education may be spread broadcast and filtered down to the masses as early as possible. The use of Gujrati as the medium of education will facilitate this process and ere long the suicidal cleavage between the educated and the non-educated will be bridged..... The greatest defect of the Government Universities has been their alien control and the false values they have created as regards 'careers'. The Gujrat University by non-co-operating with the Government has automatically eradicated both these evils from its own system. If the founders and promoters stick to this resolve till the Government becomes nationalised, it will help them to cultivate a clear perception of national ideals and national needs."

The Gujarat National University.
Young India (14), 17th Nov.

19. Commenting upon the opening of the National University of Gujarat by Mr. Gandhi the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—Some sporadic attempts have been made in the past to impart education on national lines in India but no substantial good has resulted from them. The public should take concerted action in the matter of national education to make it a success. In the Western countries education is in the hands of Government, but the people have some institutions of their own where education is imparted on different lines. Much good results from the healthy rivalry of these separate systems of education. In India the responsibility for education has vested in Government, but since they have not done full justice to the claims of the people it behoves us to take up the question of national education for more reasons than one. Illiteracy and ignorance prevail in this conntry and there is ample scope for national schools without coming into conflict with the Educational Department of Government. We take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Gandhi on his being able to open the Gujarat National University and feel sure that the public will spare no pains and give it every support they possibly care to make it a success and that educated men will come forward to serve the University and thus render practical service to the country.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 20th Nov.

20. Mr. Gandhi is of the opinion that the Congress resolution about non-co-operation should be made applicable to schools and colleges and that they should be disaffiliated from the University and should refuse to receive Government grants. No step should be taken without a careful consideration. Does anybody understand what heavy expenditure will be incurred in establishing new colleges? The Muhammadans are not in a position to bear the burden of establishing new colleges. It is open to question whether the Hindus will contribute anything towards the proposed Muslim National University. What help have the Hindus given to the Khilafat fund? The Muhammadans complain of backwardness in education in spite of the Government giving help. Mr. Gandhi's attitude in the matter of non-co-operation raises some doubt in our minds, for while he is doing all he possibly can to make the Aligarh College independent of Government control, he has done nothing to introduce his propaganda in the Benares Hindu University! It is hoped that the trustees of the Aligarh College will not take any hasty step and will bear in mind the ideals of the founder of the college before taking to non-co-operation.

Condemnation of Mr. Gandhi's efforts to induce Muhammadans to take to non-co-operation in education.

Political Bhomiyo (74), 12th Nov.

21. Non-co-operation with Government is the need of the hour. It is intended to express our want of confidence in the present unjust Government and our determination to gain freedom and independence. Those of us who seek election to the unreal Councils of Government in utter disregard of the interest of their country and their religion should have no support from the public. They seek to co-operate with a Government which we regard as an iniquitous Government the hands of which are still stained with blood because it has failed to give us justice however partial for the atrocities associated with scoundrels like Dyer and O'Dwyer in the Punjab. Nor do we hope for anything from the Ministry presided over by Mr. Lloyd George which has caused injury to the Khilafat in violation of its pledges to Mussalmans. Under these circumstances why should those who enter the Councils pretend to be well-wishers of India and of Islam? If these men must still persist in their resolve to enter the Councils the voters had better take the matter into their hands. They should proclaim from the house-tops that they do not regard them as their representatives and will not vote for them.

Need of non-co-operation.

Al-Wahid (151), 2nd Nov.

22. Can we prevent the recurrence of wrongs from which we have suffered in the past by our sitting with folded hands? If we cannot do so the present is rather the time for us to demand our rights. A true politician knows when the attempt should be made to bring the adversary to his knees. The people of England themselves got their rights from their absolute kings not in times of peace

The present is the time to bring the Government to its knees.

Hindu (153), 30th Oct.

but when there was disorder in the country. History teaches us that the difficulty of the ruler has been the opportunity of the people. Ireland now realises that she committed a mistake in suspending her agitation at the outbreak of the war. India's experience is similar. Every well-informed man knows that the reforms which have been granted to India are rather the result of a strong Home Rule movement in the country during the war than a gift from England. In the light of past experiences it is therefore just the time for Indians to demand their rights. Discontent in the country is now as acute as it never has been. Under the circumstances it is all the more their duty to agitate for *Swaráj* and awaken the people so as to bring the Government to its knees.

The importance of unity for the success of the non-co-operation movement.

Navjivan (72), 14th Nov.

23. In the course of an article in the *Nav Jivan*, Swami Anandanand writes:—Government have been telling us, "If you will drive us out, there will be no limit to the calamities arising out of mutual feuds among yourselves or out of an invasion by a foreign power, to which you will be subjected". Our reply to Government would be, "If such is to be our fate, it will be immortalized in history as the consequence of your statesmanship. Even if such is to be our fate, such plight of ours will not be intolerable to us as compared with the injustice and servitude of the present day". But it is our unflinching faith that such is not going to be our fate. Will not the people of India, a people, who after being trained for non-co-operation, will uproot or drive away a power like that of the British Empire if it does not pay heed to what is just, learn to reconcile internal dissensions or to defend themselves against a foreign invasion? And, after all it is by no means the case that the Indian people have taken a vow to destroy the British Government. India has, to-day, taken the vow of improving her own condition, of obtaining justice, of being free from insult and digrace and slavery. Non-co-operation does not involve enmity or revenge. If Government repent and accede to the wishes of the people, the people will have no enmity against Government. But suppose that our experience in the campaign of non-violent non-co-operation happens to be this that there is not the slightest element of unity among the people of India, in short if we find that the people of India have been only like a bag of sand under the British supremacy, it would become all the more our duty to destroy so far as their relations with us are concerned, such an unworthy and nation-destroying Government, for the sake of protecting our religion, and bringing about unity in the country. What benefit will be derived by the people even after a thousand years under that Government which has been ruling over us for a hundred and fifty years and is boasting of having ameliorated the condition of the Indians, without having been able to create an element of unity among them? If our experience happens to be that the people of India, after having lived under the British Government for hundreds of years, have remained as incapable of union as sand, the only thing to do for us would be to create that adhesiveness which would bring about national unity by shedding our blood in the great attempt at throwing off the yoke of such a Government. What is then to be gained by setting up the bogey of chaos and anarchy? What is to be gained by refusing to face the real facts? We shall be able to live only if we possess the power and energy of being prepared even for annihilation for the sake of religion.

Exhortation to the people not to practise non-co-operation.

Frontier Gazette (51), 30th Oct.

24. We would remind our readers that they must think twice before they make up their minds to practise non-co-operation on the lines laid down by Mr. Gandhi and his friends. We think that the interest of the country itself requires that the people should take full advantage of the opportunities for progress which the Reforms Scheme is opening out to them. In the matter of education in particular any boycott of Government institutions will be disastrous for the youth of the country. As regards the boycott of Government services it is futile to expect that people will give up their appointments when there is no other agency in the country to employ them. If some misguided people will resign their appointments under Government, their fate will be no better or no worse than that of those who left the country by way of *hijrat* under the momentary passion aroused in them by preachers of *hijrat*.

25. Mr. Gandhi would paralyze all action and make, by means of his non-co-operation movement, the Government of the realm impossible..... Who will suffer? Not Mr. Gandhi and his coadjutors, who under the plea that they have always deprecated violence, will find an easy and safe exit from the scene of trouble. Not the Government, again, who have the requisite means and the mandate to preserve law and order, and will doubtless see to it that even at the cost of bloodshed law-abiding citizens do not suffer. The real victims will be the thousands of innocent dupes who cannot see beyond their noses and who have been led by Mr. Gandhi and other non-co-operators into believing that the royal road to *swaráj* is the virtual disappearance of the British *Raj*; and the whole thing is over bar the shouting. A sad disillusionment awaits these misguided people and Mr. Ghandhi himself, who, we fear, has not yet realised that his insidious non-co-operation propaganda may at a later stage let loose forces of disorder which he himself will be quite incapable of controlling.

The evils likely to result from the non-co-operation movement.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 17th Nov.; Eng. cols.

26. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* refers to the proposal made by Mr. Gandhi in the columns of *Young India*, dated the 13th October last, in which he recommended Indians to practise celibacy, and says:—There is no celibacy in Islam. Mr. Gandhi should confine such instruction to Hindus only. The Hindus may follow his advice if they so desire. There are many young and grown-up girls in this country. If marriages are abolished altogether, how long should the girls wait? Among Hindus a movement about re-marriage of widows is afoot. On the other hand, Mr. Gandhi is in favour of stopping marriages even among spinsters! This is an ultimatum againat human nature. We see that on the one land one or two years have been fixed as the period during which Mr. Gandhi and his followers hope to attain self-government by adopting non-co-operation. But this new movement about celibacy shows that Mr. Gandhi despairs of attaining self-government, for it is designed against the future generation falling into chains of servitude. In other words, future generations are not likely to be free. Hence no children should be born. For those who were dreaming about self-government coming into existence very shortly, such an idea must be very disconcerting.

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's exhortation to Indians to practise total celibacy.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (160), 15th Nov.

•27. "Mr. F. H. Burton, the District Magistrate of Amritsar, has, we learn, prohibited under the Seditious Meetings Act, the holding of a session of the Provincial Home Rule League branch, on the 19th, 20th, 21st, in Jallianwalla Bagh and also of a meeting that was to be held at the same place, for presenting an address to Colonel Wedgwood. The reasons assigned by the District Magistrate for this order are as arbitrary as they are false. With a brazen-facedness which can be equalled only by his supersensitiveness, the District Magistrate asserts with confidence that the Home Rule Conference is likely to promote sedition or disaffection and public excitement. Is Mr. Burton so block-headed or is his ignorance so dense that he should not be aware that the Home Rule League is a body that carries on its propaganda in all other parts of the country without either causing sedition, disaffection or even public excitement. Conferences are organised by its different branches in all parts of India annually and not even a single meeting was prohibited till this time..... We cannot comprehend as to what led Mr. Burton in smelling sedition in the proceedings of a conference of this institution. The Seditious Meetings Act gives no doubt a weapon in the hands of the autocrats of India to brand any meeting as seditious and to stop its holdings, simply because they have a whim of it. Are these people going to deny us the most elementary human right of asssociation. But we can detect the real cause of the fear of the Amritsar bureaucrat when it is realised that even a peaceful meeting as that of presenting an address to Colonel Wedgwood is also prohibited

Comments on the orders of the District Magistrate of Amritsar prohibiting a session of the Provincial Home Rule League, etc.
Mahrátta (8), 21st Nov.

because it is to be held on the grounds of the famous Jallianwalla Bagh. Even that meeting, the Magistrate is afraid, will cause public excitement. The reason is obvious. It seems that the innocent blood, shed at the Jallianwalla Bagh has its own revenge. The very mention of the Bagh, much more a public meeting held on those sacred grounds, is sure to rake up memories which are a lasting shame to the name of the Punjáb bureaucracy. They would, if they could, even, wipe out of existence the Bagh. Will not the Punjáb officials take the Nemisis in good grace and sportsmanlike spirit? We advise our friends of the Punjáb to hold the conference in any other place in order to test what is exactly on the brain of these officials—the Jallianwalla Bagh or the Home Rule League or the right of association."

Comments on Sir Edward Maclagan's advice to the Punjábis to forget the Martial Law incidents.

Servant of India (10), 18th Nov.

28. "Has Government nothing better to offer to the people of the Punjáb than an appeal to forget the bitter memories of official excesses, in the confidence that in any future disturbances a recurrence of such outrages is impossible? It is easy enough to ask people to forget; we wonder what would have been Sir Edward Maclagan's feelings if the Indians and the Europeans had interchanged places in the last year's disorders. Besides, an oblivion of past events cannot be had to order: people would have readily forgiven and learnt to forget if Government on their side had imposed condign punishment on the official culprits. But what they are now doing is to flaunt their impunity before the public so as to force the conviction upon the public mind that Government's agents, however heinous their misdeeds, are beyond the reach of justice. Sir Edward gives a quite superfluous assurance that, in the event of such disturbances in the future, 'roughness and irregularity (to some extent inevitable) will be reduced to a minimum'; and 'all that has given rise to unnecessary bitterness will, as far as possible, be studiously avoided.' Small thanks to Government if such proves to be the result. It will be due entirely to the growing force of public opinion and to the greater constitutional power which people will wield in the new era. As far as Government are concerned, unless a sudden change of heart takes place, they will be anxious then as now to shield the officials."

What the mental attitude of the English bureaucrats towards Indians is.

Mahrátta (8), 21st Nov.

•29. "The bureaucrats take it for granted that India is lost to all sense of the shame of a conquered race and is ready and willing to grovel in the mud of dependence to a foreign Government. They also take it for granted that India, in her present disarmed, disunited and disorganised state, can tolerate any heinous outrage on their self-respect and national honour. The bureaucrats in India consciously or unconsciously proceed in all their actions with a supercilious conviction that they have conquered India by the sword, and, further, that they have to carry the white-man's burden of the mission of uplifting the backward races of India to a goal of their making. Both these assumptions are false. The death-knell of the theory of Government by mailed fists as well as of carrying the enlightenment of European civilization has already been sounded. The war has dissipated both. All leaders of political thought in Europe and America are paying homage to the doctrines of freedom, equality and self-determination for all nations and they have further seen that the boasted materialistic and destructive civilisation of the West has much to learn from others..... The above attitude of mind of the bureaucracy is well reflected in a speech delivered recently by Sir E. Maclagan at an informal meeting of the members of the Punjáb Legislative Council. Sir E. Maclagan is reputed to be a strong sympathiser with Indian aspirations and hopes and has no doubt exhibited the same in the course of a few months of his administration of the Punjáb as Lieutenant-Governor. We take his speech for illustrating the above analysis particularly to demonstrate that in spite of sympathies there is fundamental difference of view-points..... The speech is typical and will show the general trend of thought that is dominant in the minds of the bureaucracy."

30. A few days ago the Government of India issued a communique and asked thoughtful Indians to take the lead in explaining to the people the evil consequences of non-co-operation. But Indians know their duty very well and Government's appeal was quite uncalled for. Government should make it a point to remove the causes that have led to non-co-operation in order that the efforts in this direction may be successful. But Government have done nothing to allay the popular wrath. The Calcutta European Association's president, Mr. Pugh, on the contrary, defended General Dyer and asked the other officials to follow his example in similar circumstances. Government have not condemned as yet Mr. Pugh's speech, though it was delivered many days ago; and if they do not feel it necessary to condemn it, still they should remember that nobody's efforts to stop recruiting for non-co-operation will be successful. Instead of taking the trouble of asking the Moderates to do this and that, it would have been much better if Government had done something to control their Anglo-Indian brethren.

Calcutta European Association's support of General Dyer.
Dnyán Prakásh (42), 19th Nov.

31. "One wonders sometimes if it is the European attitude towards the East in general and India in particular or a particular commercial jingoism which is expressed in the utterances and doings of the European Association in India. The Calcutta European Association believes that Dyer did not blot the name of England or Englishmen but 'acted rightly'! And the European Association expect 'our leading soldiers' to believe as General Dyer did! The cold-blooded murder of Indians by an Englishman is thus hailed as a patriotic act and is held up as a model to the 'leading soldiers'. And this in face of the fact that the whole civilised world has condemned the deed as one of the blackest crimes in history. It is a disgraceful resolution the European Association has passed; such resolutions strengthen the impression that the European in India is still obsessed by a sense of the 'native's' inferiority! And that is the secret of the trouble in India and the East to-day."

New Times (9), 1st Nov.

32. Musalman soldiers quitted themselves loyally during the war, they shot their co-religionists, and sacrificed themselves for the sake of His Majesty King George. They did not swerve from their loyalty; yet non-co-operators are today branded as disloyal subjects as a reward for their loyalty. People often praise Lord Hardinge who fell a victim to a bomb outrage but did not repress the people and went to Cawnpore to see the state of affairs there with his own eyes. If Lord Chelmsford were to set free all the political prisoners, especially Moulvies, the people of India will ever associate his name with justice and clemency.

Appeal to His Excellency the Viceroy to release all political prisoners.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (160), 11th Nov.

33. "The second Armistice Day passed off on Friday (12th November). If His Majesty the King-Emperor's appeal for its observance had been published a few days earlier in India, people would have with one voice responded to it. But the authorities responsible for it went about doing their duty in a leisurely, slovenly way. They did not give publicity to His Majesty's appeal till the 10th November, and thousands and millions of people did not know the next morning that they had to observe a two minutes' silence at 11 A.M. The taxi-car chauffeurs and the hack victoria drivers were quite ignorant that they had to pull up their taxis and gharries at the firing of a signal at 11. And so the solemnity of the occasion was observed by a very, very few people in Bombay which has a population of a million and a half souls. Why this lethargy, this slovenliness? It is hardly creditable to the authorities at the Delhi Secretariat and to the India Office at Whitehall."

Complaint that the public were not informed in time about the observance of the Armistice Day.
Hindi Punch (22), 14th Nov., Eng. cols.

34. Referring to the question of compulsory Bible attendance at the Wilson College, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—

Compulsory Bible attendance at the Wilson College.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Nov.

"Apart from all questions of principle and the fundamental issues involved, we ask the authorities concerned from a purely utilitarian point of view, what is the good of ramming religious instruction down the throat of an unwilling batch of students. Further, College students are supposed to have passed beyond the stage of spoon-feeding, and we are of opinion that the compulsory administration of doses of religion at the rate of forty-five minutes' instruction per day is calculated to have no beneficial effects apart from serving to clear the bronchial tubes of professors engaged in this delectable task preparatory to the more serious labours of the day. The Principal in his reply to the deputation of students said that 'compulsory Bible teaching could not be discontinued, it being the primary motive of the Mission in starting the College'. Cannot an institution outgrow its ideals or the purposes for which it had been intended? No institution is to be bound down by rules of cast-iron rigidity, and it behoves the Principal of an educational institution to keep level with the age. We hope the representation of the students to the Senate will induce that body to take a more liberal policy in keeping with the spirit of the times."

***35.** "The action of the Principal of the Wilson College in expelling thirteen students, including two lady students, some of whom were members of the deputation that waited upon him and others of the Committee that was appointed at a students' meeting on the 20th September last, in connection with the question of compulsory Bible teaching, raises a serious question of principle, apart from its high-handed and thoughtless character..... The position taken by him was that the primary motive of the Mission in starting the College was to impose compulsory Bible teaching and that it could not, therefore, be discontinued. We doubt if the Principal has correctly stated the primary object of the Mission. Does it intend that Bible teaching should be forced in a high-handed fashion upon young men belonging to other faiths, even if they are opposed to it? Does the Principal mean to say that the Mission likes the Indian students to practise hypocrisy simply with a view to acquire secular education which is available in Missionary institutions? Now let us make our position perfectly clear. The Bible is one of the great religious books of the world..... If students can rise to this level of thought or have no conscientious religious scruples, they will profit rather than lose by reading the Bible in a spirit of toleration and inquiry as seekers after religious Truth. But if they are conscientiously opposed to receiving any such instruction, it is monstrous to compel them to do so in a matter in which their religious conscience is concerned. We do not think that even the learned Principal of the Wilson College and most other Missionaries are capable of rising to such a conception of religious impartiality or would tolerate even for a single day the compulsory teaching of the Hindu, Muhammadan or Buddhist scriptures to Christian boys and girls. If so, what right have they to expect non-Christian students to do so? The last War with all its horrors and brutalities, the self-aggrandising and aggressive policy the Allies have pursued after the close of the war and the black tragedy in the Punjáb have shown that Christanity has so far hopelessly failed to demonstrate its superiority to the other great religions in vogue in India. What justification, then, can there be for enforcing compulsory instruction in Christian Scriptures upon non-Christian students who have every reason to be proud of their religious, ethical and philosophical literature and are altogether opposed to it? It does not reflect great credit upon Missionary institutions that they should take unfair or ungenerous advantage of the lack of educational facilities in India and of the poverty of the people for forcing the study of the Bible upon unwilling pupils professing other faiths. The question becomes a very serious one, indeed, when even female students are subjected to the same compulsory process of religious instruction and it is for the Hindu, Muham-

Gujarátí (19), 21st Nov.; Eng. cols.

madan and Parsi communities to consider whether they will submit any longer to this kind of despotic and intolerant treatment in a matter of religious faith..... The Wilson College receives a handsome grant-in-aid from Government at the expense of the Indian taxpayer. Government are solemnly pledged to the principle of religious neutrality and cannot be allowed to shelter themselves behind the convenient plea that it is not a Government institution. They ought not to make themselves a party, directly or indirectly, to the violation of the principle of religious neutrality as proclaimed in the Queen's Proclamation..... The conduct of the Principal in summarily dismissing thirteen students, including two lady students, is not a very creditable illustration of Christian fairness, toleration or sympathy. We can only characterise it as extremely high-handed and intolerant, harsh, ill-advised, especially at this juncture when suicidal attempts are being made to drag students into the whirlpool of politics. It is, moreover, inconsistent with the Regulations of the University."

Bombay Samáchár (61), 18th Nov.

36. The Wilson College is considered the most popular of all the arts colleges in Bombay. Compulsory Bible teaching which does not form part of the University course has often been the cause of friction between the authorities of the college and the public. The college is a missionary college, and it will not be exaggeration to say that the college is maintained with the object of spreading the Christian religion. The authorities may justify their conduct on the ground that the college was started with this object, but in an age of freedom of religious opinion like the present they cannot thus justify their conduct, and, taking advantage of the helpless condition of the students, inflict Bible-study upon them; for many of the students have no help but to join this college owing to insufficient facilities for higher education. But the main reason why students are attracted to this college is the comparatively low fee charged and the cheapness of residence in its quarters. Even if another college were started, the usefulness of the Wilson College would still remain. Hence we request the public to find out a way by which the object of both the students and the college may be served. There are two courses open. The first is to seek the help of the new Council. Under the new Council the subject of education would be under the charge of a minister, and through him the Government grant-in-aid rules could be so altered as to make the Government grant to this College conditional upon its not making religious instruction compulsory. [The paper then goes on to show that the second, and more honourable, course would be to place before the foreign Christian association and individuals with whose help the College is maintained the true state of public feeling on this subject in India and to enlist their good offices for doing away with compulsory Bible teaching in it. In the meanwhile it advises those students who have conscientious objections to learning the Bible to leave the College.]

Comments on the proposal to hold an All-India Students' Conference at Nágpur.

Gujaráti (19), 21st Nov., Eng. cols.; *Mahrátta* (8), 21st Nov.

***37.** "The idea of an All-India Students' Conference will, of course, captivate many young souls, and their enthusiastic guides, friends and philosophers will no doubt encourage them in their new ventures. But we confess we disapprove of it *in toto*. It is impossible that the Students' Conference will not fall under the influence of some party or other. There are already unmistakable indications that it will be so, and it has been authoritatively stated that the question of non-co-operation will be one of the subjects for discussion. In our judgment it is a mistake to drag students into the whirlpool of exciting politics. Let them confine themselves to their legitimate spheres of work and study and not travel outside..... We have already made it clear that in our opinion it is inadvisable to go on multiplying all kinds of irresponsible or superfluous gatherings and Conferences, and that there is no necessity whatsoever of holding an All-India Students' Conference at Nágpur." [The *Mahrátta*, on the other hand, writes:—"We heartily welcome the proposal of holding an All-India College Students' Conference at Nágpur in the Congress week in December next. Students in general and especially college students cannot long remain

unaffected by the great national currents, and it is only in fitness of things that they themselves should concert together and have their say. None can deny to college students the right of participating in the deliberations of the nation especially when they themselves are to be the chief actors in the drama. The time, when college students were asked to remain immersed in their books burning the midnight oil as if they were concerned with the dead past and not with the living present, is long gone by."]

Mr. Gandhi's views on the Brahmin-non-Brahmin controversy in Maharashtra.
Young India (14), 17th Nov.

38. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes as follows in the course of an article on the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin controversy in the Maharashtra :—" In my opinion the non-Brahmin case is exceedingly weak and it is certain to disappear from the public life of Maharashtra, if the Brahmins of the nationalist party carry out the Congress non-co-operation programme in its entirety. The movement owes its vitality, not to the religious or the social disability, but to the political ascendancy of the Brahmins, which the latter undoubtedly enjoy by right of merit. That grievance must vanish if the nationalist Brahmins, having evolved larger views about Swaraj, taboo all Government posts and boycott the Councils and nominated seats on municipalities. It is clear to me that the Government, in accordance with their confirmed policy, will play the non-Brahmins against the Brahmins, even without the knowledge of the former, and endeavour to prolong its lease of life by fostering quarrels between the two and holding out political inducements to the non-Brahmins. It is clear, too, that the Brahmins will take the wind out of the non-Brahmin sail and make their opposition innocuous by a right renunciation of every form of Government patronage..... The most painful part of the situation, however, is that the non-Brahmin leaders, who claim to represent the masses and to feel for them, will by their co-operation with the Government, or by seeking to better their condition by Government, will actually tighten the hold of the Government on the masses. And by their countenancing the Government aid they will make more difficult the remedy of the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs. The non-Brahmin policy is thus demonstrably suicidal. Whatever their grievances against the Brahmins or the Nationalists, their remedy certainly does not lie through alliance with a Government, whose creed is economic exploitation of the masses, and to that end also their emasculation. For this refusal to right the Punjáb, and partly for the Khilafat wrong, is based upon the policy of keeping up the British prestige at any cost. One lac of Englishmen cannot keep under subjection thirty crores of human beings merely by brute force. But it can, and does consolidate its power by making them progressively helpless, in a most subtle manner. I venture, therefore, to warn the non-Brahmin leaders against the danger of co-operation with the Government which is bound to hurt the very cause which they seek to espouse. They will not better the economic condition of the masses by gaining a few Government posts, or by being elected legislative councillors..... The impeding calamity of the non-Brahmin leaders' running into the arms of the Government for the supposed betterment of their political condition can easily be averted by the great Brahmin party. It is intelligent, it is strong, it has the traditional prestige of authority. It can afford to stoop to conquer. A whole hearted acceptance of the non-co-operation programme does provide an automatic solution. But it is not enough. Bitterness will still remain, unless the Brahmins extend the hand of fellowship to those who feel weak and injured..... Their ignorant non-Brahmin countrymen have a right to expect courtesy and considerateness from comparatively more enlightened Brahmins."

Comments on the opening of the Children's welfare centre at Poona.
Bombay Samáchar (61), 16th Nov.

39. Adverting to the opening ceremony of the Children's Welfare Centre of the Seva Sadan at Poona, performed by Her Excellency Lady Lloyd, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes :—Their Excellencies Lady Chelmsford and Lady Lloyd inaugurated the Children's Welfare Exhibitions at Delhi and Bombay respectively some time ago. The official class as well as the

public took fair advantage of these exhibitions. The impressions created by such exhibitions, however deep they may be at the time, disappear in course of time unless some permanent form is given to them. In order that this purpose may be fulfilled, and that the public may continue to reap the benefit of the exhibitions, Mr. Devdhar and his co-workers decided to establish an institution for children's welfare at Poona and have now got it opened by Her Excellency Lady Lloyd. We would commend the speech delivered by Her Excellency on that occasion to the attention of the public and of all those engaged in the cause of social service. Her Excellency contributed Rs. 1,200 towards the funds of the institution and expressed the hope that the public would assist the institution and put it on a firm basis so that the institution might be able to extend its activities by establishing other centres. We would, therefore, hope that the public, the Municipality and Government will extend their sympathy towards this undertaking and do what they can to bring down the enhanced death-rate among women and children.

***40.** " The Bombay strikes are running their even course so far as the main issues are concerned. The Government and the Tramway Company seem to have resolved to use their immense resources to crush the poor strikers who asked for justice and nothing else. In their zeal to break the strikes the Government seems to have turned blind to the inconvenience caused to the public. It is maintaining its prestige at a cost enormous enough to satisfy the demand of the strikers. How long is this game to be continued? The Government may win at the end but the victory would cost them heavily because the victory will leave nothing but deep discontent which would rear its head any time..... We hope the public of Bombay would rise to the occasion and make it too hot for the Government to continue a single day in their hot-headedness."

The Bombay Strikes and Government.
Mahratta (8), 21st Nov.

41. It is very regrettable that the Bombay Postal, Gas and Tram strikes are not yet satisfactorily settled. Government officials do not feel any pity though it is over 50 days since the postal strike was declared. A deputation on behalf of the Trades Union Congress waited upon His Excellency, living comfortably in Ganeshkhind, when they saw that the postal officials had no mind to redress the grievances. But it was useless and His Excellency has plainly declined to move in the matter. His reply is as cruel as it is eccentric. Sir George says that the Postal strike is not such an urgent affair as the mill strike. It would have been better if he had defined what he meant by an urgent affair. Is the strike to be deemed an urgent affair if the strikers break the peace and disorder rages in the whole city, or if the strikers' demands are really just and if they really starve. An explanation on this point by His Excellency and his officials will give an opportunity to the strikers to find out the way for making a strike an urgent affair. We need not suggest to His Excellency that it would be quite harmful to allow the strikers to believe that their grievances will not be redressed unless there are disturbances. There can be no other interpretation of the careless reply given by His Excellency to the deputation.

Lokasangraha (117), 15th Nov.

42. " The establishment of a Labour Bureau under an official of the Board of Trade, which Sir George Lloyd announced in his reply to the deputation of the Trade Union Congress, will be eagerly welcomed by the people. It is but too true that, owing to the lack of accurate statistical information, there is very little understanding of the rights and wrongs of any industrial dispute that may break out and the public are often guided by their general sympathies to espouse the side either of labour or capital..... In view of the strikes which are constantly breaking out in Bombay, the supply of reliable information which will be ensured by the setting up of the Labour Bureau is an urgent necessity, and Sir George Lloyd's Government deserve credit for taking such prompt action in a matter closely affecting the interests not only of Labour, but of the general public."

Approval of the proposed establishment of a Labour Bureau.
Servant of India (10), 18th Nov.

43. The rates of interest offered by Government for the loans floated since the outbreak of the great European War have been sufficiently high to induce the public to invest their savings in them. But Government should give a thought to the effect this produces on the market price of the old securities issued by them. We are constrained to say that Government have not given the question the thought it deserves. Government have taken no steps whatsoever to make good the loss the original purchasers of the 3½ per cent. Government securities have suffered by the fall in their market price by fifty per cent. The said securities are repayable at an uncertain date and they have been largely purchased at par by charitable and religious trusts as well as by individuals. Government should fix the date at which the old securities will be redeemed and they should set apart a certain sum every year to purchase some of the securities and cancel them with a view to keeping up their market price. Should Government take the steps suggested above it is hoped that there will no further fall in the price of the Governmont securities. We hope Government will take the public in their confidence and let them know what they intend doing in the matter.

Appeal to Government to take steps to prevent an abnormal fall in the market value of the 3½ per cent. Government securities.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 19th Nov.

44. In former times Government as a rule never interfered with the trade of the country. But on account of the peculiar circumstances created by the war they thought it necessary to put restrictions on transactions in cotton at Bombay. They therefore established the Cotton Contracts Board, for supervising the cotton trade. As the constitution of the Board was not found suitable by the cotton merchants of Bombay, there always arose disputes between them and the Board. Of late these disputes have assumed a grave form. Government had declared that the operation of the Cotton Contracts Board was only for the period of the war; but now they have declared that the cotton trade requiries to be controlled permanently, and the Government of India have given publicity to a scheme by which it is proposed to control the cotton trade of the whole of India. It is to be regretted that the several items which were objectionable in the constitution of the Cotton Contracts Board have been repeated and many other objectionable items have been added in the new scheme. On a study of the new scheme several experienced men have come to the conclusion that it is devised not for the benefit of the people, but for driving out old cotton merchants from the business and to put it into the hands of a small coterie of particular merchants. It is, therefore, natural that the cotton brokers of Bombay have entered their protest against the new scheme and have resolved to continue the suspension of forward transactions. It is evident that this state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue for a long time. It behoves Government to recognise the urgency of so modifying their scheme as to give adequate representation to cotton merchants in the constitution of the executive body under the new scheme instead of allowing bitter discontent to prevail among the merchants.

Comments on the Government of India's new scheme for the control of the cotton trade of the whole of India.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 16th Nov.

45. Reviewing the reply given by His Excellency Sir Gecrge Lloyd to the Trade Union Deputation, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—His Excellency's reply is a testimony of his solicitude for the labouring classes. His Excellency's suggestion that the public in general should be taken into confidence with regard to the various Trades Unions is an important piece of advice, for, unfortunately, the public know very little about the existence of trades unions, and it is, therefore, difficult that they should take an interest in the lot of the labouring classes. We would, therefore, urge that the leaders of the movement should act up to His Excellency's suggestion and take steps to keep the public informed about the working of the trades unions. Again, the announcement made by His Excellency about the contemplated establishment of a labour bureau is one

Comments on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's reply to the Deputation of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 15th Nov.

more testimony of the interest taken by His Excellency in the welfare of the labouring classes. We hope that with the institution of the Labour Bureau, the labouring classes will find their position more secure than now. His Excellency's argument that Government cannot interfere in every dispute between the capitalist and the labourer, though proper as a general principle, cannot be accepted without qualification. In spite of the general principle, it is Government's duty to see that the people are saved from the inconvenience and loss which are the natural consequents of strikes. If, therefore, Government propose to stick to the principle, the necessity of establishing arbitration boards composed of the representatives of the employees and of the labouring classes, with neutral chairmen, is urgent and it behoves His Excellency to take the lead in the matter of forming such boards.

Appeal to His Excellency the Governor to intervene in connection with the Bombay strikes.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 15th Nov.; *Hindusthán* (24), 15th Nov.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 16th Nov.

46. In the course of a leading article the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* invites attention to some of the various interpretations put upon His Excellency's reply to the Trades Union deputation and writes:—The interpretation of His Excellency's reply to the Trades Union Deputation as given before a meeting of the working classes is astounding. They were told that His Excellency would not intervene because he was not invited to do so by both the sides, and that he had interfered on the occasion of the mill-hands' strike because there was the apprehended danger of a riot taking place. If that is so, does it not amount to saying that a riot should take place so that interference on the part of the Governor might be possible? We are not prepared to believe that a ruler like His Excelleney Sir George Lloyd would be an advocate of such a principle. We are afraid that the members of the deputation have failed in properly understanding His Excellency's words and that they have therefore made a mess of his reply. We would, therefore, urge His Excellency to take the public into confidence about the truth of the matter. We trust that taking the situtation arising out of the strikes into consideration His Excellency will without delay accept the invitation to intervene which was given to him by the public meeting of the workmen who are on strike. We assure His Excellency that the invitation has the support of the bulk of the people. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Hindusthán* points out that a misunderstanding prevails among the people about His Excellency's reply, and concludes by adding that His Excellency should show readiness to end the strike situation by taking the necessary measures. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* dwells at length upon the hardships caused to the public particularly by the postal strike and calls upon the Government of Bombay to bring pressure to bear upon the Government of India in the matter.]

Appeal to Government to defer action on the recommendations of the Esher Committee.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 20th Nov.; *Lokashahi* (119), 15th Nov.

47. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* endorses the request made by the Moderates to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India asking them to defer action on the recommendations of the Esher Committee and wait for the representations of public bodies and the discussions in the Imperial Legislative Council on the same. It adds:—How much weight can be attached to the talk of making public opinion more effective by the new Reforms if Indian opinion is ignored and the reactionary recommendations of the Esher Committee are accepted? We hope Government will not take the risky step of rejecting the request made by the Moderates. [The *Lokashahi* condemns the Esher Committee's report and says that it has not given satisfaction to anyone in India, including the Moderates. It tells Government that if they want to placate public opinion they should shelve the report without delay.]

Complaint against Government's forest policy in Kánara.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Nov.

48. "We have received so many complaints from, and on behalf of, the inhabitants of the Kánara District, of the unhappy lot which has been theirs since the district was handed over to the control of the Forest Department, that we feel that the matter should be brought to public notice. Elsewhere we publish a letter on this subject and also a special article, from which it

will be seen that the Forest Department is accused of caring more for the forest and the wild beasts of the forest than for the crops which are the livelihood of the peasantry, who have for centuries kept back the forest by their industry for a sufficient distance round their villages to make life possible. Now the wild beasts spoil their crops continually, and they are losing courage, with the consequence that the forest land is gaining on the cultivated area. We have heard how a Norman King of England destroyed many villages in order to create a great preserve for game, and even in our own days how a well-known English landlord of the 'Liberal' persuasion ejected many of his tenants and pulled down their cottages in order to enlarge his deer-park. But those were open acts of tyranny, more easily to be borne than this slow pressure of the forest on the people of Kánara, whose right to live there has not been contested. If their causes of complaint are due to settled policy and not to accident or mere stupidity, it would have been more merciful to banish them outright."

Comments on Lord Sydenham's defence of the employment of Indian troops outside India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Nov.

49. "England has solved the problem of her Anglo-Saxon colonies satisfactorily and peacefully after one shameful lesson many years ago—so many years ago that everybody has forgotten it. There remains to be solved the problem of her subject peoples. The time has come when these too must be liberated, and the question once again arises: is this to be done at once when the demand is general, or is repression to be tried at first, as in the case of the New England colonies? The subject peoples have more serious grievances than the American colonies of England ever had, and they are of course without the sense of kinship to the English race. The Americans were not required to provide the English Government with troops to fight against, and bring under the yoke of England, peoples with whose aspirations they had heartfelt sympathy, peoples with whom they were more closely allied by race and by religion than they were with England. This use of Indian troops for a purpose which is abhorrent to the mind of India as it is to all the rest of Asia seems to us to be the crux of the whole problem of the liberation of the subject peoples. The Agha Khan is against it, and the Agha Khan is right. Lord Sydenham claims that evidence from soldiers in India and Palestine (we confess that we should like to see that evidence) 'testifies that the fighting classes favour conditional overseas service.' But it is not the fighting classes, who must be considered, but the thinking classes whose thought will in a little while pervade the fighting classes. Nay, from letters we receive, but cannot publish, we should say it has already done so to a large extent. To think only of the fighting classes, largely mercenary, would be a grave political mistake where so great a nation is concerned, and quite unworthy of the statesmanship of England. And far from simplifying the problem of the liberation of the subject peoples it would complicate and much embitter it. England, in the Turkish treaty, has shown that the sentiments of India have no weight with English statesmen who lay down the policy for an Empire of which India forms no unimportant part. After that sharp rebuff it is but logical that India should resent the use of Indian men and money for imperialistic ends which seem a shame to India; it is no wonder that India should be angry at the terms of the Esher Report."

The Bolshevik menace to India.

Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra (32), 14th Nov.

50. "Pravasi" writes in the *Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra*:—The warning given by His Highness the Aga Khan with regard to the present political situation in India itself is worthy of careful consideration by the British authorities. The aim of the Esher Committee's recommendations is that a portion of the Indian Army should be distributed over the Asiatic countries under the protection of England and that the English War Office should control this army. With regard to this mistaken and dangerous policy Indian opinion has not at all been consulted, nor is it going to be consulted. This policy which will saddle the Indian tax-payer with the burden of the expenses of troops employed outside India will in the long run prove calamitous to the relations between India and Britain, and will make Indians view with suspicion the promises given to them about the colonial form of self-government being conferred on India. If this happens, then, as the Aga Khan declares, the

Bolshevist propaganda will spread far and wide all over India. We sincerely wish that no such thing may happen, that the high-handed autocracy of Government, which is on the increase, may be abandoned and that for that consummation an independent, just and far-sighted statesman may be appointed to grace the Viceregal *Gadi*. The Bolshevists are even on the look out for opportunities to obtain mastery over India. It was they who brought about last year the invasion of India through the Amir of Kabul. They have now taken sides with the Germans and declare that they will avenge Germany's wrongs on France through Africa and on England through India. Perhaps there is nothing in these threats; but the danger of the Bolshevists proving dangerous enemies with regard to India is not one to be laughed at. At such a time, how necessary it is for the rulers to attend at once to the complaints of the Indians to heal the wounds inflicted on their self-respect and to take steps to win their confidence permanently? When will they realise the dangers of a callous attitude towards the wrongs of their subjects?

51. Commenting upon the reported speech of Lenin in which he declared that he was soon going to launch a vigorous propaganda against France and England in Africa and India respectively, the *Swarâjya* writes:—It is quite a different question how far Lenin would meet with success in his undertaking. If the authorities in India, however, wish that his efforts should come to nought in this country they should mend their ways betimes. We understand that the Government of India have established a new Department to defeat Bolshevism at an annual cost of nine thousand pounds. People have no means of knowing whether those of the Moderates and the leaders of the backward classes who are at present opposing non-no-operation also share in this money. It can, however, be safely said that Government are making a great mistake if they are thus wasting public money. If Government really desire that Bolshevism should not obtain a foothold in this country they should redeem their pledges. Then alone will there be no fear of Bolshevism spreading in this country. Neither the sum of nine thousand pounds nor the doings of sycophants would be able to accomplish the task. Only British honesty—prospective, of course: not that of which we have had experience hitherto—can accomplish it.

Swarâjya (139), 18th Nov.

52. *Apropos* General Wrangel's defeat, the *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* writes:—The latest telegrams in connection with the situation in Russia and Turkey are alarming. General Wrangel is done for and the Bolshevists have become masters of the Crimea. Another telegram tells us that the Bolshevists have sent a lengthy note to Britain couched in very abusive language. These items of information are a great blow upon the prestige of the Great Powers. The fate of General Wrangel is a disgrace to them because General Wrangel had raised his head relying upon the help of the Great Powers. The situation is now a critical one for the Allies. The Bolshevist note to Britain is a challenge. Will they fight the Bolshevists? The British public is entirely against a war now. But if the Bolshevist challenge is not replied to and if the situation created by the victory of the Bolshevists is silently tolerated, it would mean a great blow to their prestige. Germany is sure to take revenge when an opportunity occurs. Under the circumstances, it is not impossible the Allies should come to terms with Russia and Turkey and modify the terms of the harsh treaty with the latter. [Reviewing the situation the *Hindusthân* points out that the results will be disastrous if a war is entered upon with Russia.]

The situation created in Europe by the successes of the Bolshevists.

Praja Mitra and Pârsi (31), 17th Nov.; *Hindusthân* (24), 18th Nov.

*53. "Looking at the present spirit which stalks over the world, it is clear that the statesmen of Great Britain, the men who hold the destiny of the Empire in their hands, must now change their ideal of empire and look at things from a different angle of vision than they have hitherto done. They must realise that the different members of the Empire have now become old and experienced enough to guide themselves and cannot brook the too rigid control of the central

What would be the attitude of British statesmen towards the various units of the empire at the present juncture.

Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 21st Nov.; Eng. cols.

authority. They must loosen the reins of power which they hold with such tenacity; they must give up the proud and narrow-minded ideals of domination and aggrandisement. Their imperialism must become broader in spirit and more liberal in heart and mind. If such a change of views and policy does not soon take place the solidarity of the Empire will suffer a shock from which it will be hard to recover..... The more tightly they try to clutch the reins of power which they hold the greater is the unrest and dissatisfaction they create. Let them understand that the time has come when they must relax their hold and allow each unit of the Empire to progress in its own way. Let Ireland have her due; let India have her due; leave Mesopotamia and Arabia to themselves; let Persia alone; let every member of the Empire be free to manage its own affairs in its own way; and the result will be an Empire happier, stronger, more prosperous and more glorious than was ever seen or heard of. But if they will cling to their selfish ideas of aggrandisement and dominion, as it unfortunately appears from the recent utterances of Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon, they must prepare themselves for the disastrous results which such a grasping policy must inevitably produce."

How the Arabs have been treated by the British Government after the war.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Nov.

54. "Though a staunch ally of the British, King Husein of Hedjaz has been known to be a very outspoken critic of British statesmanship. Pulling up short, in a conversation with newspaper correspondent at Jeddah in 1917, King Husein was reported to have said:—'You speak to me continually of the British Government and British policy. But I see five Governments where you see one, and the same number of policies. There is a policy first of your Foreign Office; second of your Army; third of your Navy; fourth of your protectorate in Egypt; fifth of your Government in India. Each of these Governments seems to me to act upon an Arab policy of its own. What are the Arabs to do now and what are they to expect of you after the war?' Well, the world knows too well what the Arabs have got after being hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Allies for five years. At the sacrifice of consistency and with recent lip-service to the higher humanistic ideals, the Allies have held down the Arabs under iron heels, still promising protection and patronage, while their capitalistic designs are too manifest to be kept a secret."

Bolsheviks and the Turkish Nationalists.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Nov.

55. Referring to the negotiations between the Bolsheviks and Turkish Nationalists, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"What exactly is the object of the Moscow Government in this Islamic war? It is disinterested? Do they wish to impose their system on the Turkish people, or is it merely a firm Alliance with the Turkish nation based on gratitude and mutual interest that they are seeking?..... The sympathy of the East is with the Bolshevists only in so far as they defend the rights and liberties of Eastern peoples. If Bolshevism turns out to be only another form of Russian imperialism, Orientals will have none of it, and there will soon be war between the Greens and Reds in Soviet territory. It is only the treatment of Turkey by the Allies which has given Moscow for the present the hegemony of Central Asia."

MUNICIPALITIES.

The question of finding a temporary substitute for the Assistant Deputy Municipal Commissioner.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Nov.

56. Referring to the discussion in the Bombay Municipal Corporation about finding a temporary substitute in place of the Assistant Deputy Commissioner going on leave, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"Dr. N. H. E. Sukhia struck the right note when he pointed out that it was an insult to the country to suggest that no suitable Indian could be found to occupy the post and that the Municipality should go a-begging to the Government to secure the services of an I.C.S. man. Can those who voted against the proposition and ultimately weighted the scale in favour of a mendicant expedition to Government for the loan of an officer, say that they did so because of their inhability to find a capable man elsewhere? If so, it is a sad confession of failure and is unmistakably indicative of the

myopic vision of these individuals..... The country is making insistent demands for the Indianisation of the Government services and at such a time our City Fathers, going counter to the people's aspirations, are resorting to this retrograde step of having recourse to Government help."

RAILWAYS.

Complaint about defective railway service between Bombay City and its suburbs.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 16th Nov.

57. Inviting attention to the congestion in the local trains in Bombay the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—A few days ago, a meeting of the inhabitants of the suburbs adjoining the G. I. P. Railway line was held at Kurla. They unanimously expressed their opinion to the effect that owing to there not being a sufficient number of local trains, many people at the time of returning home in the evening were put to much inconvenience. If it is the object of Government that the bulk of the population of Bombay should reside in the suburbs and thereby relieve the congestion in the city, they should in consultation with the railway companies so arrange that the people staying outside may have all facilities of communication between Bombay and the suburbs. Owing to the present unsatisfactory state of affairs, the people staying outside suffer so much inconvenience and hardship that they consider it safe to rot in Bombay at the cost of any sacrifice and expense. The city is overcrowded and the object of Government is not served. We fail to understand how people can be induced to migrate to the suburbs for many years to come unless Government improve the facilities of communication on an extensive scale.

The Indian Railway Commission.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 19th Nov.

58. After pointing out that there are strong reasons for complaining about the composition ef the Railway Commission which is shortly to commence its operations in England, and the procedure to be followed by it, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* protests against the fact that the Indian representatives on it will not be able to attend the proceedings of the Commission in England. It continues:—Public bodies in India should raise a strong protest against such a procedure. We are sure that those members of the Commission who are in India cannot approve of such one-sided methods of inquiry. How can they be called upon to express their opinion on evidence which was not taken in their presence and which they had not the opportunity of sifting by cross-examination? The Indian members being placed in this position, how hollow is the pretence about Indian interests being safeguarded at their hands. The evidence tendered by the various railway boards in England would be very valuable. Why should not the representatives of these boards be invited to India and their evidence taken in the presence of all the members of the Commission? To ensure justice being done to Indian interests such evidence must be taken in the presence of the Indian members. The Esher Committee recorded evidence in England in the absence of its Indian members, with the result that its report, far from being approved by Indians, has proved distasteful to them. We entertain the hope that the proceedings of the Railway Commission will be carried on from beginning to end in the presence of the Indian members. The Commission will inquire into the question of Railway freights and other important matters; and it is the duty of Indians not to lose this opportunity of making the Indian point of view powerfully felt in the course ot this inquiry. It is also the primary duty of Government to see that Indian opinion is not stifled and to afford all possible facilities for its full expression. Unless this is done, it is feared the Commission will prove to be a farce and India will derive no benefit through it.

Indu Prakdsh (45), 19th Nov.

59. In the case of these Commissions, the terms of reference are settled by Government and they are further bound to accept the findings of the Commissions if they interfere with their primary object. Most of the Commissions have been helpful in driving the people backwards. Whether the Commission is Royal or Indian, Government

do not depart generally from their policy. The rights of Indian and European members of these Commissions should be the same; but Government sometimes make distinctions. The European members of the Esher Committee finished preliminary inquiries in England and submitted their rough draft of recommendations to the Secretary of State and with his consent they continued further deliberations. It was quite improper and insulting to hold a separate inquiry in England without the co-operation of Indian members. This evil practice is about to be followed in the case of the Railway Commission also. We hope the news will turn out untrue, or otherwise it would be necessary to beware in time and protest against it.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 26th November 1920.

*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 27th November 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The elections in the Bombay Presidency and elsewhere have demonstrated the success of non-co-operation about councils, in so far as the voters are concerned. In some cases not a single voter seems to have registered his vote. What will the so-called representatives do? They know that the voters have refrained from going to the polls not out of laziness but out of deliberations. They know too that thousands of voters have declared in writing their intention not to be represented. The members had ample opportunity of acting on the electors and convincing them of the desirability of voting. They cannot complain of intimidation or even picketing. For the instructions were not to picket, and as far as I am aware, the instructions were implicitly followed. In the face of these facts, is it not the clear duty of the members declared to have been elected not to have anything to do with the Council? The electors have shown in no uncertain terms that they do not want to have anything to do with the reformed Councils. The members will reduce representative institutions to an absurdity if they persist in going to the Council when they have the clearest possible mandate to the contrary. If the so-called representatives do not obey the mandate of their electors, the course of the latter is quite clear. They must form voters' associations, and through these bodies pass votes of no confidence; they must address their respective members notifying their disapproval of their conduct in allowing themselves to be declared elected. It follows too that the electors must not on any account whatsoever take any work from these members. For them the Council does not exist. They must not seek any relief through it."

Comments on the Council elections.

Young India (14), 24th Nov.

*2. Commenting upon the recent elections to the new council the *Mahrátta* writes:—"Naturally the question arises, whom do these so-called elected persons represent? The nation as a whole, through its most representative institution, has discarded them. Looking at the votes registered for the successful candidates it must be said that they are returned to the councils by a literally microscopic minority. The figures tell their own tale. The so-called representative of the city of Poona and the urban areas included in the constituency is supposed to represent a population of more than hundred and fifty thousand souls, but is returned only by 372 voters out of nine thousand and odd of them. If we analyse the votes recorded in the district of Poona, Bombay city, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Bijapur, the same woeful tale of insignificant number of votes meets the eye. On an average not more than fifteen per cent. of the voters have registered their votes, and therefore we are again constrained to ask whom do these good people represent. Surely they do not represent the majority in their constituencies, and they can never be taken to be their true representatives..... The elections to the new councils naturally formed the basis over which the structure of the new reforms was to be reared, and the results of the present elections clearly show that the basis itself does not exist, and it may be asked as to why the farce of these councils which are not, and cannot be, in the nature of things, the truly representative bodies of the people should be continued. Let the Government come forward in a truly sportsmanlike spirit and admit defeat and declare the new councils to be dissolved. They must admit that the fight was fought cleanly and the result was decisive. The people have declared by an overwhelming majority that they are determined not to have anything to do with the new councils and no mistake can be made about their feelings. If the Parliament honestly desires to introduce truly democratic forms of government in India it must immediately dissolve the new councils or even not convene them and declare the cancellation of these present elections. The British statesmen must proceed at once to satisfy the demands of the people in a manner that would inspire them with enthusiasm and energy to carry out the reforms. Nothing but immediate grant of full *Swarajya* or at least a definite promise to grant

Mahrátta (8), 28th Oct.

it within a fixed period with well-defined stages of advance can satisfy the people. It is no use parading before the world with this camouflage of reforms and asking them to believe that Britain has done her duty by the people of India. If anything was needed to serve as an eye-opener, the elections have served it, and therefore we urge the British people to take full advantage of the occasion of the visit of the Duke of Connaught and issue a proclamation, fully satisfying the people of India. This alone can save their faces. In the meanwhile, we must say that the present elections do not represent the will of the people and are therefore *ipso facto* void. Those who are elected must also resign, in view of the votes recorded in their favour, for the simple reason that they do not represent them whom they are supposed to represent. If they have any sense of honour in them they would at once see the ridiculous position in which they have landed themselves and proceed forthwith to resign their seats. One word to the voters who did not go to the polls as a matter of duty. They must not allow the grass to grow under their feet, and as they have demonstrated their feelings by boycott of the polls they must organise themselves and make it too hot for these so-called representatives to pose as such. Public meetings of citizens and voters must be called to denounce their claims to represent them, and it must be demonstrated that the new councils are but a private affair of the bureaucrats and their apologists. The question as to whom these people represent must haunt them all through. Let every voter ask the Government and the members, 'Whom do they represent'."

3. The effects of the teachings of Mr. Gandhi were for the first time effectively manifested on the election day. Thousands of people have refused to record their votes. Crows and policemen in large numbers were to be seen near the polling stations. What have the Moderates to say about the non-participation of the voters in the elections? Those who say that the non-co-operation movement is showing signs of weakening are merely indulging in foolish talk. It is reported that eighty per cent. of the voters did not vote! Can the officials say that the men elected by merely twenty per cent. of the voters are the real representatives of the people? [Elsewhere the paper, commenting upon the participation of the Parsis in the elections at Bombay and in the districts, remarks:—Do the Parsis approve of the Punjáb atrocities and the injustice done in the matter of the Khilafat? Do not the Parsis want to continue their friendly relations with the Hindus and Moslems of India? Do not the Parsis consider themselves as Indians? Have they not been grieved by the Punjáb affairs? How are they going to maintain their purity by associating themselves in the new Councils with men who will represent a Government that breaks its pledges and with unjust officials? The participation of the Parsis in the elections shows the scant respect they possess for the feelings of their sister communities and the gratitude they feel towards India for the protection she has afforded them.]

Gujarâti (19), 21st Nov.

4. Nobody thought that the non-co-operation resolution would be accepted by the Congress with such a large majority. As soon as the result was out, the nationalist leaders decided within themselves that the decision must be accepted. Mahatma Gandhi's advice was that that those whose conscience told them to disobey the resolution should freely do so. But once the Congress resolution was out, who gave the authority to Gandhi alone to interpret it? We have nothing to do with those who disobeyed the resolution. We speak of those who accepted the resolution and withdrew from the Council elections. Many of them were formerly for entry into the Councils, but the concience that told them to enter the Councils began to advise them after the Congress resolution that they must obey the Congress. Lokamanya Tilak's responsive co-operation was really speaking non-co-operation. Last week, the elections were over and the agitation against the elections also stopped. The work turned out was very satisfactory and we really feel gladdened by it. But all devotees of non-co-operation should not be only overjoyed but they should now take up the work lying before them. The boycott of Councils was not such an easy thing as the Moderate critics say,

Kesari (114), 23rd Nov.

but there are more difficult things to be accomplished. We have learnt excellently the first lesson of non-co-operation and we shall naturally feel enthusiastic to learn the next lessons. [Elsewhere the paper says non-co-operation was very successful and that as Government gave six pice *swardjya* they got six pice votes, and that when sixteen anna *swardjya* is given, full votes would be recorded.]

5. The *Swardjya* expresses its satisfaction that at many of the polling stations not a single vote was given on the polling day, though the co-operators had tried their best to prevail upon the voters to give their votes. [The *Rdjakdran*, while congratulating the Nationalists on the success they had achieved in getting the elections boycotted, tells them that their duty has not ended with the boycott of the Councils but that they should now devote their attention to the establishment of national schools and colleges. The *Chaitanya*, on the other hand, is of opinion that, in view of the general ignorance of the electorate and its lack of appreciation of the value of the franchise, the results obtained at this the first elections ever held in India must be considered to be highly satisfactory. The *Jagdruk* says that the Extremists' campaign against the reformed Councils has only begun and that their next move will be to create difficulties in the way of the popular representatives and Ministers with a view to discrediting the reforms.]

Swardjya (139), 25th Nov.; *Rdjakdran* (129), 21st Nov.; *Chaitanya* (101), 22nd Nov.; *Jagaruk* (46), 21st Nov.

6. "The polling offices looked—at least in the neighbourhood of Bombay—dreary and cheerless. The experiences of some of those who went to vote would be awful to relate..... The streets were deserted. The voters of a potential democracy were sullen. The polling offices looked 'dead like theatres fresh emptied of spectators'..... The iron has gone deep into its flesh and the Punjáb and the Khalifate are writ large and in fiery characters on the bosom of the country. Such must be the feeling of every one who witnessed the dawn of this momentous Sixteenth of November in this country and such must also be the feelings of those who in an evil moment let loose the demon of repression in the Punjáb, and such we conceive must also be the feelings of that old-world diplomacy which with impious hands dismembered the Ottoman Empire."

Nireekshaka (48), 19th Nov., Eng. cols.

7. What have the Moderates to say about the poor show on the Election Day? They can now scarcely say that people are not on the side of the non-co-operation movement. About eighty per cent. of the voters refrained from making use of their votes, and the proportion will be greatly increased if the Parsis are not counted. Mostly Government servants and those who wanted to flatter Government voted in the elections. Even in the Mofussil the elections elicited no enthusiasm on the part of the people, Only crows were seen crowing near the polling stations. Those who have now been elected cannot lay claim to being representatives of the people. Mere nobodies ignorant of Council procedure have been elected. Now, the opponents of the non-co-operation movement have no other course open to them but to admit its victory. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* on the other hand congratulates the Parsis on the enthusiasm they displayed in the elections and praises the officials employed on the work of the elections for the efficiency of their work. It also praises the Police for maintaining order on that day.]

Hindusthán (24), 22nd Nov.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 21st Nov.

8. "Reports of elections in Sind show that the bureaucracy in this province has been defeated. The polls at Shikárpur, Sukkur and Larkana presented almost a deserted appearance; even at Hyderabad, having two dailies attacking non-co-operation every day, very few of the voters voted..... About 80 per cent. of the voters in Karáchi respected the Congress decision and refused to vote. Non-co-operation defeated the bureaucracy at the time of the Peace *jashan*; non-co-operation has defeated the bureaucracy in every contest since; and after the elections the bureaucracy in Sind is seen again to be

New Times (9), 18th Nov.

shorn of its prestige..... It is true some of the Sindhis who have fought the elections are pleaders of long standing..... In the great struggle of Italian emancipation, as Mazzini pointed out, the majority of the lawyers stood aloof from the people..... The elections show that Sind is on the right side in the fight between the bureaucracy and the nation. The elections show that the soul of Sind is awakening, that her conscience and sense of national honour are getting the better of the official-created environment. The elections show that the people of Sind refuse to co-operate with the bureaucracy. The elections show that in the new values of public life, *jo-hookums* and mediocrities cannot claim to 'represent' the people. The elections show that Sind wants the Montagu scheme to go—that she wants not mere 'reforms' but *swaraj*."

Comments on the Government of India's resolution on the non-co-operation movement.

New Times (9), 17th Nov.

9. "Professor Vaswani writes in the *New Times*:—Non-co-operation, like the Kingdom of which Christ spoke, 'is as a seed growing.' It has not ended 'in a fiasco'; it has not died of 'inanition.' It is 'as a seed growing'—growing every day. And they who scoffed are become serious. 'We cannot force ourselves to pretend,' writes an English paper; 'that all is well when we have good reasons to fear it is not. If public memory were not short, it would recall the anxious time we had in India during the boycott days a dozen years ago'! And the Government of India has been compelled to issue a resolution condemning non-co-operation!..... The one thing the resolution omits to mention is that the Government of India itself is practising non-co-operation with the people,—has practised it all these years in repudiating Indian opinion and passing—Indian protests notwithstanding—measures of repression..... In the resolution, however, there is not a word of repentance for the wrongs inflicted on the people, not a word to indicate that the Government is ready to do justice to Indian demands. Prestige is the God the Government worships..... Look Punjabward: consider the L.-G.'s order concerning proclaimed areas; consider the severe sentence passed upon Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan. Who will believe that Government is 'reluctant' to interfere with liberty of speech and freedom of press?..... Instead, however, of inviting a conference of Indian leaders with a view to meet the people's demands in regard to the Khilafat, the Punjáb and *Swardj*, the Government appeal to 'Moderate' men to kill the movement..... The 'Moderates' cannot kill the movement. What can kill non-co-operation will be violence on the part of the people..... 'Moderate' counsels cannot prevail; for the simple reason that the alternative they suggest is co-operation; the people cannot offer co-operation to the Administration which tramples upon their religious sentiments and the sense of national honour..... The Government's resolution will, I believe, be followed soon by a rigorious policy of repression. In condemning non-violent non-co-operation as unconstitutional, the Government denies us the fundamental right to withhold co-operation from Government. Will the nation surrender this right? The resolution gives a warning to the country:—If the 'sane and moderate citizens' cannot kill the movement, if the 'danger' of non-co-operation is not 'dissipated', then must the *sircar* employ 'repressive action' 'in the last resort'! This is the *sircar's* plain intent and purpose. The movement cannot be killed by a 'Moderate' combination. And we should expect a rigorous policy of repression. And then,—what then? One thing I feel sure of. The youth of Italy under Mazzini and the youth of Egypt under Zaghlul Pasha could not be crushed by coercion; and India's youth no repression can vanquish."

Gujarati Punch (21), 21st Nov., Eng. cols.

10. "The Government resolution defining its attitude with respect to the non-co-operation movement makes sorry reading. ..... In the first place the resolution is a typical indication of the perverse mentality of the present rulers of this country, and the very fact that they come forward to 'explain' why they do *not* resort to repression is a cruel reminder to the people of the different way in which India is 'governed'. The strength of any Government

consists in its ability to successfully withstand popular agitation without any resort to repression and not on its military strength, and it would have been more creditable to Lord Chelmsford's Government if it were so conducted as to be in a position to explain as to why it *resorts* to repression instead of as to why it *does not*. This, however, is possible only where repression is an *exception* rather than a *rule*, but contrary being the case with the Government of India it is simply impossible so long as it remains the autocratic and irresponsible Government that it is..... It would not be difficult for a careful reader of the Associated Press messages to any Indian daily paper to find out that in spite of the unwillingness of the Government to launch upon a policy of repression, individuals here and there continue to be deported and imprisoned for indulging in the use of the same liberty of free-speech which the Government profess to uphold and that the gentle Press Act still makes itself felt in spite of the professed zeal for the liberty of the press. The fact is, only the main actors of the drama are let alone, while obscure persons continue to feel the weight of the Governmental armoury as poignantly as ever. Whatever else that may mean it does not mean one thing, and it is that the Government of India is unwilling to launch upon a campaign of repression. It is a little melo-dramatic to see the Government of India—which only the other day mightily flourished its broadsword and eagerly pointed to it as its main support—condescending to rely on the 'commonsense' of the people of this country for the failure of the non-co-operation movement. We, however, assure Lord Chelmsford that the 'commonsene' of the people *will* assert itself; only the assertion will not be to Lord Chelmsford's liking. Non-co-operation is nothing, if not the expression of real, genuine grievances of the people, and however defective it may be it will not die out so long as either those wrongs are not righted or is substituted by a more effective expression..... It is not a little tragic to see the Government of India hugging to the belief that non-co-operation is the outcome of professional agitators and that it can be killed by counter-propaganda. We wish they would give it up soon in their own interests..... Nothing, however, is further from their minds, and the biggest gold-pill in the hands of Lord Chelmsford will not induce a single Nationalist to undertake a campaign on his Lordship's behalf..... If ever the 'commonsense' of India prevails, we are quite sure it will only place Lord Chelmsford and his Government in a tight corner. Lord Chelmsford's administrative record is not entitled to any better reward, and if Lord Chelmsford cannot change his skin, we hope he will at least be chivalrous enough not to expect a treatment different from the one he really deserves."

11. Commenting on the Government of India's resolution on the non-co-operation movement, the *Praja Bandhu* remarks:—"While there is so much fulmination against the non-co-operation movement and its organisers are served with a sort of ultimatum, there is not a word by way of an explanation of their policy and attitude towards the series of their own acts which have driven the masses noted for their patience and docility into the arms of non-co-operators and their sympathisers. This omission has not failed to have been noticed by 'men of liberal opinion and moderate mind' on whose 'practical help and sympathy' Government so much rely..... Instead of, therefore, fulminating against the non-co-operators and their followers at the dawn of the New Year, Government would have been better advised to summon a 'Conference of the recognised leaders of the people' as suggested and desired by their Captain-General—Mr. Gandhi—so that the inauguration of the 'New Era' may not be attended 'with any trace of bitterness', and the people of this great and ancient land may have reason to cherish and nourish British connection with feelings and acts of enthusiastic gratitude. If in some such striking manner an indelible proof of their intention to turn a new page in the history of Anglo-India is not forthcoming from Government, the duty of the people is quite clear. They cannot forget the open page of English history which recounts in letters of glittering gold, how for the deliverance of their Motherland from the grip of a hated tyrant Hampden offered up his life, Algernon Sydney laid down his head on the block, and the seven bishops appeared as traitors before the bar of a Criminal

Praja Bandhu (30), 21st Nov., Eng. cols.

Court, and we are assured that 'the Liberals brought up on the strong meat of English history cannot support a foreign Government which means to perpetuate itself as a foreign Government'. This prospect of the combination of the Moderates and the Extremists cannot but fill the mind of every genuine Nationalist with feelings of legitimate pride and satisfaction, and we hope it will serve as an eye-opener to those Imperialist bureaucrats who propose to broad-base their antiquated edifice on the slippery foundation of 'divide and rule'."

12. Government say that it is not desirable to prosecute the leaders and make martyrs of them. Government are only making a virtue of necessity. In this way Government do not want to participate in the struggle, but it does not mean that they have left the non-co-operators quite free. Things which Government do not do, or which Government are ashamed to do, are got done by treacherous Moderates and the new allies of Government, the Satya Samajists. These reprehensible things were hitherto done secretly, but now Government have given an open letter of authority to both the traitors to abuse Nationalists and their work. The policy of Government is thus to humble the Nationalist party in this way; but it is quite a mistaken and unstatesmanlike move. Those who rely on hired forces always court for a defeat. If Government want to begin a campaign against non-co-operators openly, they will have no other course but to arrest Gandhi and Ali brothers. But Government know the evil consequences that may issue and therefore they do not dare to do it. They have begun in other ways a bombardment against non-co-operation from behind a corner. The Amritsar Conference and the address to Colonel Wedgwood in Jhallianwalla Bagh were stopped. Two speakers in Calcutta were prohibited from delivering speeches for a year; and securities are being demanded all over the country from the papers. The ghost of repression is using by-lanes if not the public streets. Non-co-operators should, however, recognise their growing strength from the fact that Government are backing out from an open fight and they should continue their united efforts tenaciously. In that case success will soon crown their efforts.

Kesari (114), 23rd Nov.

13. We all know how affectionately Government treat our national agitations. This satanic Government thinks it its duty to suppress in all ways our national agitations interfering with its oppressions, its selfish interests and its repose. Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation is a terrific blow against the bureaucratic Government. Government are really afraid, but it is only in keeping with their evil pride that they should pretend that they are not afraid. It appears that they are determined not to acknowledge the injustice of their policy. The policy they have adopted is a grand one that would frighten the timid. One of the reasons given by Government for not following the all-powerful oppressive policy is their belief that non-co-operation would die of itself. Government should fully understand that it would die only after the acquisition of *swardjya*. It is also said that Government do not want to give unnecessary prominence to people by oppressing them. Till now they have followed only a policy of oppression and they have trampled upon thousands of youths struggling for the country. Government are tired of the work and it is but proper for them to say so. If Government arrest and prosecute people they are not dishonoured but they become more important. It shows the popularity enjoyed by Government. They should also give up the idea of "divide and rule" now. Government pretend that they have favoured us by not following a repressive policy. Perhaps they may follow it after the departure of the Duke of Connaught. We tell Government that non-co-operation is truth. It is immortal on account of the injustice of Government. It is imbedded in the hearts of the people as advised by the Mahatma. It will get *swardjya* for India. Day by day it will be more victorious whatever be the policy followed by Government. [The *Chandrodaya* writes:—We note with satisfaction that Government do not intend to interfere with non-co-operation, whatever be their reasons. There is nothing objectionable in non-violent non-co-operation. If Government arrest and prosecute the leaders, the agitation will increase a

Raj Hansa (88), 21st Nov.; *Chandrodaya* (37), 22nd Nov.

hundred-fold and perchance India may become another Ireland. Government have wisely foreseen it and have issued a statesmanlike resolution. Some think that Government have issued a mild resolution in order to keep India quiet during the Duke of Connaught's visit. We think it proper to congratulate Government on their resolution.]

*14. "It would be a miracle if Government had been suddenly converted by non-co-operation, of all things in the world, to the wisdom of trusting in the commonsense of the people to counteract its mischief. The simple truth is that they have blundered so constantly of late—they have done nothing but blunder—that they are afraid to act lest they commit more blunders. It is the total loss of confidence in themselves that is camouflaged in the Resolution as confidence in the commonsense of the people. The Chelmsford Government has forfeited the confidence of the country but what is worse it has lost confidence in itself. No Government of India had its prestige sunk to a more dangerously low level than Lord Chelmsford's. If the British Government had cared less for their wretched red-tape and more for the Indian Empire they would have acceded to the insistent call for his lordships' recall months ago. Almost any other Viceroy, without Lord Chelmsford's embarrassing record, would have done better. Some people are said to be organising a deputation to His Excellency. They might also think of waiting on Sir Michael O'Dwyer, while they are about it. It is, however, not Government but the community that stands to suffer most by non-co-operation. To us, at any rate, its anti-social aspect has always seemed more serious than its anti-Government aspect. Mr. Gandhi tells Government 'if they mean well' to make 'an irrevocable announcement, in the clearest terms possible that, so long as the movement remains non-violent, they will not interfere with it even though it demands, and may result in, complete independence'. In other words, if the non-co-operationists refuse to pay taxes, Government should let them alone and put extra taxation on those who are opposed to non-co-operation to meet the deficit! Why not ask directly that Government should put up its shutters and hand over the administration to Mr. Gandhi and Maulanas Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali?"

Indian Social Reformer (7), 28th Nov.

15. We welcome the resolution of Government outlining the policy they propose to adopt in connection with the non-co-operation movement. But where was the need of patting the Moderates on the back on this occasion? The Moderates do not at all approve of the way in which Government have dealt with the Punjáb wrong and have emphatically protested against it. They, too, along with the Extremists are angry with Government for not punishing the offending officials in the Punjáb although they had the means of doing so. Even before the cult of non-co-operation was ushered into existence, the Moderates had announced their intention of co-operating with the Government to make the Reforms a success, and they have stuck to their resolve up till now. Besides, they confidently believe that they can secure redress for the Punjáb wrong by working in the new Councils. This being so, Government need not have taken the trouble of bestowing any praise upon them. The Moderates are opposed to non-co-operation and they never waited for any hint from Government. They have always preached co-operation from the platform and in the press. It does not bespeak true statesmanship to commend the attitude of one section of the people while condemning that of the other. But then the Government of India have always lacked true statesmanship. Otherwise, there would have been no Punjáb wrong, and if there had been, Government would not have dealt with it in the manner they did.

Subodh Patrika (49), 14th Nov.

16. The Government of India has issued orders explaining its attitude and policy towards non-co-operation. The Government regards this movement as unconstitutional and gives reasons why it has not proceeded against its promoters save those who have gone beyond the limits prescribed for them. Government presumes that educated and respectable Indians are against non-co-operation and then goes on to say that the promoters of the

Al-Wahid (151), 8th and 9th Nov.

movement are now inveigling illiterate people and immature students into their movement. This is a monstrous lie and needs no refutation. In conclusion, the Government of India calls on Indians to actively oppose the non-co-operation movement. This invitation will appeal to none but sycophants of Government; and the country is not going to listen to them as it regards them as accursed ones and reprobates. We would advise the Viceroy if he wishes to be free from the bother of non-co-operation to pack up, buy a ticket to England at the cost of the Indian treasury, and start for the journey this very day. If, however, he thinks that he can stop non-co-operation with the aid of Moderates and sycophants and by means of threats he must be dull-headed indeed. Every Englishman must bear in mind that no true son of mother India will sit quiet until the motherland is free. We shall proceed with non-co-operation in all earnestness and shall endure untold sufferings, but we shall win in the end. [In its next issue the paper writes :—It was not very long ago that the Viceroy when opening a session of his Council characterised non-co-operation as a stupid movement and one which would die a natural death. The present change in the attitude of Government is therefore not a little surprising. The Viceroy's forecast was a mere bluff proceeding from conceit and meant to throw a slur on the sacred movement of non-co-operation and on the Indian community of 32 crores of people. It is further said that Government refrains from interfering with the non-co-operation movement because of the freedom of speech and writing that the country enjoys. Can cunning and duplicity go further? Do we not know that the sword of the Press Act has been hanging over the heads of independent newspapers in India and claiming victims every month? Do we not know that there are sections 108, 124, 153, etc., ready at hand to gag the Press? In the face of all these things it is impudence to talk of freedom of speech. It is just because of these unstraightforward ways of Government that the people are growing more and more suspicious of it. The Government appeal to the Moderates to rally round the cause of peace and order in the country is simply amusing when we remember that not very long ago Government thought that the non-co-operation movement would die of inanition. It must be remembered that no power of earth can arrest the course of non-co-operation in India. The movement is based on truth and justice and nothing can avail against it. There is no reason for Government to get nervous. This is but an initial step taken by the oppressed nation of India. There is no knowing what will follow next.]

Will repression on the part of Government affect the non-co-operation movement?

Mahrátta (8), 28th Nov.

***17.** Referring to statements in Parliament made by Mr. Montagu about giving a free hand to the Government of India in dealing with possible violence in India, etc., the *Mahrátta* writes :—"Taken at their face value, all these expressions clearly indicate that a big storm of repression is brewing and once again the people of this hapless land will have to fight their battles of freedom by patient suffering and sacrifice..... It is no use avoiding the struggle because it is not of our making. The injustice done to the Indian Moslems regarding the question of Khilafat and the unpunished inhuman brutalities of the Martial Law regime in the Punjáb are the products of a swollen head and rank militarist spirit. Do Englishmen realise that no nation, however down-trodden it may be, can ever view or remember with equanimity and a superhuman patience, the outrages upon its self-respect as perpetrated by the public flogging in the Punjáb? No self-respecting nation with a grain of national pride will ever suffer the indignities poured at the point of the sword, on the devoted heads of the leaders of the Punjáb. With the honour of their women outraged, with their children and young men forced to walk a dozen miles every day in order to bow their heads before the flag of a foreign Government, Indians cannot but try to get the system of government which makes these things possible rooted out. Unfortunately, it seems, that even the best thinkers from among the British statesmen do not appreciate the Indian point of view. One and all are dancing to the pipings of the Anglo-Indians whose doctrines of race-superiority and race-hatred have already borne the fruits in bloodshed in the Punjáb.

Mr. Montagu seems to have fallen a prey to their wiles. It is clearly high time for them to pause and try to enter into the thoughts of our people and understand the spirit that underlies the present movement of non-co-operation. The present movement of non-co-operation is nothing but the moral revolt of an outraged nation and it exhibits itself in nothing but a mental state which enjoins withdrawal of co-operation in every possible sphere from the offending party..... The non-co-operators feel that they cannot clasp the hand, with fresh blood of the innocent upon it. Patriotic, honest, enlightened people do not wish to co-operate by entering the ranks of Government because they feel that by their act they would give the Government a moral authority which, but for them, it would not possess. We ask, is there no justification for this attitude? We ask, are the perpetrators of the Punjáb crimes duly punished? We ask, should not a self-respecting nation try to see that such abominable crimes are not repeated again? We ask, should the people not try to secure the guarantee for the future?..... If it is the intense patriotism that urges the non-co-operators forward, if it is the love of their country which induces them to be ready to suffer endless hardships, if it is the honest conviction of the efficacy of the weapon that impels them to sacrifice everything on the altar of the Motherland, it is high time then for the thoughtful among the statesmen to reconsider the whole situation..... Will not the British Government try to convince the Indian Muhammadans by actual acts that they honestly would get the Turkish Treaty revised, if not wholly, at least sufficiently to satisfy the qualms of conscience? Will they not express their regret and admit the blunder of their policy in the Punjáb affairs and adequately punish the guilty? Will they not grant full *swarajya* immediately or at least in a limited and predetermined period? Unless something of this nature is effected, it is not possible to avoid the moral conflict, and there can be no peace in the land. We need not say that repression can never succeed in the long run; it will only embitter the relations between the rulers and the ruled. Will not Mr. Montagu learn the eternal lesson of history and end at once the 'too wooden' system of administration instead of viewing the estrangement with complacency?"

18. "Recent reference in the House of Commons to the 'dangerous situation' in India are disquieting, for such references in the past have far too often been the prelude to repressive action against Indian nationalism..... Where then lies the danger in the situation? We are certain to be told, indeed we have been told repeatedly, that it is in the non-co-operation movement. But the non-co-operation movement merely aims at the redress of certain wrongs..... The Non-co-operation movement could be ended by a generous action of the British Government. The Turkish Treaty ought, in British interests no less than Indian, to be speedily revised, the grave mistake made last year in the Punjáb might be admitted and self-government for India might be made an actual fact instead of a remote contingency. If that were done, there would be no more reason for a non co-operation movement ..... The danger which we do preceive (and it is imminent) is in the panic, based on misunderstanding, of a number of the British here in India, who urge the Government to adopt stern repressive measures and who, alas! obtain a hearing much more readily than it is possible for Indians to do; and in the panic, as ill-grounded, of some close adherents of the Government who, being of Indian birth, are alarmed to find themselves cut off from their own nation, and so think their lives in danger—foolishly, as we believe. Their denunciations of such men as Mr. Gandhi and Messrs. Shaukat and Mohamed Ali seem the utterances of insanity to those who have a personal acquaintance with the men in question. But they find acceptance with the great majority of Anglo-Indians and contribute to that bitterness combined with fallacy of judgment, which, in our opinion, is the only danger in the present situation..... It is a tragedy that England should, through lack of understanding, have estranged the heart of Asia, which was once devoted to her..... In a quarter of a century's experience of Eastern lands, in the course of which we have been in a position to investigate the causes of some serious 'troubles' between Asiatics

What really constitutes the 'dangerous situation' in India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Nov.

and Europeans, we have formed the opinion that serious trouble of that nature is caused more often by the panic of the European than the grievance of the Oriental element."

Comments on the opening of the Gujarat National University.
New Times (9), 19th Nov.

19. Referring to the opening of the Gujarat National University at Ahmedabad, the *New Times* remarks:—"Yet another thing necessary to character-building is *freedom*; and Mahatma Gandhi did well in his address to ask the College Staff to 'sow the seed of true freedom in the students'. The intellectual and moral growth of Indian students has suffered much because they have not been permitted to move in an *atmosphere of freedom*. Yet another thing necessary is *appreciation of Indian culture*; and we are glad the 'study of Hindusthan' has been made compulsory in the Gujarat College. The Government-controlled schools and colleges teach several subjects but not *India*; and several of the text-books give a grotesque conception of Indian culture, Indian civilization, Indian achievements, Indian ideals of life. These text-books talk glibly of the 'civilizing mission' of England in India. They damn Sivaji—a Nation-Builder—as a 'mountain-rat' and praise Clive the forgerer as a Hero of Indian History! They speak of our great ancestors as 'idolators'! They represent Hindus and Muslims as rivals. They call India a land smitten with discords due to creeds and castes! They tell the students that the British Empire alone can give 'unity' to India! It is difficult for our boys to have in such an atmosphere a right understanding of Indian history, a true appreciation of Indian culture, a rich patriotic devotion to India the Mother. The Gujarat National College has set before it a great ideal; it has the support of wealthy merchants; it has the co-operation of a staff rich in patriotism; it has as its Chancellor a political *sanyasi* to whom has been given the great leadership of a great nation. It may be hoped the students of this College, moving in an Indian atmosphere, will learn to recognise the world-values of Indian culture and appreciate India's mission to the nations."

The question of admitting untouchables in national educational institutions.
Young India (14), 24th Nov.

20. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The resolution of the Senate of the Gujarat National University in regard to Mr. Andrews' question about the admission of children of the 'depressed' classes to the schools affiliated to that University is resported to have raised a flutter in Ahmedabad. Not only has the flutter given satisfaction to a *Times of India* correspondent, but the occasion has led to the discovery by him of another defect in the constitution of the Senate in that it does not contain a single Muslim member. The discovery, however, I may inform the reader, is no proof of the want of national character of the University. The Hindu-Muslim unity is no mere lip expression. It requires no artificial proofs. The simple reason why there is no Musalman representative on the Senate is that no higher educated Musalman, able to give his time, has been found to take sufficient interest in the national education movement..... The 'depressed' classes difficulty is internal and therefore far more serious, because it may give rise to a split and weaken the cuase—no cause can survive internal difficulties if they are indefinitely multiplied. Yet there can be no surrender in the matter of principles for the avoidance of splits. You cannot promote a cause when you are undermining it by surrendering its vital parts. The 'depressed' classes problem is a vital part of the cause. *Swaráj* is as inconceivable without full reparation to the 'depressed' classes as it is impossible without real Hindu-Muslim unity. In my opinion we have become 'pariahs of the Empire' because we have created 'pariahs' in our midst. The slave owner is always more hurt than the slave. We shall be unfit to gain *Swaráj* so long as we would keep in bondage a fifth of the population of Hindustan. Have we not made the 'pariah' crawl on his belly? Have we not segregated him? And if it is religion so to treat the 'pariah', it is the religion of the white race to segregate us. And if it is no argument for the white races to say that we are satisfied with the badge of our inferiority, it is less for us to say that the 'pariah' is satisfied with his.

Our slavery is complete when we begin to hug it. The Gujarat Senate therefore counted the cost when it refused to bend before the storm. This non-co-operation is a process of self-purification. We may not cling to putrid customs and claim the pure boon of *Swarâj*. Untouchability I hold is a custom, not an integral part of Hinduism. The world has advanced in thought, though it is still barbarous in action. And no religion can stand that which is not based on fundamental trusts. Any glorification of error will destroy a religion as surely as disregard of a disease is bound to destroy a body. This government of ours is an unscrupulous corporation. It has ruled by dividing Musalmans from Hindus. It is quite capable of taking advantage of the internal weaknesses of Hinduism. It will set the 'depressed' classes against the rest of the Hindus, non-Brahmins against Brahmins. The Gujarat Senate resolution does not end the trouble. It merely points out the difficulty. The trouble will end only when the masses and classes of Hindus have rid themselves of the sin of untouchability. A Hindu lover of *Swarâj* will as assiduously work for the amelioration of the lot of the 'depressed' classes as he works for Hindu-Muslim unity. We must treat them as our brothers and give them the same right that we claim for ourselves."

21. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes to the *Navjivân*:—The resolution passed by the National University of Gujarát to the effect that it will not affiliate any institution that keeps out the untouchable classes has given offence to many and has caused much excitement. I would like to point out that the National University has done nothing new by passing the said resolution. Boys of the untouchable classes are admitted in Government schools. No objection is taken to boys of higher castes being sent to such schools. Shall we refuse admission to the untouchables in the National University and thus introduce an innovation? Can we hope to secure *swarâjya* by reviving the prejudices against the untouchables? I am charged with the crime of bureaucratic high-handedness in getting the resolution passed. To those who make such an allegation against me I would say that I would not come in the way of their opening schools and conducting them on the lines that they like and would ask them not to come in my way. It is my firm belief that the prejudices against the untouchables are unjust and that they typify the extremes to which the Hindu religion can be carried and that it is wrong to perpetuate those prejudices. The degeneracy of the Hindus is due to the prejudices against the untouchables. We consider the untouchables as low, and so Government and foreign nations have assigned a low position to us, which we have put up with so far. I would like to ask my Gujarati brethren not to be influenced by caste prejudices if they mean to secure *swarajya* by means of non-co-operation. [The *Sayaji Vijaya* endorses Mr. Gandhi's views. The *Gujarâti* on the other hand writes:—Mr. Gandhi declares that he would not close the doors of the National University against the untouchables. Should not the feelings of those who have contributed to the funds of the University he respected? Do not they acquire certain rights by virtue of their donations? Why should the funds be used in a manner that would offend the feelings of the donors? Mr. Gandhi can easily get over the present difficulty by making special arrangements for the education of the untouchables. The donors would, therefore, do well do give their contributions on the condition that separate arrangements for the education of the untouchables be made in the National University. We do not think that making special provision for the untouchables will in any way violate the principles of nationality.]

Navjivân (72), 21st Nov.; *Sayaji Vijaya* (78), 25th Nov.; *Gujarâti* (19), 21st Nov.

22. "An ugly rumour is spreading that some orthodox merchants of the Mulji Jetha Market refused to give donations to the Nationl College of Ahmedabad unless Mr. Gandhi promised not to admit any students of the depressed classes and that Mr. Gandhi promised to observe this condition. We refuse to give any credence to this rumour in its latter portion as Mr. Gandhi will rather not have his college or school than break any principles of justice or humanity. However, in order to dispel any misgivings

Hindusthân (24), 21st Nov., Eng. cols.

on this point it will be a good thing if an announcement is made by Mr. Gandhi in his papers to the effect that no exclusion of the depressed classes is intended."

Aided educational institutions and national education.

Mahrátta (8), 28th Nov.

*23. In the course of a contributed article on aided institutions the *Mahrátta* writes:—"The anti-non-co-operationists try to defend these aided institutions in various ways. They say the money though taken from Government is really people's money and people must utilise it to the greatest extent. This was in fact the only line of argument which induced the private agencies to beg of Government for grants. Mahatmaji's argument that this money is tainted does not satisfy these men. They do not make any differences between pure money and tainted money. We are sorry to see these people, as usual, not entering into the problem with the right spirit and criticising it superficially. What right have the aided institutions over the people's money which they get through Government? What right do they offer to the people whose money they secure through Government. It is not a question of money merely. It is a question of principle. If it is people's money, people must have control over it. But our able exponents of aided institutions take pride in taking money from people and at the same time submitting to Government in every detail of the curriculum. Not only that they have no control over the people's money obtained by Government grant; they have no control over the money they obtain from the people directly. The whole policy of education is not a bit in the hands of the managers of aided institutions. It is directed by either Government or University. Even where one allows and the other disallows, the institutions are helpless..... This is the control aided schools have over education. This is the use people's money is put to. It is not a question of mere sentiment. It is a question of policy. Tainted or untainted whatever the money may be, for one-third or one-fourth share obtained through Government, aided institutions have to sacrifice their intelligence, their conscience to the word of Government. They are slaves. The other argument, on the defence side, asks whether we cannot improve the present system of education. It is ridiculous to ask this question. Can we hope to achieve any improvement in a system which is completely guided by foreign hirelings?..... A third and more weighty argument. Under the reforms, the education portfolio will be with the Minister from the elected members. Being a people's representative, he will be able to introduce rational changes in the present system to make it more national. It would take a long time to discuss whether the Minister can at all do anything, though, I am sure, he cannot. But we non-co-operators reject the very hypothesis and dismiss the argument. We have boycotted the Councils. The elected members are not our representatives. The Minister is not ours and we cannot accept what he does; we cannot be guaranteed that he can introduce such changes as the nation requires. Neither the aided institution nor the Minister can achieve an iota towards making the education national. Private agencies without aid can achieve immense results. This is why we urge that present aided institutions should give up Government grant, recognition and affiliation to the University."

Lokasangraha (117), 23rd Nov.

24. The *Lokasangraha* says that now the work of national education will have to be taken up. So far as the boycott of Councils was concerned the work was not constructive, continues the paper, and there was no responsibility of starting National Councils. In the eyes of the people, the case is quite different in connection with the boycott of schools, and the non-co-operators will have to perform destructive and constructive work. It holds that the leaders will be unable to provide for all the college students if they leave their present institutions. The better way, in its opinion, is to first take up the work of starting national institutions and to advise the students to leave the colleges as the work proceeds. The paper says that the leaders will be said to have been alive to their responsibility if they maintain the above policy; and it reminds its readers that in the Congress resolution the item regarding the boycott of schools includes the word "gradual".

25. While the cause of non-co-operation has been claiming adherents among the student community in several cities outside Sind, it is a pity that this province, more especially the Sind Madressah, has made no response to the call of the country. It is the duty of every Muslim to-day to boycott institutions aided or controlled by Government, It is, therefore, unfortunate that neither the students of the Sind Madressah nor their parents have realised their duty as Mussalmans. Do the boys of the Madressah care more for the commands of the Principal and of their parents than for those of Islam? We think not. If they really care more for their religion than for anything else they had better shun an education which is making slaves of them. Can a Madressah be called an Islamic Madressah where boys are taught nothing of the teachings and life of their Prophet and of the achievements of their ancestors, where they are taught that Shahbuddin Ghori was an unworthy man, that Jehangir was a drunkard and that Aurangzeb was a tyrant and slayer of Hindus? And all this to the end that the present unjust and faithless Government shall be regarded as the only Government in the world which can give peace and comfort to its people. We think all the money spent upon the Madressah is wasteful expenditure in that it does not promote the true interests of the Moslem community. Mussalmans should, therefore, open their eyes and shun an education which enslaves the learner. Their clear duty is to boycott the Madressah out of regard for their faith.

The Sind Madressah should be a national institution.
Al-Wahid (151), 8th Nov.

26. Referring to the scheme for a National Collegiate School drawn up by Mr. N. C. Kelkar, the *Servant of India* remarks:—"It is certainly not better instruction; and even if his scheme did make provision for better instruction which it does not, which of the 'reforms' adumbrated in the scheme could not be realised of a certainty in the new order of things if people should really be keen on them? Vocational training could be introduced without difficulty by the minister of education. If students are to remain in the present educational institutions till some decent provision is made for their education elsewhere, why should they come out at all when, after the effectuation of reforms, we are to get the power of moulding our education just as we want? We can understand students boycotting Government schools and colleges on the instant, without regard to the consequences, because it violates their conscience to associate with a Government which has grievously sinned and does not repent; but where it is not a matter of conscience, it is folly to set about 'releasing' the student population from what will soon become truly national education only to give them a sorry article instead, especially when, even so, only an infinitesimal fraction can possibly be 'released'. So, briefly our argument runs thus: if scruples of conscience are felt, students cannot wait till a substitute is found; if it is not a matter of conscience, there is no need to boycott education which is shortly to come under national control."

Comments on the scheme for a National Collegiate School at Poona.
Servant of India (10), 25th Nov.

27. The leaders of the non-co-operation movement have resolved upon infecting students with their dangerous serum and it is a pity that their appeal to the student community has met with some response. It is certainly deplorable that there are people among us who follow the lead given by leaders such as those associated with the non-co-operation movement. Is it not absurd for non-co-operators to ask that no Government-aided institution shall receive any grant from Government? Do they realise that such grants are made from the revenue of the country, or in other words from our own money? Do they realise that refusal on the part of institutions to accept grants from Government will do harm not to the Government but to the country itself? At the same time we may ask if Mr. Gandhi has enough money with which to start national schools for the education of the youth of the country and whether

Condemnation of the non-co-operation campaign against Government and aided educational institutions.
Khairkhdh-e-Sind (154), 6th Nov.

even if the country places at his disposal the necessary funds, the instruction imparted at his schools will serve any purpose beyond that of turning out Moulvis and Pandits. If Mr. Gandhi is a true well-wisher of the country, he had better start industries and promote trade in the country before he dreams of national schools and colleges.

28. "The campaign of non-co-operation organised and instigated by Mr. Gandhi and his associates of the Khilafat agitation, has been taking childish and ludicrous shapes in certain instances. The fact that it has now been mainly directed towards inciting school-children to withdraw from schools and renounce their studies, is tantamount to a confession of failure. Almost any propaganda can be preached with effect among students. But its success among the juvenile section of the society is no test of its soundness..... The Government of India are for the present determined to ignore the activities of Mr. Gandhi and his associates confident as they profess themselves to be of the prevailing commonsense of the large body of the public. But nobody could be confident of the good sense of school and college boys, who are swayed more by sentiment than by sense and knowledge. It is for the responsible public to consider if it is safe to permit the non-co-operationists a free hand in their tamperings with schools and colleges. So long as they are left to do what they like, it seems they will not stick at the ways and means to unsettle the students' minds. We consider this form of non-co-operation propaganda wholly mischievous, both in the interest of settled order and of the country's progress. It is even calculated to make patriotic activities odious and ridiculous. The agents are in some places losing all sense of proportion and perspective. For instance, what was the sense of the demonstrations enacted by the Khilafat Committee against the prize-distribution ceremony of the Anjuman-i-Islam High School in Bombay? This is a purely Islamic institution, the only one of its kind in the Presidency established and maintained by Muslim effort. It has been for years past giving its share in the educational progress of the Musalmans of Western India..... Was it wise and worthy of their cause, for the Khilafat volunteers to have endeavoured to break the pleasant and innocent function? It was like working a steam-hammer to crush a butter-fly. The crowd of Khilafat workers and other 'patriots', who collected outside the school-building to exhort or intimidate the children and their guardians and to cry 'Lianat' on those who did not listen to them, were playing a foolish and ridiculous role. We are glad the school authorities acted with firmness and took the necessary steps to ensure the success of the function. To us those attempts at wrecking Muslim educational institutions like the Aligarh College and the Anjuman-i-Islam High School appear to be suicidal. No Indian community is in greater need of general education than the Muhammadan. Muslim education also requires to be encouraged by every means imaginable. Musalmans have owed a great deal, during recent years, to the active and even artificial support and encouragement which the Government have extended to Muslim education as a matter of special favours. It would be foolish to fling away the advantages thus secured in a frenzy of fanaticism."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 26th Nov., Eng. cols.

29. The propaganda for national education among students has disturbed the minds of several leaders of the country. If students once bid good-bye to discipline it is not the Government but the country that will suffer. It is a serious blunder to ask students to boycott their present institutions before any national institutions have been set up in the country. We are certainly not enamoured of the present system of education. What we do not approve of is the withdrawal of boys from their present institutions without making any provision for their education on national lines. We are sure that if the promoters of national education had first drawn up a scheme of national education, collected the required funds for it and then approached parents of students, they would have met with great sympathy from the country.

Sind Vasi (158), 3rd Nov.

30. "The Bombay anti-Non-co-operation Committee has issued an interesting pamphlet on the subject of education. ..... This pamphlet will no doubt be read with deep interest by all educated and thoughtful persons. We are constrained to remark, however, that such literature, although valuable in itself, loses a great part of its value for two reasons. Firstly, it is printed only in English and therefore comes within the scope of only a limited circle of readers; secondly, it is not written in a style so simple and direct as to be easily understood by those who possess only an ordinary degree of literary culture; in other words, it is not written in what is called a 'popular' style. If the anti-Non-co-operation Committee wishes to make its propaganda more successful and effective we suggest that it should become a little more active, and instead of publishing a stray pamphlet now and then it should flood the whole country with a series of pamphlets and handbills in vernacular written in plain but forcible language, such as would appeal to the masses. In this country, where only a small fraction of the total population reads newspapers, leaflets and handbills distributed broadcast would prove very useful for carrying on a campaign of the nature undertaken by the Committee, but they should be written in a way which appeals to the mass-mind."

Anti-non-co-operation pamphlets and leaflets should be published broadcast in the vernaculars and not in English.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 28th Nov., Eng. cols.

31. The Moderates who have now come forward to counteract the influences of the non-co-operation movement have come in the field too late in the day. Moreover, the leaflets they publish are writen in the English language and are not understood by a large number of people. We, therefore, fail to understood how the Moderates mean to achieve their object by working in such a manner. The leaflet recently issued by the Moderates about the boycotting of schools and colleges has been written in a convincing and forceful language. But how many people have read it? We would, therefore, ask the Moderates to publish their leaflets in the vernaculars in order to make them effective.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 24th Nov.

32. "Mr. Gandhi can be an unpractical fool at times. For instance, when addressing the Bombay students he advised them to forget Western civilization! How can we forget Western civilization when the whole is practically under the heels of Western civilization. We have to meet Western nations by learning their science and then beating them. By going back to our past, we shall be able to do nothing. There is the example of Japan. She could kick Western nations by adopting portions of their civilization. Had she only gone back to her own past, she would have become the economic and physical slave of the Russians or Americans!"

Mr. Gandhi can be an unpractical fool at times.
Hindusthán (23), 21st Nov., Eng. cols.

33. "We hardly think that a campaign conducted on the lines of the 'Women suffragist movement' in Europe and America would be of any use or benefit to this country in general and the women in particular. Secondly, this is not at all the time suited for any such campaigns, which would lead to dissipation of the national energy of the manhood and womanhood of India. We are engaged in a deadly struggle with a wicked, sinful bureaucracy that has time and again insulted not only the manhood but also outraged the womanhood of India. We are struggling with this bureaucracy not for wrenching votes out of their 'dirty' hands, but that blood-stained knife with which they dig and dig as often and as deep as they like into the body and soul of the nation. Our women will have best striven after and won their vote by rising equal to the traditions of the past in helping their men against a common foe. And how can they do this best? Surely not by an agitation of 'Vote for women', not also by forming alliances with the women of other nations, but by working in complete accord and co-operation with their men and assisting them in every possible manner. The instances of Chand Bibi, Ahlyabai, Padmani and the Rani of Maharaja

Indian women should give up striving for votes and help the men in their political labours.
Young India (14), 24th Nov.

Jaswantsing are only a few of the many historical, not allegorical, instances of the middle centuries in which women saved the honour of their husbands, brothers, sons and even whole kingdoms by heroism and sheer strength of character. To-day they can save the country from economic and social ruin. And they would be giving an inimitable lead to the country by taking up the war-cry of *swadeshi*, by introducing hand-spinning and the use of the pure *swadeshi* cloth in their homes, by bringing up their children in an atmosphere of purity and patriotism. The American and Egyptian women played no mean part in winning freedom for their counties. The women of India will have rightly deserved and won their votes by liberating themselves and their men from the death-grip of the existing Government which is the greatest of all the social evils with which society is cursed."

People should not co-operate with Government in the matter of the census.

Rdj Hansa (88), 19th Nov.

34. In connection with the next census, Government have begun to issue orders appointing village officers and primary school teachers as enumerators and supervisors. Government may ask their servants to do any work. So long a system prevailed amongst us of many gentlemen working honorarily in the census. But now the Punjáb and the Khilafat questions have laid bare the true character of Government and all feel that co-operation with Government will be harmful to the country. Agitation is being carried on in some places that none but Government servants should take up census work. Some people in Morab (Dhárwár) have resigned their census-posts. Once the Congress has decided that non-co-operation should be practised, it is proper that all should follow it. Accordingly, what the Morab people have done is commendable. We fully trust that all people in our district will follow the Morab example.

Comments on the prize distribution ceremony at the Anjuman-i-Islam High School, Bombay.

Muslim Herald (161), 26th Nov.

35. The *Muslim Herald* refers to the prize distribution ceremony held under the presidency of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd at the Anjuman-i-Islam High School, Bombay, and characterises the efforts of Ahmed Haji Siddique Khatri who had distributed a leaflet dissuading the public from atten dance, and posted hirelings to utter cries of 'shame, shame' whenever anyone entered the precincts of the school at an expense of Rs. 3,000 out of the Khilafat Committee Funds, as very disgraceful, and holds that the said Ahmed Khatri has been utterly disgraced by the success which the function undoubtedly achieved. It also reports that the same person is now endeavouring to hold a meeting at Madanpura, Bombay, nominally for condemning the action of the school authorities but mainly for wiping off the disgrace into which he has justly fallen. The paper trusts that the religious Musalmans of the locality named above will not disregard the facts of the case. It concludes by asking if the Musalmans subscribe money to the Khilafat Committee funds for such disreputable campaigns as the one organised by Ahmed Khatri on this occasion.

Comments on the proposed All-India Students' Conference at Nágpur.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 23rd Nov.

36. *Apropos* the All-India Students' Conference proposed to be held at Nágpur, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—The student class is making an attempt to hold a Conference of all the college students of India at Nágpur on the occasion of the ensuing Sessions of the Congress. Such a movement on the part of students, has in a way received a support by Mr. Gandhi's movement of national education. There is a difference of opinion among leaders as to whether students should take an active part in political movements. The task of keeping a particular section of the people away from the political movements in a country is a very difficult, if not an impossible one. All the same, the result would be calamitous if students decide to put into practice the conclusions arrived at through discussion at the Conference. In student life the student has to equip himself for his career of a worthy citizen, but it is in no way desirable that a student should make a leap into active life in the course of his career as a student. It cannot be denied that Indian students have to undergo several

inconveniences, *e. g.*, the compulsory attendance at lectures on the Bible in the Wilson College. The best way to minimize these inconveniences is that students should represent their grievances to their parents and trust that they would do the needful in the matter. We, therefore, hope that the organizers of the Conference will see that the work to be done there is kept within legitimate bounds in order that the proposed sessions of the Conference might be successful.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd and 27th Nov.

37. "We are constantly being asked to give advice to students in view of the approaching All-India Students' Conference at Nagpur; and if we have till now refrained from doing so, it is because we feel it is of the first importance from the educational point of view that the students should be left to form their own decisions, and because we are conscious of a certain scepticism in ourselves as to the general advantage of the form of education which for years now has been idolised in India..... The goal of national education must be to produce men capable of decision and action, men of character, if India is to be qualified for complete Self-Government. And the habit of decision and action must be formed in youth. That is why we thing it so important that the students at the coming Conference should be left alone to form their judgment. They have in fact to educate themselves for the Self-Government which they will have to organise and to administer in time to come." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"A student writes to ask if we are not afraid that the parents will rise against us for encouraging their sons to form their own judgment with a view to act upon it at the coming Conference at Nágpur. He says that he has found, when trying to convince his apathetic comrades of the need of action, that in almost every case they had the same conviction as himself, but were restrained by the opinion of their parents..... Implicit obedience to parents is a duty for young children; and it is the parents who prescribe their course of action in a crisis like the present. Respect and reverence for parents is a sacred law, and we should be the last to wish to see it broken. But there is a limit to the son's obedience after he has reached a thinking age..... And a wise parent will allow his son, after that age, full liberty of conscience and the right to choose his own opinions and his course of action, because he knows that in that liberty of choice resides the most important part of education..... The whole point of that European education which is apparently so much admired in India is lost if young men are to be deprived of all initiative. The parents of an English public schoolboy, not to mention an undergraduate, allow the boy full liberty to choose opinions, and by so doing win him ultimately to their own..... Discipline is necessary to all civilised existence, but parental discipline should be for children only. If it is prolonged unduly, it makes the discipline of the policeman necessary, because it prevents the cultivation of self-discipline and so makes bad citizens. And really since the last great war the position of parents and children has become inverted to a great extent. While the parents were protectors of the children they could claim control of them, but the case must be considered altered when the children become protectors of the parents and are called upon to give their lives for their protection by the law. We would call the attention of all parents to the meaning of the words 'of military age'—when the son is called upon at any time to give his life for the defence of his parents and of all the older and the weaker members of his country, can he any longer be regarded as a political nonentity?..... The sons, who have this duty to perform, must face the problems of their country, must take part in politics..... Therefore the parents who have grown, perhaps, a little cynical through their experience of life, must never seek to damp the generous fire in their grown-up children nor condemn enthusiasm which they can no longer understand."]

A parallel between the cases of Ireland and India.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 22nd Nov.

38. Commenting on the British policy in Ireland and the protests raised against it by Mr. Asquith, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes as follows:—By having recourse to bloodshed and violence the Irish people want to establish a republican government in their country. The people of India are opposed to violence, and hence they are

compelled to adopt non-co-operation in order to redress their grievances. If a repressive policy is adopted by Government, the results will be very serious. If famous British statesmen like Mr. Asquith, who has denounced the British policy in Ireland, study the account of the outrages inflicted in the Punjáb on unarmed people, and acquaint the British public with the true state of affairs, we still feel certain of justice being done to India. Like Mr. Asquith in the case of Ireland, the people of India ask for justice. The few murders committed here and there in Ireland by the officers of the Crown sink into insignificance in comparison with the hundreds of murders committed by General Dyer in Jhallianwala Baugh. Instead of punishing General Dyer, the Government of India give him a pension from the Indian Treasury. Till such intolerable oppression and injustice are removed, the Indian people will continue to use the powerful weapon of non-violent non-co-operation whatever sacrifices it may cost them.

Comments on the situation in Ireland.
Al-Wahid (151), 9th Nov.

39. We now know to what extent the British Cabinet are connected with the brutal atrocities committed in Ireland. Mr. Lloyd George and his associates for weeks past have kept quiet over the general slaughter of men in Ireland and this is evidence of their complicity in the affair. These same people were very loud in their condemnation of the Turks for their atrocities in Armenia and Morash before there was peace with Turkey. Ireland has suffered a great deal and this at the hands of those who in khaki carry the banner of England. According to an American correspondent General Scredy is reported to have said "we talked about German atrocities because we wanted to discredit Germany. Our own atrocities in Ireland now beat the German record. We are trying by means of guns and violence to keep in subjection a nation which wants independence".

The outrages in the Punjáb remind the people of the oppression of the people under the last Peishwa.
Kesari (114), 23rd Nov.

40. While noticing a new volume published by Mr. Vasudev Shastri Khare giving quotations from old historical records in connection with a portion of the regime of the last Peishwa and depicting the way in which people in Poona and elsewhere in the Deccan were harried by Sarjerao Ghatge and others to extort money from them, the *Kesari* remarks:—It is said that at the time of the disappearance of the Peishwa's rule, Mr. Elphinstone appealed to the people in a proclamation to look upon the rule that had passed away as English rule and that which had remained as the rule of the Peishwa. The phraseology used undoubtedly showed great skill. But unfortunately the latter part of the appeal threatens to turn out to be true literally in view of the present time disorders under British rule. Looking to the fact that of those who harried the people at the time, Bajirao Peishwa was a Brahmin and Sarjerao Ghatge a Maratha, there is no reason for Brahmins and non-Brahmins of to-day to speak of each other. But if both of them read of the Punjáb outrages they can turn to the English and tell them that really the present is the Peishwa's rule and not British rule. It appears as if the sweet-tongued Mr. Elphinstone had unconsciously made a real prediction about the British rule a century after him.

Government should publish information with regard to the constitution, etc., of the Chamber of Princes.
Hindusthán (24), 20th Nov.

41. In the course of his usual Kathiawar letter to the *Hindusthán*, Mr. Mansukhlal Ravjibhai Mehta refers to the Chamber of Princes to be inaugurated by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and remarks:—The Duke of Connaught is to inaugurate the new Legislative Councils and the Chamber of Princes. We wonder why information as to the arrangements that are being made in consultation with the Native Princes and the English Government with regard to this body is kept back from us. The population of the Native States is a crore, and it is really sad that the public do not know anything about the constitution of a body involving the interests of a crore of people. The absence of information as to the constitution, etc., of the Chamber of Princes has given rise to several schools of opinion. Some Native Rulers believe that

their powers are to be increased under the new arrangements, while the subjects of Native States say that the Native Chiefs are to be rendered irresponsible and hence they will oppress the people. Similarly, no reports of the Conferences of Indian Princes have been published, and as a result of this many false rumours are circulated. This is not creditable either to Government or to the Native States. I wish that the attention of the Secretary to the Foreign Department of the Government of India and the Maharaja of Bikanir, the leader of the Native Chiefs of India, were drawn to this matter.

42. Commenting upon the new list of Justices of the Peace for the Town and Island of Bombay, the *Insáf* writes:—The newly enrolled names of eight Hindus, seven Parsis and six Muhammadans are to be noticed in the new list of Justices of the Peace. Among the Muhammadans, the Bohras seem to have got into the good graces of Government—a state of things calculated to draw marked public attention towards this community at a time when the non-co-operation movement is going on. Say, ye advocates of the Khilafat, what will you do now? Will you go in for boycott or adopt some other path? Among the Parsis are to be seen two journalists, Messrs. Marzban and Hirji Behedin. It cannot be explained why Mr. Vatcha-Gandhi, editor of the popular *Sánj Vartamán*, has not been similarly honoured. Although the Hindus have joined the non-co-operation movement, they have accepted more J. P.-ships. We cannot understand which way the wind blows.

Comments on the new list of Justices of the Peace for the Town and Island of Bombay.
Insáf (69), 26th Nov.

43. The holders of the 3½ per cent. Government securities have been placed in a very sorry plight by the heavy fall in their market value, which is quoted at about Rs. 50 at present. Moreover, nearly 4 annas are deducted from the interest paid on each of these securities by the Income Tax Department, and it is very difficult to get a refund for the same. Men of small means, widows and trustees of charitable institutions have invested in the 3½ per cent. securities and the present fall in their value has hit them very hard. Should Government continue their present policy of indifference towards the investors in these securities, a day might come when it will be impossible to find a purchaser for them. It is true Government have not fixed any time for redeeming these securities, but they should take some steps to meet the present situation and to allay public distress. Will not the Director of Information, who has been issuing all sorts of communiques, take the trouble to issue an authoritative statement in the matter to allay public anxiety? Instead of issuing useless and ridiculous communiques, if he issue a statement in the matter he would be able to justify the existence of his department, which is considered as unnecessary by the people at large, and to reduce their opposition to the large expenditure incurred in maintaining his staff. [The *Indian Commercial Mercury* also refers to the hardships suffered by the public owing to the depreciation in these Government securities and asks mercantile associations to appeal to Government to take steps to afford some relief to the investors.]

Appeal to Government to take steps to arrest the abnormal fall in the market value of the 3½ per cent. Government securities.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 24th Nov.; *Indian Commercial Mercury* (13), 22nd Nov.

44. Every white official from the Viceroy down to the Collector advises the people to forget the past. They do not pause to consider, however, whether their own attitude and that of their countrymen in India is such as to bring about the desired result. The willing co-operation of both the parties can alone make this consummation possible. It must also not be forgotten that in this case it is Government who are in the wrong. Instead of expressing regret they and their kith and kin have been consistently adding fuel to the fire. [The paper here refers to the resolution passed by the European Association of Calcutta approving the conduct of General Dyer.] Can shamelessness go further? Are we to forget the misdeeds of such arrogant and cruel people and co-operate with them? Much good will follow if

The Calcutta European Association's resolution in praise of General Dyer.
Lokasangraha (117), 20th Nov.

Government will remonstrate with their own kith and kin in India instead of exhorting the people to listen to reason.

Need of a new law to control the rents of newly erected buildings in Bombay.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 23rd Nov.; *Insáf* (69), 26th Nov.

45. Dwelling at length upon speculative profiteering in landed properties in Bombay and the consequent rise in rents, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The vagaries of landlords are manifold. They harass their tenants in a number of ways. The Assessment Department of the Bombay Municipality only aims at enhancing the estimates of the incomes earned by properties without for a moment considering whether the enchanced incomes are earned legitimately. Surely the time has come for passing a permanent Rent Act. New buildings escape the operation of the Rent Act, and their rents are, therefore, prohibitive. But there is no reason why they should not be brought within the purview of the Act. New buildings are erected primarily with a view to selling them at fancy prices. It is on account of this that their rents are so high. A new Act should be passed allowing only a certain percentage of profit on the outlay on buildings, new as well as old, so that neither the landlord nor the tenant may have any cause to grumble. The Controller of Rents should be invested with powers to fix the rent of new buildings according to a fixed percentage. Only such a measure will arrest the speculative buying and selling of properties, and consequently the increase in rents, and alleviate the hardships of the people. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Insáf* dwells on the sufferings of the people on account of the callousness of landlords, and points out that the Rent Act should be made more strict than at present.]

Comments on the rumoured selection of His Excellency Lord Willingdon for the Viceroyalty.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Nov.

46. "Indifference to Indian public opinion is the besetting sin of the sun-dried bureaucrary, but we can hardly believe that Mr. Montagu at this most critical juncture of Indian affairs will seek to safeguard the interests of the Indian nation by appointing as Viceroy one who has never been known to be strong enough to check the bureaucratic inroads on its rights and privileges. The policy of toeing the line may no doubt serve the India Office purpose very well, but India to-day wants an exceptionally strong man, with sufficient courage of conviction, at the helm of her affairs. An amiable gentleman of winning manners, like Lord Willingdon, in spite of good intentions, is far too apt to play into the hands of the tin-gods of the Secretariates, if we are to judge from what we know of Lord Willingdon's administration of this Presidency. We do not know if the salubrious atmosphere of the Madras Coast or of Ooty has wrought a change in his complexion since he left Bombay. Readers of the *Bombay Chronicle* have not yet forgotten that as the executive head of the Presidency of Bombay he was a failure. The suppression of Municipalities in Sind in obedience to bureaucratic behests, which set back the clock of progress in the matter of local self-government; the suppression of Jury in Belgaum; the Kaira scandal; the extension of the liquor traffic; the War Loan *zoolum* and its disastrous results; and last, but not least, his unprovoked insult to promoters of the Home Rule movement after inviting them to a public meeting—are some of the black marks against his term of office in this Presidency. But we cannot forget the charming personality and genuinely good and sympathetic nature of his esteemed and popular consort Lady Willingdon, who did so much for the poor of Bombay and for the nursing of our Indian soldiers sent back wounded from the various fronts."

Protest against the appointment of Mr. Marrs as Principal of the D. J. Sind College.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Nov.

47. "The post of principal of the D. J. Sind College, which has for some time been vacant, was ably filled by the acting principal Mr. S. C. Shahani till recently. The fact that an Indian was occupying this post—and occupying it with success—must have considerably disturbed the tranquillity of the official and nominated members of the Board of the College and they formed the plan of importing Mr. Marrs, I. E. S., as the permanent

incumbent—thus removing the eyesore of having an Indian in so responsible a post. That this decision was the result of racial bias and discrimination is suggested by the undignified haste with which a resolution that only a member of the I. E. S. could be the Principal of the college was carried by the official group during the absence of most of the Indian Members in Delhi for the Durbar, and also by the almost uncanny precision characterising the cleavage of opinion in the Board—all the non-official members voting on the one side and the official and nominated members on the other. The feverish anxiety of the Commissioner in Sind, who also happens to be the President of the Board of the College, to bring about the appointment of Mr. Marrs in utter disregard of public opinion, will require some explaining away, and indicates that in spite of all pious talk about the Indianisation of the Service the colour bar still reigns supreme. The super-imposition of Mr. Marrs above the head of such a popular and able principal as Mr. Shahani, besides being in direct antagonism to public opinion is also objectionable financially as it entails heavy additional expenditure. It is also likely to create disaffection among the students..... In the circumstances, we commend the action of Mr. Durgadas B. Advani who has resigned in disgust from the Board and who pertinently points out that the presence of official and nominated members in such strong numbers on the Board makes that body amenable only to the wishes of the bureaucrats."

Grievances of the Patels and Talatis of Gujarát.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 26th Nov.

48. Reviewing the presidential address of Sardar Janardan V. Pathak at the Conference of Patels and Talatis held at Ahmedabad the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—Owing to his connection with the District Local Board of the Surat District, Sardar Janardan V. Pathak has a good deal of experience about the condition of Patels and Talatis, and hence he was able to give expression to their grievances in clear terms. One of the grievances to which he referred was that Patels and Talatis are not given any allowance for having to go to the town or taluka offices on business. Officers, therefore, are in the habit of giving trouble to them unnecessarily, so much so that going to the town without any specific purpose has become a habit with Patels and Talatis, and consequently they do not receive fair treatment at the hands of officers. They, therefore, lose their temper and give vent to their injured feelings by harassing the poor agriculturists. We, therefore, fully endorse the suggestion of the president that a system of allowances to Patels and Talatis for going to the town on business should be introduced. Another grievance is that they are not given any remuneration for the extra work that they are called upon to do. Talatis were in some villages asked to do the work of keeping the irrigation record this year, but no remuneration was given to them for the work they did. If this work did not form part of their usual duties, they ought to have been given remuneration for it. One further grievance is this that Talatis are not given any opportunity of holding more responsible offices. "Once a Talati, always a Talati"—this is their condition at present. We would request Government to see that they are given the advantage of serving in higher appointments. We wish that following the advice of the president, all the talatis should make up their minds to join the association which has been formed for the purpose of representing their grievances by constitutional means.

Government should effect a compromise with Postmen and Talatis.

Kesari (114), 23rd Nov.

49. Postal officials are not so reasonable as the Tramway authorities, and they are obstinate in their resolve to break but not bend. Therefore, Mr. Baptista has asked the strikers to look elsewhere for service, and he has requested the people also to employ them first. The postal strike does not affect Government, though private merchants have suffered heavily, and therefore they could afford to be haughty. We have to see how far their haughtiness will last in the case of the Talati strike, which would seriously affect Government income. As Government have courted the evil by the commutation of the Kulkarni watans, the public will not sympathise with them in the least. Government should take a lesson from the generous way in which the

Bombay Municipality has recently redressed the grievances of primary teachers, and they should now at least effect a compromise with the Talatis and Postmen and settle their strike. In this way they can preserve their dignity.

Appeal to His Excellency Sir George Lloyd.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 20th Nov. (Eng. cols.).

50. "The strikers have not been long in taking His Excellency the Governor at his word. With exemplary promptness they have given their reply by carrying out one of the essentials that would compel the head of the Government to intervene for the sake of the public good. By creating serious disturbances in the city on Monday last, the tramway and other strikers have demonstrated that they were amply prepared to act up to His Excellency's suggestion of providing him with a just excuse for playing his part as a peace-maker between the strikers and their employers. For the last several days it has been noticed that the men were firmly impressed that a serious breach of the public peace was essential before the Governor could be induced to intervene..... Be that as it may, we are bound to admit that the riotous behaviour of the strikers is a portent of a sinister moment. These men had built their last hopes on the Governor's good graces, and when these failed them, they have lost their last vestige of hope. At this moment we do not want to enter into the rights and wrongs of the strikers' case, but we do want to point out that the time has now approached to such a critical stage that something ought to be done to end or to mend the present long period of tension. With exemplary patience the public has suffered untold inconveniences for well-nigh two months, and let it also be said that barring a few exceptions the conduct of the strikers too has been, on the whole, peaceful and law-abiding..... His Excellency may have been justified in taking up the position of *nos possumus* that he did, but, with due respect, we would like to say that nothing might have been lost in taking hold of the olive branch that was offered by the deputation of the Trades Union Congress. On the contrary, everything might have been gained if the overtures of the deputation had been received in an equally frank manner and some kind of friendly talk indulged in in order to smooth down the existing situation without the loss of anybody's *amour propre*..... We fail to see the reasonableness of the compunction that prevents Sir George Lloyd from intervention in the present instance. If riotous conduct on the part of the mill-hands was the excuse for intervention, the comparative peaceful behaviour of the presennt strikers should not penalise them from any redress reaching them from His Excellency's side. We think that the latter circumstance makes the urgency of intervention from the head of the Government rather more paramount. Monday's storm may be the forerunner of a worse one, and therefore before things go from bad to worse, it will be considered politic to take measures to find out some way out of the present situation..... If not for the sake of the strikers, at least for the sake of the public, will His Excellency the Governor intervene? It is high time he did."

The impending famine in the Deccan.
Kesari (114), 23rd Nov.

51. There has been a failure of the rains and there are evil signs of a famine in most of the districts. If there is rain in the course of the next fortnight in Belgaum, Dhárwár, etc., there is a chance of the crops being gathered to some extent. But there appears to be no chance of these hopes turning out to be true. From now the first stroke of famine is being felt by cattle and they are being sold very cheaply. It will be more severely felt, as the evil effects of the high cattle mortality of the 1918 famine have not yet been removed. The second stroke will fall when the assessment will have to be paid. But this calamity can be avoided if people make a careful and united effort. Responsible leaders should now examine the crops personally and fix the anna value; and the services of the experienced talatis now on strike may be utilised in the matter. An attempt should be made to get remission or suspension if the anna value is less than four or six annas. Leaders now free from non-co-operation work should pay attention to this emergent business before taking up anything else. Thus alone will poor rayats and their cattle be saved from the coming calamity.

52. The *Din Mitra* says that there is a terrible famine in the Ahmednagar District and that in consequence hundreds of families in distress are migrating from it with all their belongings. It complains that instances have occurred without its knowledge in which people who, relying on the supply of well-water for cultivation of their garden lands, had applied to the authorities for *tagai* advances, have failed to get them in time. The paper declares that unless the *tagai* advances are soon paid the condition of the agriculturists who have still stuck to their villages will become desperate.

Alleged failure of the authorities in paying *tagai* to agriculturists in the Ahmednagar District.
Din Mitra (107), 24th Nov.

53. The *Kánara Leader* publishes the following :—Mundgod (Kánara), rayats, tired of the trouble caused by pigs, are thinking of going elsewhere. In Chadvalli village elephants raided a paddy store in a field, and the owner, who raised a hue and cry, was thrown down and injured seriously by the elephants. Elephants also are thinking of planting a colony in Mundgod Petha just like the pigs! Misfortune of the rayats!

Ravages by elephants in parts of Kánara.
Kánara Leader (38), 23rd Nov.

54. The *Kánara Vritt* says that the rate of assessment in Kánara is two or three times heavier than in Ratnágiri and Kolába on account of the *mamool vahivat* enjoyed by the rayats in the jungles of the district. The landlords with this honest belief consented to the rate, but the *mamool* privileges have disappeared on account of the rules framed by Government and the wilful administration of the Forest Department. Kumri has been destroyed Gavlis were harassed and they left for Mysore. Now it is said they are to be brought back. With our rayats, it was as it were religious rite to hunt. But the game laws came in their way. Now pigs haunt the towns and tigers walk about a town like Kumta (Kánara) without any fear. Licenses for firearms have a history of their own. All this evil has been wrought by the withdrawal of the forest privileges. Nothing would be achieved but by an investigation into the forest privileges by a commission and a regrant of them to the rayats. If the *mantra* of Monteith that there are no *mamool* rights is to be repeated, the consequence will be more and more dangerous day by day. [Elsewhere the paper writes :—The new Forest policy declared by Government has disappointed rayats and zemindars and people are deciding upon non-co-operation because they have no other recourse. Mr. Collins, the settlement officer, has joined his duties, but he has not been allowed to discuss the decisions of Government. His business is to arrange for the enjoyment of the privileges, conserving the safety of the forests. Mr. Collins has not come (to Kánara) to give us the privileges we want. How can people accept his concessions, in these circumstances? No inquiry has been made regarding our rights. We have not been asked to tell Government what we want. Decisions based on paper inquiry are quite unsatisfactory. If Government are not prepared to free agricultnre from Forest restrictions and to suggest and enforce a full scheme to restore agriculture to its former prosperity, who is to blame if people resort to non-co-operation? If Government want, let them hold a fresh inquiry. It is our duty to inform Government clearly that that their new suggestions are unacceptable.

Steps must be taken to free agriculture from forest restrictions in Kánara.
Kánara Vritt (40), 18th Nov.

55. Indians are undergoing sufferings for the sake of England. They sacrificed their bodies, their minds and their riches, but they are not prepared to accept indignities and severities as a return for their good services. It is better for them to efface themselves from the surface of the earth than to pass their lives in abject humiliation. Brethren you are aware that during the late war Mesopotamia fell into the hands of the English. The country which has got rich oil-fields whetted the rapacity of the British capitalists who began to devise means for keeping the country under their control. A novel method of enslavement was found which they called 'mandate', which implies the grant of

Indian troops in Mesopotamia must be withdrawn.
Hindu (153), 31st Oct.

independence to the country at some future date and ensures for the present the British control over it. But it is a hard job to deprive a country of its independence by means of a mandate. The Mespotamians were inflamed. England considered their spirit of resentment as 'rebellion' and despatched big battalions consisting mostly of Indian soldiers to Mesopotamia to suppress it. The people of Mesopotamia are so much stirred that they have allowed no rest to the British. No week passes without some guerrilla warfare. The situation has become so serious that it has become impossible for the British to remain in Mesopotamia with the result that since some time past the British soldiers are gradually being withdrawn from the country. The Indian soldiers, however, are still retained there in the interests of the British capitalists to protect the oil-fields of Mosul. Such are the hardships to which the Indians have been subjected in Mesopotamia! Such is their reward for the good services which they rendered to England during the late war! India has not to gain anything from Mesopotamia. For the sake of the British Capitalists, who alone will probably be gainers by the retention of Mesopotamia under the British control, why should Indian soldiers be detained there at India's cost? Why should the people of other countries be enslaved by means of the Indian battalions? The Viceroy in his address bitterly grieved over the sufferings of the Indian soldiers in Mesopotamia, but how is it that he could do nothing to recall them? The Indians have been crying themselves hoarse against the policy of despatching Indian battalions to Mesopotamia. Why is it that no heed is being paid to their cries? Brethren! reflect. Why do they not listen to you? Find out a solution to remove the malady.

Why should the Indians help the British Government against the Bolsheviks?

Al-Wahid (151), 4th Nov.

56. Adverting to Mr. Bernard Houghton's article in the *India* newspaper on the Bolshevik propaganda in India and the Government of India's attitude with respect to it, the *Al-Wahid* writes:—The members of the bureaucracy must be great simpletons if they think that they can commit deeds of injustice, but when any danger confronts them they can have the support at the hands of the victims of their own injustice. The Indians naturally would like to know what the Bolshevik principles are which have terrified the bureaucrats so much. The Indians may not approve of all the details of the Bolshevik polity but certain facts shown below are bound to appeal to their feelings. For instance, the Indians can see for themselves that the Bolsheviks' dealings with other Governments have ever been frank and open, while the Allies have all along indulged in secret diplomacy. The Bolsheviks have granted autonomy to seven States which had severed their connection with Russia, while the British Government has denied such independence to Ireland, India and Mesopotamia and has even tried to disappoint Egypt in this respect. The Bolsheviks have ever tried to have the peace while the Allies have openly incited wars. The Bolsheviks have all along fulfilled their pledges while the Allies have broken theirs with Germany, Ireland, Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. The Bolsheviks have put forth all their efforts to give education to children while the Government of India has always shirked that responsibility.

Comments on Lord Curzon's statement in the House of Lords on the British policy in Persia.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Nov.

57. "Lord Curzon's pious declaration of the disinterested self-sacrifice of British statesmen solely for the well-being of Persia may read very well as a piece of diplomatic literature and may even convince the ignorant public in the United Kingdom; but students of history cannot forget that between the Russian Bear on the North and the British Lion in the South, the lot of the Persian cat has been anything but happy. Reuters have special interest in clearing away the doubt and suspicion that foreigners may entertain about Persia, as not long ago the Shah granted a concession to Baron Reuter for the formation of a State Bank of Persia under the title of the 'Imperial Bank of Persia'. This bank enjoys 'the exclusive right of working, throughout the Persian Empire, the iron, copper, lead, mercury, coal, petroleum, manganese, borax and asbestos mines. May we

ask his lordship to state in all fairness who enjoy the huge profits of this merciless exploitation of Persia's immense mineral wealth? Does his lordship mean to say that British traders out in Persia are on a charitable errand for the good of the inhabitants of Persia alone?... ..... His lordship, speaking in the pious vein, inadvertently admits that 'Persia is an important British interest' and 'a friendly and independent Persia is the corner-stone of the Empire'. Yes, my lord; principally by depletion of her economic resources. [Here the paper describes the dealings of Russia and England with Persia between 1906 and 1908 and then proceeds:—] How can Lord Curzon reconcile his altruistic theory of Great Britain's Persian policy with these historic facts? As to what happened later, leading up to the Secret Treaty of Teheran, creating fresh financial bondage for the Persian State on the guarantee of a levy on customs with an English financial adviser—is common knowledge and we need not dwell on it. Suffice it to say that the strategy of self-deception may solve the conscience of Lord Curzon and the public, but students of history will not be deceived by it."

*58. "Some time ago the *Times* learnt from Teheran that political discord reigned in Persia and that British influence was on the wane. Its correspondent emphasised the difficulty of carrying out the Anglo-Persian agreement which, he said, was at present in a state of suspended animation. A few months ago a Persian communist rising took place in Tabriz and forty-eight hundred Persian Cossacks joined Kutchak Khan, the leader of the Persian Revolutionaries. It is not possible to diagnose the causes of all these and other troubles. But the situation is sufficiently ominous even now. We do not know how far the alleged spread of Bolshevism in Persia beyond its borders hastened the execution of the Anglo-Persian Treaty which compels Persia to invest England with the sole power to control and shape the financial and military destiny of Persia. This is a wonderful British development of the doctrine of self-determination for which the honest, simple-minded and optimistic President Wilson was perhaps not prepared. At the same time it is well to consider whether the fate of Persia would be more promising under the control of any other nation like Bolshevik Russia, disorganised Turkey which has grossly mismanaged her own government, or unscrupulous Germany. The British are the shrewdest race on earth. One need not accept their profuse professions of high-flown altruism. Most of this display is well conceived camouflage in the interests of economic and political exploitation. But since Persia cannot manage her domestic concerns and there is so much internal confusion and chaos, British intervention, however interested, may perhaps be welcomed for some time by some disinterested on-lookers in the interests of that once famous but now fallen and unfortunate country."

Comments on affairs in Persia.
Gujarâti (19), 29th Nov., Eng. cols.

59. Reviewing the political situation in Europe, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The events which have taken place in Russia and Greece during the week are calculated to create a serious situation for the Allied powers. The Bolshevists have inflicted a disgraceful defeat upon General Wrangel who was assisted by the Allies, particularly by France. We hope that after their experience of the last two years, England and France will see their mistake and come to terms with the Bolshevist Government and resume trade relations with Russia, because unless they do so, there will be no peace in Europe itself, people cannot be saved from starvation and the rates of exchange will not cease going down. Though Great Britain and France have celebrated the second anniversary of the armistice in a manner befitting the militarist spirit, yet bloodshed has not come to an end in Europe. We hope that the defeat of General Wrangel will perhaps bring the bloodshed to an end. Another alarming incident has taken place in Greece. Venezelos, the favourite of the Allies, has been driven out of office. The *ex*-King Constantine who is an enemy of the Allies

Comments on the situation in Europe.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 20th Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 23rd Nov.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 23rd Nov.

is likely to be reinstated by the party in power. M. Rhallis who has come into power is known to be friendly with Turkey. The Allies must wage a war with Greece if they want to prevent King Constantine, their enemy, from being reinstated, but it cannot be believed that they will resort to such an extreme measure. The defeat of General Wrangel and M. Venezelos is tantamount to a serious defeat of the policy of the mailed fist. As long as Europe will not alter its militarist policy, there will be no peace in Europe. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Praja Mitra and Parsi* refers to the activities of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and proceeds :—The increasing success of Mustafa Kemal Pasha has so much strengthened the position of the Government of Turkey that in spite of the strengthening of the military and naval forces at Constantinople by the British and the French, they have not put their signature on the ratification of the peace treaty. His Excellency the Viceroy and others advice us to drop the agitation about the Khilafat saying that the Turkish Government have themselves put their signature on the peace treaty which shows that they consider it a fair treaty. How mistaken this advice is is well seen from the hesitation of the Turkish Government for ratifying the treaty. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes :—The reinstatement of King Constantine and the mutual co-operation between the Russian people and the Russian Government may perhaps drive Europe into another war.]

60. Mussalmans all over the world regard the Turkish Empire as their own and when they remember the better days of Turkey they cannot but weep over its present condition. Turkey though weakened has still the allegiance of Mussalmans to its Ruler as their Caliph, and this because it is the most important Muslim State. It is therefore that the annihilation of Turkey has been the cause of Moslem unrest in India. From the manifesto issued by the Turkish Nationalist Party it would appear that the idea of this Party is that while the Government of Turkey should be in the hands of an Ottoman Sultan, the Khilafat should be held by a descendant of the Prophet, trusted by the Moslem world. This will open the eyes of Moslems. They will see that even the Turkish Nationalists, who have hitherto done their best to save the Turkish Empire from ruin are in favour of the Khilafat passing out of the hands of the Sultan. One cannot say what the Mussalmans of India will do under the circumstances. They should at all events patiently wait and see what is going to happen and keep themselves aloof from movements which while doing no good to the Ottoman Empire will ruin them.

Comments on the manifesto of the Turkish Nationalist Party regarding separation of the function of Sultan of Turkey from that of Khalif of Islam.

Musáfir (156), 7th Nov.

61. "When the Allied troops occupied Constantinople and reduced the Khalifah of the Muslims to a state of tutelage, English statesmen thought that they had done a very clever thing. It was in reality the stupidest thing they ever did. They thought that by leaving the Turks in nominal possession of Constantinople while themselves keeping possession of the Sultan and Khalifah, they would satisfy the sentiment, and at the same time secure effective control, of the Islamic world..... They seem to have perceived but one alternative to the Ottoman Khilafat, and that was the Sherif of Mecca, who, as they had learnt from experience, was not acceptable to Muslims. Therefore they considered that in getting possession of the Sultan of Turkey they had got possession of the only possible Khalifah, and by making him their puppet and their mouthpiece could make sure of the obedience of the Islamic world..... They did not know that by so doing, they destroyed his authority as Khalifah. As a matter of fact, when the Allies occupied Constantinople, the Sultan ceased to be Khalifah save in name; for according, to the law, the Khalifah's commands, when uttered under duress, are not binding upon Muslims. If the Sultan had opposed the will of the Allies, refusing to become their mouthpiece, the whole Islamic world would have supported him. If the Allies had deposed him for his opposition he would still have been Khalifah. But by his obedience to the

Comments on the rumoured offer of the Khalifate to the Amir of Afghanistan.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Nov.

will of the Allies and especially by his denunciation of the Turkish patriots, his most sincere supporters, he has abdicated the Khilafat—we believe, intentionally; or it was he himself who, at a meeting of the cabinet, at the moment when the terms of peace with Turkey were first bruited, proclaimed his will to abdicate and leave the question of succession to the Khilafat open for all Muslims to decide..... Now comes another rumour from Constantinople to the effect that, at the Muslim Conference at Baku, it has been decided to separate the Khilafat from the Sultanate, and that delegates from that Congress are even now on their way to offer the Khilafat to the Amir of Afghanistan. The intention is quite obvious. It is to threaten India, in retaliation for the affronts which the Allies have put upon the whole world of Islam in the persons of the Ottoman Khalifah, chiefly at the behest of England, as the Turks believe. It is vengeance. But it is a perfectly fair retort to recent British policy, and that policy is alone to blame if it did not force this natural consequence of the Allies' behaviour in the East. It is a very shrewd retort and seeme to us to prove that there is a great mind somewhere in the Turkish Councils at this moment. But, considering the auspices and constitution of the Baku Conference, we are forced to ask ourselves is that mind Turk or Russian, or a mixture of the two above all, is it Muslim or non-Muslim? A great deal depends upon the answer to these questions. The information which has come to us from Russian-Muslim sources indicating the presence in the Bolshevik machine of former Czarist 'oriental experts' who are considered to be working on old pan-Slavonic lines makes us a little wary in our attitude towards any Muslim policy which can be traced to purely Russian sources at this juncture. In any case the decision of the Baku Conference, although 'Ulemas from many Muslim countries' many have taken part in it, cannot be reckoned binding on the whole Islamic world. If this rumour proves to be true, what should be the attitude of Indian Muslims towards this new departure?..... If the rumour proves to be correct, it would still remain to be seen whether the Amir would accept the offer of Khilafat or refuse it, and whether, in the former event, he accepted it in the sense in which it was offered or the reverse, *i. e.*, in an anti-British or pro-British sense. The British Raj is not without the means of bringing influence to bear on the Amir, who is too near to India and too closely in touch with Khilafat movement to believe the rumours which are current further off, in Central Asia, Anatolia and among the Bolsheviks, that India is at this moment in a condition to throw off the British yoke by force of arms. A general council of the Indian Muslims should be called at once to decide upon a course of policy, and we venture to suggest that all the Hindu leaders who have shown their sympathy with Muslims over the Khilafat question should take part in that council on an equal footing with the Muslims, and that Mr. Gandhi be invited to become its president. The present question is not one concerning Muslims only, nor is the religious aspect of that question its most urgent aspect. It is at the moment a political question which concerns all India very intimately."

***62.** Commenting on the situation in Greece, the *Indian Social Reformer* says:—"The international importance of the situation arises from the fact that Mr. Rhallis' Government is disposed to take up an independent line of policy with her neighbour, Turkey, and it is stated that the Greek army will probably be withdrawn from Smyrna. We hope that Great Britain will leave the Greeks free to come to a friendly understanding with Turkey, even if this has to be done without the assent of France. Indian opinion will be still further estranged if England joins France in coercing Greece to follow an aggressive policy towards Turkey. It is now clear that the Venezilos regime was entirely without support in Greek opinion, and that it was really maintained in spite of Greek opinion. King Alexander's tragic death has providentially offered Great Britain the opportunity of relieving herself of an odious burden, and we trust she will make the fullest use of it."

Indian opinion will be estranged if England follows an aggressive policy towards Greece.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 28th Nov.

EDUCATION.

63. It seems a pity that there is now no talk of the proposal to start a Government College in Sind. It is a fact that this province has all along been treated as a step-child by the Goverment of Bombay in all matters, including that of education. We had thought that the new Governor of Bombay, Sir George Lloyd, anxious as he appeared to be to promote the interests of this province, would make amends for the neglect from which it has suffered in the past. It would, however, appear that nothing has so far been done in the matter. Some time ago on the recommendation of a Committee appointed by Government in this behalf the announcement was made by Government that a Government College would shortly be opened at Hyderabad. The result of this announcement was that the movement which had already been started to open a private college at Hyderabad came to an end. On the other hand, during the time of Mr. Cadell as Commissioner in Sind, Upper Sind under official inspiration started an agitation of its own for the proposed Government College to be located in that part of Sind without closely examining the motives of the officials. It is possible that the Government of Bombay has for the time being shelved the question of an additional college because of the unbecoming attitude of Upper Sind. A Governor like Sir George Lloyd, however, can easily find out how badly Sind wants an additional college and where it should be located. If the Sind authorities must go against Hyderabad, and if Sir George Lloyd must agree with them, we would suggest that the proposed college should be located at Karáchi. We make this suggestion not because we are against Upper Sind but because a college there will be taken advantage of by a limited number of students only. We are decidedly of opinion that Hyderabad must have the proposed college. We hope that the Governor of Bombay will look into the matter and satisfy a long-felt want.

Appeal to Government to start the proposed Government College in Sind at an early date.

Sind Vasi (158), 4th Nov.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 3rd December 1920.

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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Comments on Colonel Wedgwood's statement on the situation in India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Dec.

1. "Colonel Wedgwood thinks that by refusing to go to the Councils, we are delaying Home Rule and losing opportunities for training in self-government. It is amazing to think how a student of human nature like the gallant Colonel could imagine that the kindergarten councils would do anyone the slightest good, or how, fettered and chained in every joint and rib, the representatives of the people could form an effective opposition. Apparently Colonel Wedgwood has failed to realise that the toy reforms that India has been ostentatiously given are calculated rather to deceive the outside world than to appease India. The Montagu Reforms no more alter the fundamentals of Indian Government than the Morley reforms did; they merely prop up, and give a further lease of life to, the Indian Civil Service. That is all..... If we understand Colonel Wedgwood aright, the only reason why he disapproves of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation is that it promotes race-hatred, it may be unconsciously. He could not have made a greater mistake. On the contrary, race-hatred is promoted by the policy of the Government in repressing Indian nationalism and encouraging what may be called a spirit of Anglo-Indianism, which is neither Conservatism nor Liberalism as a true Britisher understands it. It comes of a policy that does not tolerate the Indian as an equal, but will tolerate him only as a slave or sycophant. Thus if race-hatred is promoted, the responsibility rests first and foremost with the bureaucracy and those who sympathise with and condone its policy..... We all agree with Colonel Wedgwood that 'it is wicked to allow the hate campaign to continue.' There is no such desire on the part of the people; it has been made emphatically clear by Mr. Gandhi and other responsible, and not self-styled, leaders. It is the bureaucracy, it is the Anglo-Indian Press, it is the European Associationists who foster and promote in the country a spirit of hatred, and no one can foresee how or where it is all going to end. The Anglo-Indian Press should not be allowed to revel in an orgy of abuse against the feelings of the people of the country, while the Nationalist Press is limited in its expression by a Press Act meant to safeguard British interests. Colonel Wedgwood has but partially assessed the causes of the present Indian ferment and, having thus come to wrong premises, he comes to wrong conclusions. He suggests a Round Table Conference between Englishmen and Indians to settle all matters of outstanding difference which have led up to the present state of things. But has he forgotten the fate of the Irish Conference or the South African Conference?..... Colonel Wedgwood wants apparently to fasten the blame on the Congress by saying that it should consider the proposal he makes and decide. What guarantee is there that if the Congress makes the overture, the reactionary bureaucracy and its henchmen of the Anglo-Indian Press and the European Association will respond to it? In fact, if ever such a Conference is to have the ghost of a chance of materialising, it is essential that the proposal should originate from the King-Emperor and be altogether free from Ministerial taint. There should be no undue preponderance of any one element in the Conference, and representation should be strictly and impartially proportioned to the numerical strength and the political importance of the various elements represented..... The King could nominate a certain number of independent outsiders; and then, if such a Conference arrives at any unanimous or majority decisions in regard to a suitable working arrangement, they should be strictly enforced. Nothing short of this in the way of a Conference will ever be acceptable to India. We have no hope that it will ever come to pass. But if Britain is really anxious to re-establish her claim to India's confidence, a suitable opportunity might be found in the visit of the Duke of Connaught, which at present has no interest except to the official, the 'society' European, and the Indian sycophant and Government Housewallahs. The King could instruct the Duke to make an announcement on the lines which we have indicated, so

that both the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, which will be meeting shortly in their annual session, could consider the proposal duly."

*2. "Colonel Wedgwood puts down his finger on the right spot when he says that Indian Extremists are not to blame in the matter of launching the movement of non-co-operation, because he is convinced that 'the O'Dwyer school and the Extremists of the bureaucracy started non-co-operation'. We are glad that Colonel Wedgwood has at last realised after seeing it for himself, how the canker of the Punjáb atrocities eats into the vitals of every self-respecting Indian..... The bureaucracy monopolises all wisdom in India and all their wisdom is directed towards keeping the real power in their own hand.' Want of trust and want of co-operation is indeed visible in every line of this fraud, and undoubtedly this attitude did produce its Jhalliawalla Baghs. But it must be noted that the Indian Empire cannot survive another Jhallianwalla Bagh..... The innocent bloodshed at Jallianwalla Bagh has wiped away all sins of Mother India and the blood of Hindus and Muhammadans, Sikhs and Jats has cemented the bonds of unity and has sounded the death-knell of the bureaucratic system of administration. Colonel Wedgwood views the situation in this very light, and it is now time for the bureaucracy to shut up their shop and remove bag and baggage from India. Colonel Wedgwood has, to his bitter astonishment and grief, seen the situation and must frankly admit that India did the right thing in launching the campaign of non-co-operation. In fact, he says so in so many words..... So far we are in agreement with Colonel Wedgwood; but we have to differ from him when he sees hatred in the non-co-operation movement as carried on presently in India. We cannot understand nor comprehend the data upon which he bases his conclusions..... Taking into consideration the period through which this movement has run its course and looking to the total absence of crime due to the preaching of hatred—as Colonel Wedgwood takes for granted—it must be said that no one can accuse the organisers of being actuated by any motives of hatred. It seems that Colonel Wedgwood has taken his inspiration from official quarters..... But going a step further, we must ask, as to who is the real culprit in this matter. If any one is to be blamed it is the bureaucracy and their Anglo-Indian apostles, who have brought in the racial element in this struggle for freedom..... Colonel Wedgwood is putting the cart before the horse when he charges the non-co-operators with cherishing feelings of hatred. The story begins from quite the other end. However, he is right when he says that the British Government must stop building up this mountain of hatred and bitterness on their side too. It is there that cure of the disease must begin. But the most important feature in the interview is the bold proposal made by the Colonel..... A Conference must be held, and a compact entered into! He is voicing the opinions of not only the non-co-operators but also of generality of people when he says that if they could get and believe in a firm promise of Home Rule by a certain date, if they could see the formation of a National Territorial Army to be a weapon of the Indian Government of the future, then indeed peace might come in our time..... But will this proposal ever materialise? So far as the people are concerned we must say that people have grown impatient of all these make-shifts and are determined to have full Self-Government immediately..... We must remind the Colonel that freedom cannot be achieved in parts nor it can be administered in regulated doses. Secondly, we must say that India has lost all confidence in promises, because it is their bitter experience of the last fifty years that promises made to the ear are broken to the heart in no time. The Government must show by some solid tangible act that they can be trusted in the performance of the promise and here we remind the Colonel of the Punjáb. The talk of solution of the problem and compromise comes with ill grace from those whose hands are stained with innocent blood which must be avenged first. Let the Duke of Connaught make a frank confession of the grievous blunder and commence making reparation at once. That alone can pave the way for peace..... Lastly, we have to give a word of caution to our countrymen..... Let there be a compromise by all means, but let the compromise be based upon honourable and reliable terms. Let it be remem-

Mahrátta (8), 5th Dec.

bered that there is no half-way house on the road to liberty. The support of the Labour party is of utmost value to us, but we must remember that if nations are to be free they must strike the blow themselves. The nation has, with one mind, aceepted the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation and let us wield it in an effective way. No dangling of rewards can side-track us in our mission. We abhor all hatred and let us keep the weapon as free as possible of that taint. At least let that taint be not of our making."

3. Colonel Wedgwood is afraid that the non-co-operation movement will engender feelings of hatred and end in violence. Such a fear is shared by many Indians. Should there be any justification for this fear, it is the primary duty of Government to conciliate public opinion and to remove the wrongs done to Indians. Colonel Wedgwood has put his finger on the right spot by making his suggestion for a Conference to decide the time when full *swarájya* should be given to India and when an Indian Territorial Force would be raised. We fall in completely with the Colonel's suggestion to the next Congress to consider the question of such a Conference and to invite the Prince of Wales to preside on the occasion. We do not think Mr. Gandhi will have any objection to the suggestion. It is the best suggestion we have ever seen so far and believe that it is instinct with deep political wisdom. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers the advice given by Colonel Wedgwood as an index to his political sagacity and impartiality. It is of the opinion that much good will result from holding the Conference suggested by him. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also considers the advice as very weighty and worthy of consideration at the hands of the people and Government alike. It hails the suggestion about raising a National Territorial Army, and suggests that more King's Commissions be given to Indians to inaugurate a liberal policy on the part of Government. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses hope that Colonel Wedgwood's advice will serve as a warning to those who mean to pursue the dangerous path of severing the British connection and that the suggestion about a Conference will be endorsed by the Congress at its next meeting. *Akhbár-e-Islám* draws the attention of enthusiastic Moslem non-co-operationists to the sage advice given by Colonel Wedgwood and to profit by it. The *Bharat Seva* hopes that the Congress will give careful consideration to Colonel Wedgwood's suggestion and put an end to the present policy of creating disunion, hate and discord. The paper considers the Colonel as the real well-wisher of India.]

Sánj Vartamán (33), 30th Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 30th Nov.: *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 1st Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 2nd Dec.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 2nd Dec.; *Bharat Seva* (16), 3rd Dec.

4. "The remedy suggested by Colonel Wedgwood is that a Conference between the representatives of the Government and the leaders should be called on the basis of laying down a time-limi t for the grant of full dominion autonomy and the constitution of the national army. The Colonel thinks that a definite promise by the British Government to confer autonomy will create trust in the public mind, from the lack of which non-co-operation chiefly draws its sustenance. But a promise is after all a promise, and it will have a soothing effect only if it is believed in. Is the Indian public to understand that Colonel Wedgwood despairs of the Punjáb culprits being brought to some sort of justice?..... Nothing will restore popular confidence so effectively as the condign punishment of the official malefactors in the Punjáb atrocities. The prevailing feeling in India is that a Government which seeks to shield the perpetrators of inhuman atrocities, such as those in the Punjáb which would have driven any armed people into revolt is a Government which has forfeited all claims to respect; and if this feeling is to vanish the Government must show that they abhor these brutalities, no less than the people, by punishing the officials who were guilty of them. When once good feeling is restored, the Indian people will see to it that Home Rule will not tarry long."

Servant of India (10), 2nd Dec.

*5. "Colonel Wedgwood has been in India for nearly a month and during that time he has had ample opportunity to watch the game between the non-co-operators and the co-operators. He has at length pronounced his opinion on the non-co-operation movement, and

Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 5th Dec., Eng. cols.

though he expresses much sympathy towards the extremists, at the same time he regrets the movement, especially the refusal to go to the Councils and to form there an effective opposition. He regrets it because, he thinks, it will delay Home Rule and prevent training in self-government which is made possible by the Reforms Act. But the worst danger to which the non-co-operation movement exposes this country is that it creates bitterness and ill-feeling not only between Indians and Britishers but between Indians and Indians themselves..... It is difficult to say exactly what will be the final result of a movement which has already created so much disunion and disorganisation in our midst just at the time when we ought to be most firmly united and most amicably inclined to work together for the common good. But the lessons which are written large on the pages of history show us what to expect. When party feelings and passions run high, persons who are inclined towards violence and lawlessness are always very ready to foment quarrels which may at any time develop into serious disturbances. Instances have already happened in various parts of the country of coercion and bullying, and though these are not of a serious nature they indicate in which direction the wind is blowing..... Though Mr. Gandhi himself professes non-violence and preaches the virtues of charity and forbearance, some of his over-zealous followers are advocating methods which are sure to lead to bitterness and even mischief. The new Reformed Councils will begin their work next year. From the attitude of the non-co-operators it is clear that they are bent upon obstructing the smooth working of these Councils and to break them down if possible..... Let these leaders bear in mind that the tone of bitterness and hatred with which some of them are preaching their doctrine is sure to harm their own cause and create bad blood between their own countrymen. It will alienate from them the sympathy of the British Labour Party on which they so much rely; and worse still, it will lead to open enmity between different sections of the body politic which, upto now, in spite of their differences, have remained on fairly friendly terms with each other. The realization of *swarâj* is indeed our final goal and great desire, but nobody would wish to wade to *swarâj* through the blood of his own countrymen."

6. The belated expression of Government policy in connection with non-co-operation which we published yesterday may be taken as the first warning of Government. It is satisfactory to note that Government does not yet think it necessary to resort to repression, and we hope that the time may never come for Government to do so. For we believe that repression on the part of Government will only serve to give a new life to the non-co-operation movement. Before Government embarks on a policy of repression stock must be taken of the work so far done by the non-co-operators. It seems to us that in the matter of renunciation of titles and offices, of boycott of Councils and of surrender on the part of pleaders of sanads, the activity of the non-co-operators has failed. As regards boycott of schools and colleges, the non-co-operator has attacked not Government institutions but, what is strange, Indian-controlled institutions receiving grants from Government, *i.e.*, from the revenue of the country itself. We, however, hope that the influence of parents will bring boys to a sense of what is proper and thus prevent the non-co-operator from exploiting the youth of the country in the cause which he has made his own. At the same time the repulsive conduct of non-co-operators in spite of Mahatma Gandhi's instructions to the contrary is sure to prejudice the movement of non-co-operation with the people, and the recent injunctions of Mahatma Gandhi, namely, that the Devali should not be celebrated, etc., are not likely to advance the cause of non-co-operation. We agree with Government that those who condemn the movement should explain to the people what non-co-operation means and what evil consequences are likely to result from it. We are sure that if the people knew what non-co-operation really means, namely, the complete elimination of the existing Government, they would give a wide berth to it. [The *Sind Sudhâr* remarks :—From the Resolution it will appear that the

Comments on the Government of India's Resolution on the non-co-operation movement.

Sind Vasi (158), 18th Nov.; *Sind Sudhâr* (157), 13th Nov.

attitude so far adopted by Government has been very mild and far-seeing. We earnestly hope that the confidence of Government in the saner elements of the population of this country will be justified and the loyal people of India will absolutely discard Mr. Gandhi's mad movement. Every one knows how far Mr. Gandhi has been successful in his movement. This needs no proof. He will be responsible for any disturbances that may arise from this movement, as he was responsible for the bloodshed from which the country suffered in connection with his Satyagraha movement. We would again advise non-co-operators, and more specially waverers, to think twice before joining the new movement, otherwise the Government will be justified to adopt drastic measures.]

7. Commenting upon the Government of India's Resolution on the non-co-operation movement, the *Deshodaya* remarks :—

Deshodaya (66), 16th Nov.; *Kaira Vartamán* (70), 1st Dec.

The Moderates have come forward to oppose the non-co-operation movement. But they have never achieved any thing substantial by co-operating with Government for the last hundred and fifty years. They, no doubt, have secured honours for a few individuals. We fail to understand how Indians can co-operate with the British Government who have not expressed a single word of regret for the atrocities perpetrated in the Punjáb. The Moderates cannot suggest any effective means for securing justice for the wrong of the Punjáb and the Khilafat. The Moderates have been elated by the praises bestowed upon them by Government but we do not think that they will succeed in breaking the non-co-operation movement. The Moderates themselves cannot get what they want from Government. How can they then influence people to co-operate with Government? [The *Kaira Vartamán* believes that the Moderates will not succeed in breaking the movement.]

8. Even Anglo-Indian papers like the *Advocate of India* have admitted that the boycott of Council elections has proved a success. Even in a cosmopolitan city like Bombay not more than 20 per cent. gave their votes, and out of them Hindus were the fewest. In the Poona, Sholápur and Kárwár districts several of the polling stations received no votes at all. In the Central Provinces the voting was even more meagre. The polling officer at one of the polling stations in those provinces became so very exasperated on seeing not a single vote recorded till the closing time, that, for this heinous offence, he made the local Patel repeatedly to rise and sit holding his ears with his hands. Will the Sátára wiseacres be able to say whether this comes under some section or other of the Indian Penal Code? Nobody else voted in these elections than the sycophants of Government and their henchmen, and those social traitors who cared neither for their country nor their religion and a few ignoramuses afraid of the authorities. As to Poona City and the Camp, only 372, *i.e.*, 4 per cent., voted out of ten thousand, showing that all the efforts of the Moderates fell flat here as elsewhere. Should not those who have thus been elected resign their seats at least now, after seeing how meagrely the electorate has supported them? Whom will they represent in the Council when about 90 per cent. of the voters have declared their unwillingness to be represented? Mr. Gandhi has in *Young India* expressed his hope that they would resign. Will not the Moderates accede to this straightforward advice? But even if they do not do so, the people should by holding public meetings declare that they do not represent them and refuse to ventilate any of their grievances through them.

Comments on the Council elections.

Kesari (114), 30th Nov.

9. The *Nireekshaka* says that it must be frankly admitted that the elections ended in a fiasco. It declares that although this result was mainly brought about by the non-co-operation movement, the fact that really capable men did not stand for election and that those who did were mere mediocrities contributed to it in no small degree. The paper asks the Moderate leaders not to accept ministerships since they cannot claim to be the representatives of the people, as most of the voters abstained from voting.

Nireekshaka (48), 3rd Dec.

10. So far as voting is concerned, the non-co-operation movement has been a splendid success in the Bombay Presidency and elsewhere except in those districts where the controversy between Brahmins and non-Brahmins is acute. This poor voting is due neither to laziness on the part of the voters nor to their being forcibly kept back from voting by interested persons. It is due to the fact that the Reforms are insignificant and disappointing and to the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs. The bait of the Reforms has proved useless. Government is powerful and its agents are many. But in spite of all this the Congress resolution has been respected and the nation's self-respect vindicated. And what are the successful candidates going to do? Do they still think themselves to be the representatives of the people when thousands of voters have declared themselves unwilling to record their votes? We cannot say that these successful candidates are the representatives of the people. The voters have done their duty. Let these new Councillors who call themselves educated go to the Councils and make a boast of being honourable members, but we are sure they can do no good to the country. These so-called representatives of the people who wish to support the Government in defiance of the will of the voters and the mandate of the Congress and in spite of the Rowlatt Act and the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs, must think twice before they go to the Councils. They must boycott the Councils. If they do not, they will have betrayed their country. The voters on their part must act. They must emphatically give these candidates to understand that they are not their representatives. If they still persist in going to the Councils, these new Councils must be boycotted. We ought not to give up non-co-operation until we get full *Swarájya*. India is fit for self-government and will not tolerate the Punjáb insult any more.

Voters for the Council elections should disown those who have been declared as elected.

Raj Hansa (88), 28th Nov.

11. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* publishes the following leaflet addressed to Mr. M. K. Gandhi by an anonymous writer, who expresses great indignation at the violent methods adopted by the followers of Gandhi in connection with the elections, in spite of the latter's exhortation to them not to have recourse to such methods :—I was induced to write this letter to you on receiving one of your handbills this afternoon. It roused my anger to note that on the one hand you issue such handbills, while your followers behave in quite a different manner. The Municipal Office at Jambusar in the Broach District was appointed as a polling station for the Council elections on the 16th November. A crowd of about two-hundred and fifty people gathered together and intimidated and abused the voters and drove them away. They were also abusing the in-coming and the out-going voters. If on inquiry by you or your trusted agents it is found that what I say is not true, I am prepared to contribute ten thousand rupees towards the funds of your national school. All the six maxims laid down in the handbill which I enclose have not been observed in the Broach District generally; but in Jambusar specially the voters were much harassed upto the midnight of the 16th. Threats were given that houses would be burnt down, anonymous letters were written and the local wells were closed. Is this the sort of *Swarájya* you want to secure? A few days ago several people from Ahmedabad caused much disturbance in a meeting of co-operators at Broach. At this meeting there was a large number of Parsis; so your followers tried to persuade the local Dhobis and Bhangis not to work for the Parsis. Mahatmaji, my humble appeal to you is to cease from exciting beyond due limits the weak, the ignorant, the idlers and robbers; otherwise you will bring ruin upon the country. Since the 16th of November many Banias of Jambusar are weeping in their houses and are half-dead through anxiety. Please open your eyes and take the trouble of observing the terror of these weak men To add a further instance, Mr. Antoldas, a local pleader, and a candidate for the Council from Broach District, has been served with a notice by the landlord of his house, who is a non-co-operator, to vacate. He rented another house, and on the day on which he was to vacate his old house, someone set fire to the

Complaint about the violent methods adopted by the followers of Mr. Gandhi in connection with the Council elections.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 2nd Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 3rd Dec.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 3rd Dec.

new house to which he was to move. [The leaflet is also published in the *Jám-e-Jamshed*. In republishing the leaflet, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* makes the following comments in the course of its introductory remarks :—The leaflet shows clearly that the non-co-operators want to convert the co-operators to their own views by having recourse not only to violence and abusive language but even to arson. Every now and then Mr. Gandhi declares that there should be no violence and mischief. But we would like to ask Mr. Gandhi how he will be able to control the whole population of India after realising his dream of securing *Swaráj* and driving away the English from India when he is unable to control the small handful of his followers. Although Mr. Gandhi and his followers have not yet acquired *Swaráj*, they oppress the poor and the innocent. We leave it to thoughtful Hindus and Muhammadans to think out for themselves what Indians would not do if they become masters of India.]

12. "If any of the students at present learning in the affiliated colleges are diverted to Mr. Kelkar's College by the non-co-operation campaign, making room for others to whom admittance has to be refused, we shall not be sorry. For we recognise the necessity of private efforts in education, even if these efforts should prove in the end to have been unsuccessful. What we would deplore is that any of the students should go absolutely without education on the fantastic principle laid down by Mr. Gandhi, *viz.*, that education must be eschewed because it suffers from the corrupting taint of Government association. For, as the *Amrita Bazár Patrika* says, even the present imperfect education is better than no education at all; and it is only this state of things against which Principal Paranjpye is cautioning his students. He could possibly have no objection to a new experiment in education being conducted by Mr. Kelkar; he would welcome such an effort, and he even promised his help in starting an independent institution for the benefit of his students if a sufficient number presented themselves. When a similar offer was made by the authorities of the New Poona College, no more than four students expressed themselves willing to undergo instruction in such an institution. If students do not want a new educational experiment, but the disestablishment of the present institutions, which are of the greatest service to the public, no one who has the interest of his country at heart can indulge them in their wishes."

Comments on the Nationalist Collegiate School started at Poona.
Servant of India (10), 2nd Dec.

13. Mahatma Gandhi has to-day gone to the length of declaring that he would like to see boys remain at home or even turn into scamps than see them attending schools having any connection with Government. But others will not go to such lengths. They recognise that as every man must be able to earn his living by standing honestly upon his own legs, and as this constitutes the first step in national independence, arrangements must be made, however imperfect they may be, for the education of their young generation. As regards Poona, it will be seen that some fifteen thousand children are to-day receiving education in schools connected with Government in some way or other. If all these children leave their schools at once that would of course have an effect on Government. But all this is conjecture, and nothing can be effectively done on the basis of conjecture; for at least one-fourth of the students aim at Government service, and nothing will induce their parents and guardians to withdraw them from schools, even if someone greater than the Mahatma tells them to do so. Only ten or twenty per cent. students will be prepared to leave the present schools at any risk. The remaining fifty per cent., though not hankering after Government service, will leave the schools only if they are assured of new arrangements being made for their education by which they are to earn their living. And no one can blame them for taking up this cautious attitude. The Poona non-co-operation committee has taken all these things into consideration and made arrangements for the education of about one hundred students who may be expected to leave the colleges in the first instance. Some people will, of course, ridicule the humble beginning that is thus to be

Kesari (114), 30th Dec.

made. But all great institutions have such humble beginnings. People should pay attention rather to the kind of education to be imparted than to the lack of grand buildings, big grounds, etc. The nation to-day honours the begging bowl more than all show of wealth.

Evil results of Mr. Gandhi's advice to students to have recourse to non-co-operation.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 30th Nov.

14. The disturbances created by certain students at the lecture recently delivered by Sir Chimanlal Setalwad should go to convince Mr. Gandhi that his own advice of non-co-operation has turned the heads of young students. We are of the opinion that students should always remain under the guidance and control of their guardians and that they are not competent to give opinion on political matters. But the advice given by Mr. Gandhi to students to act in defiance of the opinion of their guardians in the matter of non-co-operation is calculated to do immense harm to the students themselves and to spell disaster for the country. These students have begun to create disturbances at lectures delivered by those who hold opinions contrary to themselves; but if they persist in these tactics they will do harm to the cause they have embraced and to the country by creating splits and animosities.

The proposed All-India Students' Conference at Nagpur.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 5th Dec., Eng. cols.

***15.** "One more is to be added to the list of Conferences this year in the shape of a Students' Conference which is quite a novelty. After the manner in which the attempt to incite the student community to disobey their own parents and teachers has provoked general indignation and disapproval we can quite understand the anxiety of the originators of that movement to bolster up their cause by getting together a meeting of hot-headed youths to pass resolutions approving of their conduct. Then they will clap their hands and exclaim: 'See, the whole student-world of India is in favour of our movement!' Will it not lend a fine stage-effect to their discredited machinations? We hope that the students who attend this Congress will bear in mind the following words of Dr. Subramania Iyer: 'Do not be decoyed by seductive words and entangle yourselves in a matter which at present is beyond your power of right judgment'."

Comments on the prize-distribution at the Anjuman-i-Islam High School, Bombay.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (160), 28th Nov.

16. Referring to the recent prize-distribution at the Anjuman-i-Islam High School, Bombay, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* says:— It was necessary for the members of the Anjuman-i-Islam to watch the existing current of feelings, and to sail with the current. Knowing that the public is against a particular arrangement they should have given it up. But the gods of the Anjuman-i-Islam acted arbitrarily, and thereby estranged themselves from thousands of Hindus and Musalmans. In the same way, we pity those who shouted cries of "Shame". Is it good form to shout cries of "Shame" at believers, and to curse them? Does your religion teach you to do so? No. Rather, it says expressly that you should not curse a Moslem. In another place it is laid down that you should not criticise anybody, and never abuse anyone although he may have committed a grave offence. If the people wanted that the members of the Anjuman-i-Islam, Bombay, should not request His Excellency the Governor to preside at the meeting and that Her Excellency Lady Lloyd should not distribute the prizes, then this duty of warning the Anjuman had been performed by the revered Haji Siddique Khatri. He had warned the members of the Anjuman, and had forbidden the parents of the children from attending the prize-distribution. But he did not direct that you should shout cries of "Shame", or curse those who attend the meeting. Mr. Khatri performed his duty well and as it should have been. But certain foolish persons made a noise. They too could not help cursing people owing to religious zeal. Thank God! nobody shouted out cries of "Shame" when His Excellency's car arrived. On the other hand, all stood quite quiet. This affair has caused a split among Muhammadans. [Elsewhere the paper says:—Those who attended the meeting of the Anjuman-i-Islam have been

cursed. Are the members of the Anjuman more sinful than those who take a hair (of a saint) in procession through the streets attended by musical bands? Undoubtedly this latter act is more detestable.]

17. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* reverts to the subject of the distribution of prizes held at the Anjuman-e-Islam High School, Bombay, and declares that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd is quite different from Sir Michael O'Dwyer or General Dyer, and has had the advantage of dealing with Musalmans for a long time. It also points out that some Musalmans accorded welcome to Colonel Wedgwood, who fought against the Turks in Gallipoli and who has never done anything for Islam. It holds that the members of the Anjuman would have earned well-merited blame if they had invited a Dyer or an O'Dwyer to preside at their meeting, and even if they are still liable to be blamed, then those who offered a reception to Colonel Wedgwood are more so. It adds that it is probable that if His Excellency had the power to negotiate the treaty with Turkey, it would not have been so bad as it is.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (160), 5th Dec.

18. Had Mr. Khatri not enjoyed the patronage of Mr. Chotani and the support of the Ali Brothers and the idol-worshipper Gandhi, he would scarcely have dared to use unbecoming language towards his Muhammadan brethren in the leaflet issued by him to defeat the purpose of the prize distribution of the Anjuman-e-Islam High School. The scenes witnessed at this prize distribution and the language used towards Muhammadan gentlemen who were present on the occasion and the studeuts of the school beat all records in the history of the non-co-operation movement. We are of the opinion that Mr. Khatri's lack of proper education is responsible for the incident. [In the subsequent issue the paper condemns the cries of 'shame' and other objectionable epithets used by Muhammadan boys towards those who took part in the prize distribution and draws the attention of Moslem non-co-operationists to the conciliatory attitude assumed by Mr. Gandhi towards those who differ from him with regard to the Benares University and asks Moslem enthusiasts like Mr. Khatri to follow the example of their leader in this respect and not to create disunion and discord in Moslem educational institutions. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* also deprecates the conduct of the non-co-operationists at the time of the prize distribution and asks the Khilafat Committee to be careful to avoid such scenes in future. The *Insáf*, on the other hand, writes:—The memorable scenes enacted at the time of the prize distribution held under the presidentship of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay will be written in letters of gold in the history of the Anjuman. The announcement about the holding of the prize distribution was made in the papers about a week before it took place. It was the talk of the town and was considered as harmful in the interests of religion and the country by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. Still the Khilafat Committee did not protest against it in time but woke up from their sleep at the eleventh hour when they published their leaflets broadcast and stationed boys outside the school premises to use unbecoming language towards those who attended the function. The Anjuman-e-Islam should have acted as the times required them to do and should not have persisted in holding the prize distribution against the wishes of the community. They deserve blame for this action of theirs. Had an untoward incident happened on the occasion, the Anjuman and the Khilafat Committee would have been jointly held responsible for it. It was, no doubt, wrong of the Khilafat Committee not to have issued their leaflets for eight days or convened any protest meeting. They should have expressed their opinion earlier and tried to win over the Anjuman-e-Islam by persuasion. We wonder why they did not think of engaging boys to use abusive language towards those who went to the polling stations on the election day when it was really their duty to defeat the elections.]

Akhbár-e-Islám (58), 30th Nov. and 1st Dec.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 28th Nov.; *Insáf* (69), 3rd Dec.

19. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd recently presided at the prize distribution ceremony of the Anjuman-i-Islam High School. As the people are now finding it unbearable to invite persons like His Excellency on such occasions, many Muhammadan gentlemen and also students who were to

Lokasangraha (117), 26th Nov.

receive the prizes refrained from attending the ceremony, and those who did attend were subjected to much ridicule. Yet His Excellency persisted in attending, and addressed the meagre audience on the evils resulting from want of religious education in schools. We are afraid the awakening of His Excellency has come too late. He has been roused now when Government are getting their fingers burnt through having kept the people strangers to religious education. We, however, think, that if the authorities even now come to their senses and give encouragement to religious education, it will prove of use.

20. In the course of a leading article, the *Political Bhomiyo* dwells at length upon the various causes of the fall of the Muhammadan empire in India and remarks:—To what causes can the fall of a power that had become established in this fashion, after a thousand years, be attributed? This question has been discussed many a time. The long and short of the matter is that the Muhammadan Empire came to an end only on account of the machinations and plottings, open as well as secret, of agitators of the type of those of the present day, and the British Empire was established. Whether it might be due to the fact that the British Constitution is generous or to the fact that it is full of defects, whatever the reason might be, it is clear that those who are responsible for the Government of India have for the present completely failed in the performance of their task. Yet even now it is not too late. The time has now come for the exercise of presence of mind and for doing homage to the *Mantra* of *Samo varte Sdvdhdn* (acting as the time requires). Only experts know how to get at that *Mantra*.

The downfall of the Muhammadan Empire was brought about by agitators of the same type as those of the present day.

Political Bhomiyo (74), 26th Nov.

21. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I promised to inquire of Maulana Zafar Alikhan's son about the accuracy of the statement he made to me regarding the treatment of his father in the Lahore gaol pending trial. I have now heard from him and he has no hesitation in calling the local government *communique* a lie. He says that the information he gave me was absolutely correct, that Maulana Zafar Alikhan was kept in a dark room, and that he was not permitted to receive food from outside. The son, however, adds that, after the public declaration made at the Lahore meeting, his father was removed to better quarters and permitted to receive food from outside. This does not improve the government's case but rather makes it worse. Their having corrected the illegality after it was made public betrays a guilty conscience. They knew that they were in the wrong, but had expected that this gross ill-treatment of an under-trial prisoner would pass unnoticed. There is another possible and charitable explanation. It may be that the higher authorities knew nothing of the illegality, that it was the act of an under official without the knowledge of the higher authorities, and that they have themselves been duped by the guilty official. But if that is so, it is a further proof of the state of corruption that is rampant in the present administration. I hope that Government will cause further inquiries to be made. I have no desire to heap discredit upon it where none is deserved. But till the matter is cleared up, the public will be entitled to believe the statement reaffirmed by the son of Maulana Zafar Alikhan."

Comments on the Punjáb Government's *Communique* regarding the treatment of Mr. Zafar Ali Khan while an undertrial prisoner.

Young India (14), 1st Dec.

22. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught will be soon in our midst. It is a matter of great sorrow to me that I should have to advise a complete boycott of all public functions held in his honour. He is personally an amiable English gentleman. But in my humble opinion, public interest demands that this official visit should be strictly ignored. His Royal Highness comes to sustain a corrupt system of Government, he comes to whitewash an irresponsible bureaucracy, he comes to

Mr. Gandhi's advice to the public to boycott completely all functions in honour of the Duke of Connaught.

Young India (14), 1st Dec.

make us forget the unforgettable, he comes not to heal the wounds inflicted upon us, but to mock us by flinging deceptive reforms at us. To welcome His Royal Highness is to associate with him in promoting our own dishonour. No Government official, whether he be European or Indian, has a right to claim any welcome or honour from us so long as the Government, whose power he represents, remains unrepentant and unresponsive to the one thing needful."

Appeal to Moderates not to join Mr. Webb's "Union of Progress" movement in Karáchi.
New Times (9), 27th Nov.

23. "Lord Morley spoke of 'rallying the moderates' when he gave India his reforms; and in trying to create a 'Union of Progress', Mr. Webb is, doubtless, anxious for 'rallying' the 'moderates' in Sind. Mr. Harchandrai and Mr. Hirdaram—be it said to their credit—refused to strengthen the hands of Mr. Webb at the Khalikdina Hall. We earnestly ask other 'moderates' in Sind to mark the significance of Friday's meeting and refuse to combat non-co-operation under the leading of Mr. Webb. If they will not join the new movement, let them at least do nothing to oppose it. Some of them have been with the people through many years of struggle against the bureaucracy; will they not bless the people engaged to-day in a Struggle of National Freedom?"

Non-co-operation propaganda and the Native States.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 5th Dec.

***24.** "Among the achievements to the credit of the non-co-operation movement, must be placed that of creating in some of the most thoughtful and liberal-minded rulers of Indian States a distrust of the national movement in British India. The founders and leaders of the Congress movement from its inception had been scrupulously careful in this respect, and the result of their wise policy has been to foster in Indian States and their rulers the conviction that the national movement in British India was in harmony with their own best interests and aspirations. It is due as much to the statesmanship of the elder Congress leaders as to the growth of enlightment in the States, that the influence of almost all the important Indian rulers has been increasingly thrown on the side of national movements in British India. The Maharaja of Bikaner has, by his services and utterances in Europe and in this country, contributed not a little to this solidarity of sentiment between British India and Indian States. More than ordinary importance attaches on that account to the significantly emphatic observations which His Highness felt constrained to make in respect of the non-co-operation movement at the banquet given to the Viceroy during His Excellency's recent visit to Bikaner. [Here the paper gives a quotation from the Maharaja's speech condemning the movement and then proceeds:—] There can be no two opinions as to whether the cause of constitutional reform has gained anything by evoking this protest from the Maharaja who, no doubt, was echoing the sentiments of other Ruling Princes."

The Bombay postal strike.
Gujaráti (19), 28th Nov.

25. *Apropos* the Postal strike in Bombay, the *Gujaráti* writes:—While the employees of the Gas and the Tramway Companies have fortunately seen their way to rejoin their duties, we regret that the Postal strike has been prolonged by the men being led astray. The postmen did not rejoin work in spite of the final notice to do so given them by the postal department. Those who have posed themselves as leaders of the workmen are not of their class and by their fads have led the workmen into loss, themselves remaining unaffected. No strike ever succeeded by depending upon charity, nor will any succeed in future through the same support. A strike which does not come to an end within a week or a fortnight cannot be successful at all. If it is prolonged the only way out of it is that the workmen must lose their employment. Is Mr. Baptista's exhortation to the workmen that they should not serve in the Postal Department even if they have to work on smaller pay elsewhere well-advised? It would have been more honourable if he had asked them to serve elsewhere on a higher salary. If Messrs. Baptista and Ginwalla and the other leaders had the tact necessary in real leaders, they would have seen what immediate

advantages the strikers could secure and would have brought about a compromise and ended the strike. We still wish that having suffered loss of pay for two months and a half, the strikers would rejoin their duties, leaving the question of ameliorating their condition to the generosity of the officials of the department and that the officials would consider their demands in a liberal spirit. Mr. Baptista's view that if the wages are not increased the men would not work honestly and diligently is not calculated to do any good to the men, because they will not be able to obtain any employment elsewhere with such a certificate given to them by their leader. We hope that they will repudiate such a certificate, casting as it does a slur upon their character.

26. "Fifty days from Poona to Bombay! That was the time spent on the journey by a registered parcel, of which the cover has been sent to us for our inspection..... We hear of registered letters and parcels for Bombay being refused at the Mofussil offices, and of many payments even of people's salaries which have been thus delayed for weeks. And every day we are receiving letters from members of the Indian mercantile community complaining of the inconvenience and the loss which they are sustaining because of the disorganisation of the Postal service. Government officials and other Europeans, who get preferential treatment from the Post Office and so receive their letters fairly regularly cannot possibly conceive of the annoyance to which the Indian public of Bombay is now subjected in this matter..... It is useless for the postal authorities to regard the strike as ended by their ultimatum to the men while the public is still kept in strike conditions. What right have they to issue an ultimatum without giving thought to the convenience of the public?..... We repel with indignation the idea which seems to be implied in the precedence accorded to Europeans by the Bombay Postal authorities: that the life and death importance of the service is for Europeans, and that it really does not matter when or whether 'natives' get their letters. The idea is both inhuman and unjust—inhuman because Indians have the same feelings as Europeans with regard to private, and the same interest with regard to business, letters; and unjust because they pay the Postal fee. Yet the Indian mercantile community—especially the smaller men—are being victimised, because the Postal department, regarding itself as the servant only of the Europeans, and as the master of the Indian public, chooses to prolong the strike conditions which have already done incalculable damage to the Indian merchants..... Is the chaos going to be prolonged indefinitely? And if so, will the Government do nothing to defend the public, who are forbidden, as we understand, by law to start a Postal service of their own?"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Dec.

*27. "It does not reflect the slightest credit upon the Postal Department that they have not succeeded in arriving at an understanding satisfactory to both parties. The European public would not have tolerated the annoyance and loss to which the Native citizens of Bombay have been subjected, had not the postal authorities been honest and impartial enough to make special arrangements for their benefit and that of the influential sections of the Indian community inhabiting special quarters of the city. It is a downright shame and disgrace that such preferential treatment should be accorded in broad daylight to the favoured few in an enlightened city like Bombay, and the rest of the public made to submit to all kinds of losses, hardships and anxieties for weeks together. It is now time that another public meeting were held in Bombay to protest strongly against the further continuance of a state of things which is quite discreditable to the Postal Department and to all those who are responsible for it, directly or otherwise."

Gujarâti (19), 5th Dec. (Eng. cols.)

28. Commenting upon the disorganisation of the postal system in Bombay, the *Sânj Vartamân* writes:—Our postal department was once considered to be the most regular and popular of all the Government departmets. At present, it is the least so. Some legitimate complaints of the men in this department have not been heard for a long time past, and this has given rise to great disaffection. With the

Protest against the mismanagement in the Bombay Postal Department.

Sânj Vartamân (33), 27th Nov.

increase of disaffection, the work of the Department suffers. The want of sympathy on the part of official autocrats has resulted in a prolonged strike. Even local letters are not properly delivered and money orders and registered letters are also neglected. The post office does not care to hear any complaints made by the puplic. Notwithstanding all this, the postal authorities assert that matters are improving. The public wants to know how long the Postal Department wants to continue this kind of mismanagement. The final notice to the strikers has produced no effect upon them. It seems the old men have left their service for good. The work done by the new men will be inefficient and more expensive. The people of Bombay feel that they are cut off from the outside world and they are totally disgusted with the mismanagement. It is unwise to dismiss the old men for the sake of prestige. The authorities have not taken into consideration the inconvenience to the public resulting from the employment of new men. In such matters of public interest, attempts should be made to arrive at a compromise, or in the last resort the matter should be entrusted to arbitration. The proposed national postal service seems to be against the law and hence the leaders of the strikers have devised a messenger service. But as there are objections to this also, people will have finally to depend upon the Post Office. We hope that the citizens of Bombay will call a public meeting and raise a strong protest against the postal mismanagement and that public-spirited citizens will have the courage to come forward to consider the question as to whether damages can be recovered from the authorities by recourse to the law courts for the loss suffered by them through such mismanagement.

29. The reply given by the Government of India to the letter addressed to them by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce is not as satisfactory as we would wish it to be. We must, however, thank Government for recognising the necessity of continuing the present embargo on the export of foodstuffs. Foodstuffs should be exported from India only after making sufficient provision for the country's needs for the year and keeping a reasonable margin of supply for a probable occurrence of scarcity in the following year. The Government reply does not show that Government have kept such a principle in view. The report of the Committee appointed by the Bengal Government to enquire into the prevalence of high prices goes to show that India is not in a position to export her foodstuffs. In these circumstances the decision arrived at by Government to export four lakh tons of wheat from India during the next six months, as also to export other foodstuffs under certain restrictions, can scarcely be said to be far-sighted. [The *Bombay Samáchár* considers the Government reply to be satisfactory on the whole.]

Government and the question of the export of foodstuffs.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 4th Dec.; **Bombay Samáchar* (61), 6th Dec.

*30. In the course of its comments on the recommendations of the Committee to inquire into high prices appointed by the Government of Bengal, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"There is a fly in the ointment; and it is the proposal to abolish import duties on foreign piece-goods. Indians can have no patience with this extraordinary recommendation. We agree that for the time being cloth will be cheaper by the application of this remedy; but, sooner rather than later, it is sure to cure the disease and kill the patient. India has had free trade with a vengeance and now she cannot bear to have it foisted upon her. If this revolutionary recommendation is put into practice India will have to suffer a considerable financial loss; her nascent cotton industry will go under and when the Manchester men get the whole field for themselves, the prices will regain their old high level."

Protest against the proposal of the Bengal High Prices Inquiry Committee to abolish the import duties on foreign piece-goods.
Mahrátta (8), 5th Dec.

31. All persons interested in the cotton trade will be gratified at the satisfactory solution arrived at in the dispute between the cotton merchants and the Cotton Contracts Board. The cotton merchants deserve to be congratulated on the peaceful and constitutional manner in which they agitated the question of their grievances in a successful manner. This should teach the lesson to the people that they are sure to gain success if they are united among

Comments on the settlement of the dispute between the cotton merchants and the Cotton Contracts Board.
Bambay Samáchár (61), 3rd Dec.

themselves and carry on their agitation in a peaceful and constitutional manner.

Complaint that Government officers take sides with Tata Company's Europoan employés who harass the people.
Kesari (114), 1st Dec.

32. At Mouje Davdi in the Mulshi Peta of the Poona District a tunnel is being bored in connection with Tata Company's reservoir. At the place where this work has been commenced, the Company's employés having entered upon land without the permission of its owner and done damage to the crops and other property, he objected the work being proceeded with. Thereupon one of the employés threatened to shoot down the owner! He, in consequence, called up about five hundred villagers to be witnesses of the threat and renewed his objection. The work was consequently stopped, but it is stated that a complaint has been lodged before the Mahalkari and the landowner himself has been served with a notice! This is the second intance of such a threat being offered in connection with the Company's operations, and yet the experience is that the authorities, instead of redressing the grievance, only take sides with the European officers of the Company. Will Government redress the grievance or are they going to tell the people to resort to *Satyayraha*?

How the students of the Bombay School of Art should be encouraged.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Nov.

33. "The sun of art which set in Italy three centuries ago is rising now in India in the city of Bombay. That is the belief of Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, the Principal of the Bombay School of Art, who cannot find words adequate to express his satisfaction with the decorative work of Indian pupils..... If the claim of the Principal of the Bombay School of Art on behalf of the pupils is justified, then we shall want to know why the Bombay School of Art, as such, should not be entrusted with the fresco-work at present being planned at Delhi and elsewhere. Distinguished artists who know nothing of the East, and have no special sympathy with India or her people, are being brought from England to plan and superintend that work. It is intended, as we understand, to employ Indian artists also, but only as mere hands beneath the orders of the English chief. If, as Mr. Solomon contends, the Indians are the better artists in the kind of work required at Delhi, such subordination will be an undeserved indignity, and it will tend to blight their genius of originality, at present as delicate as a bud just opening. The Indian artists are in need of sympathy and understanding; they are in need of encouragement to open out originally."

Comments on the new list of Justices of the Peace for the Town and Island of Bombay.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (160), 28th Nov.

34. Referring to the appointment of new Justices of the Peace for Bombay, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* says:—It is a great pity that at the present moment on account of the Khilafat question the hearts of Moslems having been wounded by the tricks of Mr. Lloyd George, the acceptance of titles is an open defiance of Islam. Out of the five new Muhammadan J. P.'s four are Shiahs. We know that the Shiahs have no objection to receive such titles. But why has Ismail Kartey, a Sunni, accepted it? These titles are only paper certificates. It is not a wise thing to sacrifice communal rights for the sake of a scrap of paper, nor does it indicate respect for religion.

Appeal for the release of the Savarkar brothers.
Lokasangraha (117), 27th Nov.

35. The *Lokasangraha* pleads for the release of the Sawarkar brothers who are under sentence of transportation in the Andamans on the ground that they do not approve of the non-co-operation movement. It declares that Government should adopt this course at least out of self-interest if for no other reason.

Comments on the situation in Ireland.
Návjivan (72), 28th Nov.

36. Commenting upon the state of affairs in Ireland the *Navjiván* writes:—Twenty-five hundred years ago, the Lord Buddha said: "Hatred cannot be overcome by hatred; it dies only through forgiveness and love". It seems the world has not yet listened to this precept. Murder and bloodshed are rampant in Ireland. The British police, out of a feeling of revenge, have committed horrors equalling those of the Jhallianwala Bagh. From olden times there is

enmity resulting from selfishness between these two countries, and this has given rise to mutual distrust and malice. The rulers, forgetful of their duties, try to take revenge upon their subjects; while the latter, equally forgetful of their own duties, seek opportunity to kill the officers in charge like wild beasts, wherever seen. If the struggle is to be decided by force of arms, both the parties will be destroyed. It seems that the seeds of the destruction of England have been sown by its success in the late war; otherwise the English Ministers would never have believed that a nation can be curbed by the the shedding of blood. By soiling with blood their struggle with Government, the Irish people are putting the day of their salvation further and further off day by day. Blood-thirsty nations will applaud their determination to inscribe in English blood their resolve to win freedom, but it will not so easily win approval in the Courts of Heaven. The determination to be free ought to be based on self-sacrifice. The rule which is applicable to the people is applicable to Government with still greater force. It is an eternal truth that if a Government is bent upon destroying its subjects for the purpose of establishing its authority it will be soon destroyed. The Indians have to take a lesson from the Irish episode. The more peaceful, spirited and non-violent our fight for freedom is, the earlier will success crown our efforts. If, forgetful of all the rights of revenge, we shall base our struggle on self-secrifice, we shall save ourselves from the perpetual calamities from which Ireland is suffering and shall lay the foundations of peace in a war-weary world.

***37.** "One of our correspondents relates a story of plunders and outrages perpetrated in the villages of Lauriya Thana in the Champaran District, which, if true, beats even the proverbial atrocities of Nadirshah. He says 'A party of about 100 persons consisting of military police, the civil police of Lauriya Thana, a few planters and Chaukidars appeared in the village Phulwaria of the said Thana at about 8 A.M. on the 20th instant and, to the great surprise of all the villagers, began to plunder the village. Their atrocities knew no bounds—women's modesty was outraged. In short, the worst kind of treatment possible was meted out to them which it is most painful to write, and it would be not in the least an exaggeration to say that in this respect they surpassed their brethren the Dyerites of the Punjáb also.' Similar wanton loot was done and horrors committed in several other villages, *viz.*, Siswania, Sirisia, Birti-Tola, Piparia, etc. The correspondent further remarks that about fifteen telegrams were sent, but all of them were suppressed by the Bihar Government. There is no doubt that this horrible and inhuman incident will arouse strongest resentment throughout the country and will kindle people's wrath already furiously burning. Nor will the policy of burking pursued by Government ever go to allay it. If the story be true, Government must reveal all the facts fully so that exaggeration will have no play. If false, it must be emphatically declared to be so. In such matters silence is never golden; on the other hand it lends colour to the suspicions of the people and by feeding discontent, undermines the stability of Government. Will the Director of Information speak?"

Alleged plunder and outrages by Police in the Champaran District of Behár.

Mahrátta (8), 5th Dec.

38. Reviewing His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the recent State Banquet at Bikaner, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—The last great war has produced a wonderful awakening among all the nations of the world and the spirit of democracy has begun to spread everywhere. It is natural that India should come under the influence of such forces. We are gratified to see that His Excellency the Viceroy has recognised this. But the one question that we would ask is, 'Is the present discontent and disaffection which are rampant and daily growing among the Indian people a direct legacy of the last great war?' We are at one with His Excellency Lord Chelmsford when he says that discontent is the necessary consequence of a big war, and that India cannot remain free from such discontent. All the same, we regret to

Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's speech at the State banquet at Bikaner.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 2nd Dec.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 2nd and 3rd Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 4th Dec.

have to say that the present disaffection in India is not a direct legacy of the war. The bureaucratic rule carried on in India during and after the war is responsible for the present discontent. At the present time when the non-co-operation movement is in full swing under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi, and when the liberal party proposes to carry on its struggle for self-government without crossing the bounds of constitutional agitation, the comments made by His Excellency the Viceroy upon the leaders are calculated to add insult to injury. His Excellency the Viceroy accuses the leaders of having lost their balance of mind. This allegation may be true to a certain extent of Mr. Gandhi's party, but if His Excellency supposes that all the leaders of India row in the same boat, we would strongly protest against such an opinion. As a matter of fact, the accusation is applicable to himself and his Government. If His Excellency had, during the period of his regime, preserved his balance of mind, the tragedy of the Punjáb would never have been enacted, and the hearts of the Indians would not have been wounded. Who is to be blamed when the ruler of India himself failed in preserving his balance of mind? Administration is an art; and the people of India have sufficiently seen what proficiency His Excellency Lord Chelmsford possesses in it. They, therefore, want their next Viceroy to be a statesman of the first order who should be of a noble disposition, sympathetic, independent and capable of preserving his presence of mind. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Praja Mitra and Parsi* protests against the reflections made by His Excellency the Viceroy upon the leaders of the people and remarks that even now there is to be observed no change in his angle of vision. In the subsequent issue, the paper points out that His Excellency's speech is the least calculated to win the support and co-operation of the moderates because His Excellency disapproved of their activities and movements for getting the grievances of the people redressed and remarks that his advice to the princes of India to rule their people with a strong hand is only calculated to lead them away from the right track. On the other hand, the *Bombay Samáchár* approves of His Excellency's advice to the Indian Princes, and calls upon them to act up to it. It, however, remarks that even His Excellency cannot claim that the way in which India is ruled at present is beyond criticism, and concludes by suggesting that, in response to the demands of the Moderates, Government should take steps calculated to restore confidence in Government among the people.]

A member of the Royal Family would be the best Viceroy for India.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 5th Dec., Eng. cols.

*39. "It seems that the Viceroyalty is considered such a difficult post just at present that even those among the first rank of English statesmen are diffident to shoulder such a grave responsibility. As for our Provincial Governors, they are all wanted where they are, and it would not be wise to shift them. Under these circumstances we think the best Viceroy for India would be a member of the Royal Family. Being the representative of the Monarch his power and responsibility should be limited, just as the power and responsibility of the Monarch in England are limited. The true responsibility should rest on the shoulders of the Executive Ministry and the Council of State which should be a sort of Indian House of Commons. This arrangement would make the post of Viceroy what it really ought to be—a representative of the Sovereign who is not responsible for the acts of his ministers."

Grievances of Indian pensioners.
Hindusthán (24), 3rd Dec.

40. Government have adopted an attitude of indifference towards their pensioners who have been asking for an increase in their emoluments. But the Director of Information has issued a communique explaining the position of Government. The said communique is not a satisfactory one. We wish Government had themselves issued an authoritative statement in the matter. The Director of Information states that 'addition to national expenditure in India necessitates much intricate adjustment and the closest and the most careful consideration". We would like to ask the Director whether such considerations prevailed when the different branches of the Imperial Service were given increments in salaries. We do not think such thoughts occurred to Government at the time. Such considerations prevail when the question of poor Indian

pensioners is under discussion. The arguments used by the Director of Information in dealing with the question of "poor and deserving" pensioners are not only unsatisfactory but disappointing. These pensioners have a just claim on Government and the latter should consider the question of giving them their due.

41. The reply which the Secretary Mr. Mead gave to the deputation of the Mamlatdars in the Presidency will cause general surprise. If Mr. Mead has said what he is reported to have said to the deputation on his own authority he needs to be pulled up by Sir George Lloyd. We certainly did not expect a reply such as was given to the deputation in the time of a sympathetic Governor like Sir George Lloyd. The Secretary in effect told the deputation that if their needs they might supplement it by undue exactions from the people. If this is true the Government probably want to keep cheaper men in the place of the present Mamlatdars. If that is so, we might remind the Government that well paid men like Mr. Mead can also easily be replaced by equally or even more competent Indians on far cheaper terms. While Mr. Mead admitted that the pay of the Mamlatdar was not proportionate to the hard work he was required to do, he told the deputation that there would be no increase in it. Government had enough money to revise the scales of pay of officials like Mr. Mead who do much less work than the Mamlatdars, but are not in a mood to give adequate remuneration for the work performed by Mamlatdars. This surely is not justice. Does Government realise that its attitude will lead to a discontent among the Mamlatdars which will drive them into the ranks of non-co-operators? We are sorry that this state of things is possible in the administration of Sir George Lloyd.

Comments on the reply given by the Honourable Mr. Mead to the deputation of Mamlatdars.
Sind Vásí (158), 10th Nov.

42. "This measure of immediate relief will affect over fourteen thousand out of twenty-three thousand teachers in the Presidency, and, though not fully adequate, will, we hope, be regarded by them as a substantial alleviation of their distress. We congratulate the teachers on the success that their organised agitation has attained and trust that they will keep up their organisation and work it in the same spirit of reasonableness as they have done so far..... The teachers were very keen on having a permanent scale for all classes sanctioned once for all on the advice of this Committee. That was hardly possible, as any permanent scale, costing, as it would do, increased expenditure of over forty lakhs, would require the sanction of the higher authorities, which would take time. In the meanwhile the new Council will come on the scene, and as education is a transferred subject, the minister will have to formulate a complete scheme..... We trust that the new Council will insist on the teachers getting this scale, as it is absolutely reasonable." [The *Dnyán Prakásh* complains that the attitude of Government towards the teachers in primary schools is marked by parsimony. It attributes this attitude to the alleged belief of Government that stoppage of work by the teachers would not in any way interfere with the administration. In its opinion Government should have solved the question of the pay and prospects of the teachers themselves instead of keeping it pending for the minister to deal with.]

Comments on the provisional increase of primary school teachers' salaries.
Servant of India (10), 2nd Dec.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (18), 1st Dec.

43. Commenting on the Gujarat Patel-Talati Conference, the *Praja Bandhu* remarks:—"Both the Chairman of the Reception Committee—Mr. Ramrai Vakil—and the President—Sardar Janardan V. Pathak—as well as the delegates drew pointed attention to the miserable scale of pay which they get in these times of abnormally high cost of living, and in the open Conference they resolved that the Patels should get at least Rs. 400 per year in smaller villages and Rs. 700 per year in larger villages, and that the Talatis should

Comments on the Gujarat Patel-Talati Conference.
Praja Bandhu (30), 28th Nov., Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 28th Nov.; *Gujaráti Punch* (21), 28th Nov.

get an increase of 50 per cent. as war allowance, and the increase of 50 per cent. which they have been getting since February 1918 should be made permanent. We hope and trust Government will no longer ignore these and similar other demands for better and higher conditions of work from those who occupy the lowest rungs of the administrative ladder. So far they have treated the higher services with extraordinary indulgence, and recently owing to persistent clamours yielded a little to the subordinate services. From the higher to the subordinate is a welcome step, but from the subordinate to the lower subordinate is a step equally desirable. Common people toiling and sweating in fields and factories know nothing about the heads of departments basking on the Olympian heights of their official sanctum. Every day of the year they are surrounded by the petty officials living and moving at the bottom, and have to bear the brunt of their ever-increasing discontent. It is strange that Government can spare nearly half of their revenue for gunpowder in the extravagant interests of the whole Empire, but when the vital needs of their own subject people are urged, they plead want of funds. It is time they change this, their suicidal policy and practice, otherwise they are fast losing their old, old claims to benignity of purpose and achievement in the estimation of all impartial observers. But the Patels and Talatis of Gujarat are not going to rest content with the doles of concessions which they may get from their superior authorities. Their Chairman suggested, and they sanctioned, the scheme of village emancipation, which, though novel in conception, and arduous in execution, deserves to be closely considered, and gradually acted upon. They are to devise measures for the agricultural and commercial development, moral and physical betterment, educational and religious progress of their villages, and get suitable remuneration for this public, non-political work. It is to be seen how long Government will respect the thin line that separates public from political work, and how far villagers themselves will overlook the immense gulf that lies between public workers and Government servants." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* approves of the activities of the leaders of the Conference, but advises them to take care to see that their movement is kept aloof from the influence of political movements, pointing out to them that only by doing so, they will meet with success. The *Gujarâti Punch* dwells at length upon the grievances of talatis, congratulates the leaders of the Conference on having undertaken the task of seeking to remedy them and concludes with the hope that the necessary steps will be taken for ameliorating the condition of these village officers.]

44. Reviewing the letter addressed by the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau to the Bombay Development Department, the *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* writes:—We trust that the letter addressed by the Indian Merchants Chamber to Government pointing out on what lines the work of the development of Bombay should be carried on will receive their careful consideration. Government ought to bear in mind that in order to be able to meet with a success similar to the extraordinary success of the Development Loan, the people should receive an assurance that the money subscribed to the loan will be spent in India. The demand made by the Chamber that all the materials except the machinery which cannot be obtained in India should be purchased in India, that local engineers, contractors, artisans and workmen should be employed in the work of development and that if the expenditure runs higher by so doing than it would otherwise be, little importance should be attached to that, is certainly a far-sighted one. In all civilised countries, such work is carried on in this manner only. The Government of Bombay have declared themselves to be in full sympathy with the demand of the Indians for self-government; and this is the occasion when they can give full testimony of their *bona fides*. As the Chamber has pointed out, the Industrial Commission and the Stores Purchase Committee have made their hands more free than before in this matter. They have accepted the principle that for the development of Indian industries, it is necessary that Indian manufactures should be preferred to foreign goods even though the former may be of an inferior quality and more costly. If this principle is adhered to, foreigners will be induced to

Indian enterprise should be given preference in carrying out the development of Bombay.

Praja Mitra and Pârsi (31), 28th Nov.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 2nd Dec.

open their factories in India, and along with the increase in industries, Indians will be able to receive training in industrial matters in India itself. We would go a step further and suggest that tenders for the work of development should be invited in terms of rupees only; and in order that foreigners may indirectly be compelled to open factories in India, a condition should be laid down that the produce of those factories will be given preference which will undertake to train a certain number of Indians. The Indian Merchants Chamber has laid its finger upon one term in the tenders invited by Government. It is this: Government has promised to make up a certain percentage of profits in case of loss to the accepters of tenders. Such a guarantee introduces quite a novel principle, and the Chamber is justified in protesting against it. It is difficult to prove the justifiability of introducing a new principle as long as the old method of inviting tenders has not been found to be unworkable. We expect that we will not be disappointed in trusting that the Government of Bombay, and particularly His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, will consider it their duty to proceed with the work of development on the lines pointed out, so that the great confidence reposed in them by the people of Bombay in subscribing to the Development Loan far beyond their expectations may not only be preserved but may also be enhanced. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the policy of guaranteeing profits to accepters of tenders is one which cannot be understood and concludes with the hope that, in view of the various rumours prevalent among the people with respect to the intentions of Government in connection with the work of development, Government would make matters clear by publishing a statement of their policy in connection with the carrying out of the development scheme.]

45. "The cause of discontent among the Indian 'coolies' is primarily an economic one, however much the powers-that-be and the vested interests may try to saddle it with other causes. But it has been aggravated by the racial disabilities, which no self-respecting Indian can endure. Bad housing, lack of nourishment, harsh treatment and low wages have combined with the injustice of racial disabilities to bring things to this pass—that 30,000 labourers wish to return to India instantly..... Besides disenfranchisement, no Indian, no matter what his position, is allowed to leave his house after 11 o'clock at night, no matter for what purpose, without special permit. This is a general restriction, and not one of the special restrictions imposed upon them under Martial Law. No Indian may be served at a hotel where Europeans are served. Indian children are not admitted in schools where European children study or where even Fijian children are given educational facilities. The tale of such indignities is long and woeful; and our readers have already heard it. But neither the Imperial Citizenship Association nor the Indian public at large have yet made an emphatic and indignant protest against those indignities. The Government should once for all be told that Indians will not endure for one day longer this inhuman treatment of their brethren overseas."

Grievances of Indians in Fiji.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Nov.

***46.** "Mr. C. F. Andrews has received news from Fiji to the effect that thirty thousand Indians are selling off everything, determined to abandon Fiji. The determination of half the Indian population of that hell on earth serves as a good index of the treatment that is being received by the Indians there. We welcome their determination to return and 'die at home at last'. So far as we are concerned we know that those who are reduced to an abject state of dependence in their own country, can never ask, much less expect, better treatment outside. But what of the boasted 'trusteeship' and the much-talked-of 'Imperial citizenship'? This 'civilised slavery' will remain an eternal tragic page in the history of British administration in India." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to Mr. Andrews' announcement about the intention of Indians in Fiji to return to India and, while dwelling on the hardships suffered by Indian indentured labourers in Fiji, calls upon the Government of Lord Chelmsford to make no delay in taking up the question of the position

Mahrátta (8), 5th Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 3rd Dec.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 4th Dec.

of Indians in the Colonies. The paper is of the opinion that the treatment given to Indians in the other parts of the Empire has excited the righteous indignation of the people and has added to their disaffection and excitement. The *Akhbdr-e-Isldm* declares that the partial success achieved by the non-co-operation movement is due to the indifference of Government to the hardships Indians suffer in the Colonies and it calls upon the Viceroy to take prompt steps to allay public discontent in the matter.]

Comments on the position of Indians in East Africa.

Gujardti Punch (21), 28th Nov., Eng. cols.

47. "The Indian situation in East Africa seems to be fast developing. What with the segregation policy of the Government, the extremely insignificant number of seats allowed to Indians on the legislative bodies of the country, and the land policy evidently sanctioned by Lord Milner, and what with the encroachment upon the age-old rights of Indian settlers, the situation has grown intolerable and the Indian residents in East Africa seem to be prepared to resort to some extreme course for the vindication of their rights as would appear from a perusal of the Resolutions passed at a meeting at Nairobi for submission to the next Congress which meets at Mombassa..... To make people, however weak, despair of their future and to force them to resort to extreme cures for their present lot always betrays a bankruptcy of statesmanship at the helm of affairs, and we can assure British statesmen that they will never derive any benefit from the adoption of such a policy all round. The treatment of Indians here and abroad at the hands of their British Rulers is already bad enough to bring home to them their helpless position at home and in the Empire, and we do not think any addition to the number of such cases is at all necessary. We sincerely wish British administrators of East Africa will yet do something to prevent Indians from adopting an extreme weapon. In the meanwhile will the Government of India do anything to avert the calamity?"

Bombay Samdchdr (61), 30th Nov.

48. Dwelling at length upon the hardships caused to the Indians in East Africa on account of the policy of segregation adopted by the Government of East Africa, the *Bombay Samdchdr* writes:—The Indians settled in East Africa long before the Europeans went there, and have always been on friendly terms with the local native population. The Indians rendered valuable services to the British Government in their time of need during the last war. In return for these services, attempts are being made to drive them out from East Africa and reserve the country only for European enterprize and interests, by putting unjustifiable restrictions on their rights. The most regrettable feature of the situation is that the Imperial Government have approved of such a policy. One of the disabilities imposed upon the Indians is that they cannot own properties in certain localities reserved for the Europeans. In consequence of this, the property of the merchant prince, the Honourable Mr. Vishram, who is highly popular both among the Indians as well as the Government, has been brought within the purview of this disability. This has given rise to great excitement among the Indian population of East Africa. It is reassuring to note that the Government of India have from the beginning given their sympathetic support to the fight put up by the Indians of East Africa against the acts of injustice committed by the Government of East Africa. Both Lord Hardinge and His Excellency Lord Chelmsford have from time to time promised to do their utmost in the matter of obtaining justice for the Indians in East Africa. At the concluding sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford declared that he would represent the case of the Indians to the British Government and secure justice for them. There is no likelihood of doubts arising in the minds of the people as to whether the Government of India are acting up to their promises, but from the situation as it actually exists at present, we cannot help saying that there seems to be no evidence of their activities in this matter. The time has now come when more effective steps must be taken by the Government of India in the matter. It is old history that great discontent is rampant among the people of India on account of certain causes and that the political atmosphere of India is

disturbed. It would certainly not be desirable to allow such an excited atmosphere to grow worse by the continuance of the injustice done to the Indians in East Africa. We would, therefore, once again request the Government of India to fulfil the promises given by them so often by recognising the urgency of taking the necessary steps in the matter at an early date.

The Esher Committee's Report and Mr. Montagu.

Lokasangraha (117), 22nd and 27th Nov.

49. The *Lokasangraha* repeats the allegation that the army in India is much in excess of the actual requirements of the country and that England generally employs it to fight her battles elsewhere. In support of its contention it points to the peace prevailing in the country and on its borders although the major portion of the army is far away from India. The paper declares that the object of the Esher Committee in recommending that the control of the army in India should be transferred from the Government of India to the War Office is that Imperialists like Lord Curzon may use it to enlarge the Empire. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—Why is Mr. Montagu so very anxious to improve the condition of the Indian army as recommended by the Esher Committee? It is certainly not so bad that a mutiny might take place in it if no immediate steps are taken to improve it. On the contrary its efficiency is such that it was the first to take the field in Belgium in the late war when both the English and the French armies were not ready. Besides, the expenditure on the Army is increasing every year. What then can be the reason of Mr. Montagu's haste to give effect at once, particularly to the recommendation that the condition of the army in India should be improved? The present situation in the Muhammadan countries in Central Asia will supply the necessary explanation. England is trying at present to bring all these Muhammadan countries under her domination. Of course England is doing all this not for her own benefit but for that of the Muhammadan countries concerned! Unfortunately these countries do not share the opinion of England that they are unfit for *swarâjya*; and this has needlessly made the task of England more difficult! Would she not have been saved the trouble of carrying war and desolation into those countries if they had accepted her over-lordship looking to the many benefits she has conferred on India, Egypt, etc.? The truth is Mesopotamia, Persia, etc., want *swarâjya* and not British domination. Since England does not quite agree with them she is trying to impose her rule upon them by force of arms. In sanctioning huge expenditure on the Army Mr. Montagu has in view the destruction of the independence of the Muhammadan countries.]

Comments on a tax levied on emigrants and immigrants by the Government of Portuguese India.

O *Anglo-Lusitano* (50), 20th Nov., Eng. cols.

50. "Nothing could have caused a greater sense of indignation than the iniquitous tax which has been recently approved by the august Legislative Assembly of Portuguese India. His Excellency Dr. Jaimes Moraes, the Governor-General, it would appear, possesses a sincere intention of ameliorating the status of our ill-fated country and with that end in view he has formulated several schemes. Among these is one for the improvement of education. To build a fund for that purpose he suggested a tax of two annas on those going out of the country and that of four annas on those coming in. Before we proceed further we frankly think that the Governor is not to be blamed for what has transpired. It is evident that His Excellency's intentions are good, but being yet new to the place it was the duty of his advisers delicately to point out that the tax projected, however small it might be, would cause the utmost indignation wherever throbbed a Goan heart. Instead of this we were painfully surprised to see that the whole assembly, with two honourable exceptions, not only tacitly confirmed the obnoxious principle that the ends justify the means, but improved upon the suggestion of His Excellency by proposing a higher tax. ..... The iniquitous tax has not yet come into force, but, before it does, it is necessary that those who are to be submitted to it make their voices felt. We can rely on the Goan Union to do the needful..... The

projected tax is a most despotic measure which no civilised people will tolerate. The Indo-Portuguese Press, we trust, will be unanimous in condemning it. To mulct a people returning to their country after perhaps years of toil in foreign lands and whose money has served to replenish the coffers of their motherland is, to say the least, preposterous. We cannot conceive of any more ridiculous and suicidal policy. As it is, the manhood of Goa is greatly drained by the ever swelling tide of emigration and the measure, if put into force, will tend to empty the land of its best element and cut the last plank which supports it. What causes us the most excruciating anguish is to find that it is our own countrymen who are responsible for the iniquitous tax. Autonomy has been given to the country, but, instead of using the boon in a wise manner, the Councillors, it grieves us to say, have, by their acts, made it a bane."

Comments on the French view that the terms of the Turkish Treaty should be modified.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 1st Dec.

51. The question of the Khilafat has taken a new turn. In reply to the demands of the Indian Muhammadans, the higher authorities till now said that Britain alone could not decide the question of the Peace Treaty with Turkey, but that the matter had to be decided by all the Allies jointly, and that though the Secretary of State for India strongly represented the Indian Muhammadan point of view, the Allies have adhered to their resolve. Such an explanation meant that though England was prepared to so modify the terms as to satisfy the Muhammadans of India, she was helpless in face of the majority against her among the Allies. The latest information received through the cables puts England into quite an awkward position. The *Temps* of Paris, which is considered to be the organ of the French Foreign Office, dwells upon the urgency of modifying the Turkish Peace Treaty with respect to Smyrna and Thrace, pointing out that if the Treaty of Sevres is not modified, the Turkish Government and the Turkish Nationalists would join together. The journal concludes by saying that the present policy is tantamount to keeping the war alive in Turkey and playing into the hands of the Bolshevists in respect of the Eastern countries—a policy which would be of no benefit to Britain. The meaning of this is that the suggestion that the Turkish Nationalists should be conciliated by handing over Smyrna and Thrace to Turkey is not acceptable to Britain and that Britain is opposed to it. The British Premier had during the course of the war openly promised in Parliament that Smyrna and Thrace would remain in the possession of Turkey. Now that France and Italy are prepared to do so it is difficult to understand why the British Government are loath to act up to their promise.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Dec.; *Mahratta* (8), 5th Dec.

52. "It will be noticed that the French Press mentions the revision of the Treaty of Sevres with regard to Thrace and Smyrna. The Turks did not themselves object to the loss of their Arabic-speaking provinces, though they share the indignation of the inhabitants of those provinces at their partition by the Powers; but they bitterly resent the cutting off from Turkey of large districts of which the population is predominantly Turkish both in race and sympathy. This has been done in the case of the Smyrna region and of Thrace, in defiance of the principle of self-determination so much trumpeted by the Allies by way of wartime propaganda, and in direct breach of a pledge given by Mr. Lloyd George, speaking, not as the mouthpices of the Government only but 'of the nation and the Empire as a whole,' in which he mentioned Constantinople, Thrace and Asia Minor as predominantly Turkish in race and, therefore, to be preserved to Turkey..... Mr. Lloyd George has now the opportunity to repair his error, and he ought to do so, not only for his own honour, but for the honour of England, which has suffered much through his mistake." [The *Mahratta* remarks:—"It seems that at least so far as the French are concerned they are ready and willing to revise the Turkish Treaty with a view to pacify the orient and save Greece herself. The *Le Temps* further remarks that under the present arrangement both the English and the French

are unconsciously playing the game of the Bolsheviks which would do no good to Britain. Let Great Britain take courage in both hands and at once proceed to revise the Turkish Treaty and kill two birds at a stone—satisfy the Indian Moslems as well make their position secure against the much-dreaded Bolsheviks."]

53. "Supposing the Amir of Afghanistan is really offered the Khalifate and does become the Khalif of Islam, how will the world be affected thereby? To begin with—the centre of Islamic disaffection will come nearer India. The disaffected Turk, Tartar, Persian and Kurd will flock to Kabul. Plots for starting new wars will be hatched there. Treaties with the Bolsheviks will be considered there. Malcontents from India will go there, and work for Islam alone or for the weal or woe of India there. This means a constant menace to India. India will not be safe. And this means not only our incapacity to progress for some time, but the increase in the military expenditure of our country. The Indian army will be increased. It will be always kept ready for war. Burdens on the Indian tax-payer will, therefore, become heavier. As this would be a fight against the whole of Islam, we suggest that the cost of the Indian army should be defrayed from the British Treasury and not from the Indian Treasury—partially at least."

What would happen if the Amir of Afghanistan were declared the Khalif of Islam.

Hindusthán (24), 1st Dec., Eng. cols.

*54. Referring to Sir Hugh Barnes' letter in the London *Times* criticising the Aga Khan's views regarding the situation in Mesopotamia and Persia, the *Gujarátí* remarks:—"Indian forces are being employed in Mesopotamia where they ought not to be. No doubt the expenditure is being borne by England. But military operations in Mesopotamia and elsewhere cannot be carried on without the loss of lives, and there is absolutely no reason why Indian blood should be allowed to be shed and the flower of our army sacrificed in the interests of the explorers of the oil resources of Mesopotamia and in furtherance of costly expansionist schemes, or for depriving small nations of their independence. Sir Hugh Barnes is against the withdrawal of the British from that disturbed territory. He thinks that the Arabs will not be able to form or maintain a stable Arab Government and that the withdrawal of troops outside the Basra Vilayat will lead to the return of the Turk. There will be time enough to deal with that contingency if it arises. But that is no reason for incurring untold sacrifices. Referring to Persia, he declares that the withdrawal of the British Indian Brigade would leave Persia helpless and that the Bolsheviks would expel Europeans, the Legations, the Shah, and wealthy Persians, while the State Bank and other firms would have to close down and the Indo-Persian border would be threatened. That leads him to suggest that 'the cost of the upkeep of the troops in Persia should be borne by Indian and not by British tax-payers.' There lies the whole rub. It is a most mischievous, selfish and dishonourable proposal which he asks the Aga Khan to support by using his great influence, as the maintenance of a strong, united and independent Persia is essentially an Indian interest. The maintenance of the Suez Canal, through which British goods worth crores are imported into this country, and of the Indian Empire is at least predominantly a British interest, if not its sole concern. European nations have their own ambitions, jelousies and quarrels which lead to international complications in the West and the East. India is properly speaking in no way concerned in them and has no dominant voice in their sentiment. It is, therefore, grossly unjust to call upon India to bear the financial burdens which England with her imperialistic projects must alone endure. It may be that the British occupation of Basra and the subsequent advance to Baghdad directly the Turks declared war constituted a strategic obligation and had nothing to do with the presence of oil in Mesopotamia or Persia. But surely that is no reason for saddling India with burdens which England, as an Imperial Power, ought to shoulder for the maintenance of her Imperial position and safeguarding her Imperial

Protest against the use of Indian troops in Mesopotamia and Persia.

Gujarátí (19), 5th Dec., Eng. cols.

interests. Sir Hugh Barnes' attempt to throw fresh financial burdens upon the starving millions of India is neither honourable nor equitable. The whole country ought to protest against all such Imperial proposals and military projects as are likely to entail still more ruinous military expenditure upon this poor country."

Failure of the foreign policy of England.

Rájakáran (129), 28th Nov.

55. The situation in Ireland has been serious during the last six months or so and Imperial England is still powerless to pacify the country. England's Russian policy has been completely frustrated. In Greece, Venezelos, the protége of England and France, has fallen into disrepute and fled the country and Constantine, the former Germanophile King of Greece, is about to reascend the throne. Kamal Pasha has invaded the newly created republic of Armenia and its independence is jeopardized. Suggestions are being made from important quarters that England should withdraw from Mesopotamia and Persia as her presence there involves heavy expenditure. Mesopotamia is sticking like a bone in the throat of England which she can neither swallow nor cough out. Owing to the Bolshevik victory over General Wrangel fears are entertained that they may approach the North-Western frontier of India through Afghanistan. In short the foreign policy of England is not meeting with much success in the world. It is to be seen how British statesmen pilot safely the ship of state through these difficulties.

A bogey of Bolshevism dangled before India to advance British influence in Asia.

Mirpurkhás Gazette (155), 19th Nov.

56. The non-co-operation movement has now disturbed the peace of mind of the Government; and as it is too much to expect that Government will remove the causes of it, it is quite likely that Government will adopt measures to suppress it. At the same time an attempt may be made on behalf of Government to start a counter-political propaganda in the country. The Government organs are already at work to threaten the people with the bugbear of Bolshevism in the country. According to the *Sachai*, Bolshevism will find a congenial soil in India in view of the present economic conditions of the country, which we are assured are not likely to disappear for some time to come. While it is admitted by the *Sachai* that the present discontent is, to come extent, due to the economic conditions of the country, it suggests no remedy to Government beyond saying that these conditions must continue for some time. The people, however, can see that their trouble is to some extent of Government's own making. They can see that if export of corn is prohibited by Government, if measures are not adopted by the Government of the country in the interests of British trade and British currency and if profiteering is not encouraged by an excess-profits duty, the economic situation will be much better than it now is and that there will then be no fear of Bolshevism in the country. But Government wants to suppress Bolshevism with powder and shot. The result will be that owing to the additional military expenditure, the country will be poorer still and the economic conditions more acute, a state of things which will give rise to Bolshevism not from without but from within, as the experience of other countries show. Then it is not unlikely that all the military resources of Government will prove ineffectual. It is said that Indian emissaries of the Bolsheviks may at any time come and create trouble in the country. This is nothing but the revival of an old trick of Government in a new form. For a hundred years past India has been made, in view of an imaginary fear of invasion from Afghanistan or Russia, to maintain a large army, the real object however being to advance the cause of British influence in Asia. Now that the people have protested against this proceeding, the fear of Bolshevik invasion has conveniently been set up as the pretext for the maintenance of the army. At present the non-co-operation movement appeals to the rich to non-co-operate with Government and the Nationalists are trying to awaken the masses. Neither of these two activities is regarded with approval by Government. Instead of suppressing these openly, Government has started the bogey of Bolshevist invasion. It is

not unlikely that the men associated with these movements will eventually be regarded as friends of the Bolsheviks spreading Bolshevist doctrines in the country and dealt with sternly in order to put an end to the political work which they are carrying on. There is a danger ahead of which both Moderates and Extremists should beware.

57. "K" writes in the *New Times*:—"Another man in the Empire, as pompous as Mr. Webb, is Lord Curzon. He seems to love Persia as his very own. He has got so much love for that country that he wants to have a stake in it! He is even willing to give Persia a loan of two millions—on the security of its Customs Duties. It is surprising how some nations vie with one another in their goodness! America and Japan are almost at loggerheads because each wants to loan money to China and 'work for its uplift'. Lord Curzon has parcelled out Persia as the British sphere of doing good! These Nations are quite a class by themselves, unless Marwaris (*i. e.*, professional money lenders) who are always on the look-out for a spendthrift heir on whom to thrust their gold against a hundi on his father's estates, be admitted with them."

England, America and Japan compared to Marwaris in their dealings with weaker nations like Persia and China.
New Times (9), 25th Nov.

58. "The Russians are prepared to leave at peace with independent Persia, but not with a Persia which is likely to become an outpost of aggressive British Imperialism. Anyhow, there is no doubt that, owing to the quarrel between the British and the Bolsheviks, the Persians find themselves again in the uncomfortable position which was theirs after the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1906, and that they are anxious to get out of that position. It is very doubtful whether their acceptance of a virtual British protectorate, to which the Bolsheviks object, would improve matters. We think the Mejliss will declare for complete independence; and, if that is denied by England, we shall shortly see the Persian people siding with the Bolsheviks against the Shah supported by the British. It would be better for England to re-draft the agreement paying due respect to Persia's status as an independent Sovereign State, or relinquish it altogether, than incur so great a danger; and it would be infinitely better for unlucky Persia if any European statesman cares for that."

Comments on British policy in Persia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Dec.

59. "Nemesis is on the trial of 'Kingdom-breakers and Mandate-makers.' Constantine is to come to Greece. Greeks will come to a separate understanding with Nationalist Turkey; for France will not give Greece any breath to fight the Turk. Mustafa Kemal is also succeeding with the help of some Red troops. Now that Wrangel is off the stage, we may expect Bolsheviks to take the opportunity of the approaching winter to help Mustafa Kemal at once. It is quite on the cards that Northern Persia may turn Red and the Bolshevists may extend help even to the Mesopotomia Arabs *via* Persia. Anyhow, the chances are that the present Sultan-Khalif may pass Christmas at Nice with Venizelos, and his son may take his place! But in these days when monkey-bites change the course of nations, one cannot say much."

Turkey, Greece, the Allies and Bolshevism.
New Times (9), 25th Nov.

60. In the opinion of the *Kesari* England and France have no business to come in the way of Greece if that country chooses to recall Constantine to its vacant throne. It declares that all measures of blockade and commercial boycott will fail if Greece only acts in concert with Turkey, Bulgaria and Austria, and it expresses the hope that some statesman will rise in the country and follow in the footsteps of Lenin and Kemal Pasha and thus prevent England and France from interfering. For, it says, it has been found by experience that to plead before these two nations about self-determination is just like crying in the wilderness.

Comments on the situation in Greece.
Kesari (114), 1st Dec.

61. Just as a mother-in-law kicks her daughter-in-law while at home but when sending her out loads her with jewellery, so England has been treating India. England has sent three representatives to represent India at the Geneva sitting of the League of Nations, and they have even been included in the various sub-committees appointed at the meeting. But the League has refused to include India's representative in the Executive Committee appointed by it to consider the question of Labour. It is thus plain that India's representatives are wanted there only for the sake of show and that it is impossible for them to secure admission where real work is to be done. In the Imperial Conference that is to be held in 1921 or 1922, while the representatives of the self-governing dominions are to take part, it has not yet been yet decided whether India is to be invited to join! All this means that while India is to be allowed to take part in all the shows, she is to exercise no real authority.

India's representatives have been included in the League of Nations only for the sake of show.
Kesari (114), 1st Dec.

RAILWAYS.

*62. An anonymous corrospondent writes in the *Mahrátta*:—"British rule in India has only meant unmitigated and unblushing exploitation of the country. The reports of the Industrial and Currency Commissions are full of suggestions as to the best methods of crushing Indian industrial, commercial and economic growth along national lines. How to make India bleed still further for the British exploiter? That was the problem set to the Commissions, and from the British exploiter's point of view the Commissions have been great successes. This has sharpened his thirst for more blood, and he has now secured the appointment of a Railway Committee, which is also to solve the problem:—How to make India bleed still further? This Committee is most carefully packed with people, all of whom, except two, are too notorious partizans of the system of Company management of railways to make an impartial enquiry. They will act the opera bouffe of an enquiry, at heavy expense to India, and then deliver a pre-conceived and pre-determined judgment in favour of continuing the system, which is most harmful to India and most beneficial to the British exploiter. All self-respecting Indians should non-co-operate with such a Committee. As the Egyptians had boycotted the Milner Commission, so should the Indians boycott this Ackworth (Railway) Committee."

The Indian Railway Commission.
Mahrátta (8), 5th Dec.

63. "The question of Railway management has been agitating the public mind of India for a very considerable time. In our railway development we have reached a stage when our railroads cannot exclusively be looked upon from a purely earning capacity. The history of the early railway finance is a sad chapter, and inspite of all the sacrifices which the public purse has made to lay new lines, and to work them, they have not substantially contributed to the industrial progress of India. Now that a Railway Commission has been appointed it is to be hoped that a unanimous verdict by the commercial public in favour of state management will soon be given..... We are afraid the majority of the members are already, more or less, the disciples of the Chairman, Mr. Acworth, who is a recognised authority on Indian railways. If the question of railway management be viewed merely from the point of efficiency, we would not hesitate to demand the continuation of the present private management; but efficiency is not the only consideration. Indian revenues have lost much on railways in the last century, the total net loss coming to something like 30 crores, and now that they are in a condition to give handsome returns it is but just that they should belong directly to the state. Another important consideration is that the future lines of railway development in India will have to be with a view to develop the hitherto uncultivated regions and to help the proper localisation of new industries in places which offer natural facilities for them. It is too much to expect the present management to strike out new paths for themselves. The old system will die hard, and therefore the commercial opinion of India

Indian Commercial Mercury (13), 29th Nov., Eng. cols.

will have to put up a strong fight to assail the old and time-worn methods. We want national railways for national purposes."

NATIVE STATES.

64. The *Lokshahi* refers to a report published in the *Vidyavilas* of Kolhápur that some Marathas throw bones with fresh blood on them into the cooking rooms of the neighbouring houses of Brahmins with a view to harassing them and tells His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur that if he is unable to give due protection to the Brahmins he should retire and hand over the administration to a more capable ruler or to the British Government.

A complaint from Kolhapur.
Lokashahi (119), 22nd Nov.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 10th December 1920.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 11th December 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. "Colonel Wedgwood has at last published his considered views on non-co-operation and the verdict is, as was expected, against non-co-operation. It is based on the ground that the movement engenders hate and 'hatred destroys the soul'. The Colonel is shrewd enough to know and careful enough to state that Mr. Gandhi does not mean it, but all those who can see through the under-currents cannot but support the Colonel's belief, widely shared by prominent Indians, that the movement will inevitably get out of control and that the only result of it will be to delay Home Rule. ..... The suggestion which the Colonel puts forward for the consideration of the Nágpur session of the Indian National Congress for a *via media* in the shape of full Responsible Government and a National Army on the one side and co-operation on the other is worth considering, and if it were found practicable it would be worth the trial. As a guarantee of good faith, however, the Indian Public, we believe, would be justified in demanding justice in the Punjáb and Khilafat."

Comments on Colonel Wedgwood's views on the political situation in India.
Gujarátí Punch (21), 5th Dec., Eng. cols.

2. It is said that Government intend to give something more to India than what has already been given, and that a Moderate leader of Bombay was even asked to wait upon Government with a deputation but that the request was declined. Colonel Wedgwood wants the friends of the bureaucracy and public leaders to meet privately, and inform Government of the decisions arrived at. We condemn the suggestion altogether. If Government want to give something more and please the people, let them determine themselves what should be given. The demands of the people have been stated often. No public or private Conference is needed for the purpose. People have adopted non-co-operation as a permanent weapon to get what they want, and it will continue till the demands are conceded. The Congress should not swerve an inch and should get the new constitutfon sanctioned and should make the non-co-operation programme stronger and should continue to press forward, adhering to the lines settled.

Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

3. Commenting upon the suggestion for a Round Table Conference by Colonel Wedgwood, the *Rdjakdran* writes:— There have been many commissions and conferences up to this time and Mr. Montagu himself has visited this country. But even after all this farce was enacted, General Dyer was able to massacre the people in the Punjáb. What is the good then of repeating the same process over again? The English are powerful; they can imprison anyone and can export any amount of grain in spite of the prevalence of famine in the country. The whole country is steeped in poverty and misery. What shall we gain if Colonel Wedgwood holds one more conference? The conditions of Indians cannot possibly be improved unless they have the power of curtailing the number of white officials and reducing the fat salaries that they now draw. Colonel Wedgwood asks us not to blame the English nation for the murders in the Punjáb. Why? Some Englishmen presented Dyer with twenty thousand pounds and the Lords approved of his conduct. Moreover, Sir Michael O'Dwyer was sent to this country as a member of the Esher Committee. Are not the Indians justified in resorting to non-co-operation after being subjected to so many acts of injustice? What else could a helpless nation do?

Rdjakdran (129), 5th Dec.

4. Though Colonel Wedgwood enjoys the hospitality of Government officials, his views are not in any way influenced by them like those of Sir Valentine Chirol, and he has proved himself to be the real well-wisher of the people of India and his opinions are, therefore, worthy of careful consideration at the hands of the Indian people. We approve of the suggestion made by the Colonel for fixing a time-limit for the granting of self-government to India on colonial lines and for raising a Territorial Force in India. But Colonel Wedgwood seems to forget that the

Gujarátí (19), 5th Dec.

Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act, etc., still remain to be deleted. So long as these laws are in force, the Indians will not believe in the promises of the authorities. The suggestion of a Conference of Indians and Europeans is an excellent one, and was anticipated by Mr. Gandhi in his letter addressed to Englishmen. Do the bureaucrats possess the liberality and purity of motive necessary to listen to the suggestion? The days of peace would not be far distant if they had those virtues.

Is there an element of hatred in the non-co-operation movement?

Young India (14), 8th Dec.

5. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"It has become the fashion nowadays to ascribe hatred to non-co-operationism. And I regret to find that even Colonel Wedgwood has fallen into the trap. I make bold to say that the only way to remove hatred is to give it disciplined vent. No man can—I cannot—perform the impossible task of removing hatred so long as contempt and despise for the feelings of India are sedulously nursed. It is a mockery to ask India not to hate when in the same breath India's most sacred feelings are contemptuously brushed aside. India feels weak and helpless, and so expresses her helplessness by hating the tyrant who despises her and makes her crawl on the belly, lifts the veils of her innocent women and compels her tender children to acknowledge his power by saluting his flag four times a day. The gospel of non-co-operation addresses itself to the task of making the people strong and self-reliant. It is an attempt to transform hatred into pity. A strong and self-reliant India will cease to hate Bosworth Smiths and Frank Johnsons, for she will have the power to punish them and therefore the power also to pity and forgive them. Today she can neither punish nor forgive, and therefore helplessly nurses hatred. If the Musalmans were strong, they would not hate the English but would fight and wrest from them the dearest possessions of Islam..... I am positively certain that there is no personal element in this fight. Both the Hindus and the Muhammadans would today invoke blessings on the English if they would but give proof positive of their goodness, faithfulness, and loyalty to India. Non-co-operation then is a god-send; it will purify and strengthen India; and a strong India will be a strength to the world as an India weak and helpless is a curse to mankind. Indian soldiers have involuntarily helped to destroy Turkey and are now destroying the flower of the great Arabian nation. I cannot recall a single campaign in which the Indian soldier has been employed by the British Government for the good of mankind. And yet, (oh! the shame of it!) Indian Maharajas are never tired of priding themselves on the loyal help they have rendered the English! Could degradation sink any lower?"

Comments on Lord Sinha's recent speech at the Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Dec.

6. Commenting on Lord Sinha's recent speech at the Taj Mahal Hotel, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—"It would seem as if Lord Sinha had so far become merged in the Government of which he is an honourable part as to have forgotten altogether how an Indian feels on certain matters. He seems at any rate to have forgotten that the non-co-operation movement is a movement for a definite purpose *i. e.*, to obtain redress of the Khilafat wrong—which is a burning grievance for some millions of his Lordship's fellow-Indians, and a grievous slur upon the honour of the Government with which his Lordship so whole-heartedly co-operates; and also to extort some due expression of regret for the Punjáb atrocities, which the said Government and its supporters have belittled in a way which is an insult to humanity, and especially to that Indian nation of which Lord Sinha was of old regarded as an honoured leader. The tenor of his lordship's speech on this occasion will alone suffice to show how far he has been sundered from that nation by the simple fact of his co-operation with the Government. The only way in which he can hope to rejoin the nation or regain his old position as their leader is by following the lead of Mr. Gandhi and urging on his chief and colleagues the necessity for the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs threatening non-co-operation with them if they still persist in their refusal."

*7. "The two important topics of it [*i.e.*, Lord Sinha's speech] were, of course, non-co-operation and the Reform scheme. As regards the former, his comments, unlike those of some other critics, were inspired by high respect for the motives and character of Mr. Gandhi, while uncompromising in their condemnation of the non-co-operation programme. Lord Sinha studiously and successfully resisted the temptation, which has proved too alluring to some other equally exalted personages, to think of combating the movement by ridicule. His Lordship has, we see, been blamed for not referring to the Punjáb excesses and the Turkish treaty which are the two declared reasons for non-co-operation. It would be perfectly legitimate to question the propriety of an Indian accepting high position in a Government which is responsible for the former and has acquiesced in the latter, but to ask one who has accepted such a position to throw to the winds all the restrictions which it involves and to hold forth like a non-co-operationist, is not commonsense. Nevertheless, tkose who heard Lord Sinha were not left in doubt by the evident care with which he selected his words, as to his keen realisation of the circumstances, proximate and remote, that have borne the bitter fruit of non-co-operation. A man may try to persuade his neighbour not to jump down a precipice, though he feels acutely the wrongs which impel the latter to a suicidal course. His Lordship's references to the Reform scheme were not equally balanced. He pointed to some features of it as embodying elementary principles accepted in all constitutional systems, but he did not seem to be aware that there are certain other elementary principles which the scheme deliberately violates."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 12th Dec.

8. Lord Sinha is the Governor of an Indian province and it is but natural that he should hold opinions adverse to the non-co-operation movement. But he expressed his opinion in a very mild manner and with due respect towards the leaders of the movement. It seems to be his intention to pacify the feelings of the Indian people and he has taken care not to use a single word that would give offence to anyone. We do not think there is any justification in the allegation made by Lord Sinha that Mr. Gandhi means to destroy the present educational system. We are indebted to Lord Sinha for expressing sympathy, if it can be so-called, towards the movement for establishing national schools and colleges and for the boycotting of the law courts. [The *Hindusthán* remarks that Lord Sinha has lost his identity as an Indian owing to his close contact with European bureaucrats and so he is opposed to the non-co-operation movement. It asks Lord Sinha to use his good offices to get the wrongs of the people redressed if he wants to win a place in their hearts. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* endorses the views expressed by Lord Sinha and asks the non-co-operationists to take a timely lesson from the acts of hooliganism and terrorism resorted to in the name of non-co-operation at various places in India by followers of the movement. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* makes similar remarks and asks the National Liberal Association to take steps to give wide publicity to Lord Sinha's views with a view to counteracting the non-co-operation movement. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* commends Lord Sinha's views to the consideration of its readers.]

Sánj Vartamán (33), 7th Dec.; *Hindusthán* (24), 8th Dec.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 7th Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 7th Dec.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 7th Dec.

*9. "The speech which Lord Ronaldshay delivered at the St. Andrew's Dinner is a true reflection of the bureaucratic temperament..... It is an indictment of the Non-co-operation movement, of Mahatma Gandhi, and the whole Indian people. The first count in the indictment is that Indians are 'grievously in need of that particular commodity which the people of Scotland possess in so eminent a degree, namely, commonsense.'..... Clearly the definition of commonsense which the wiseacre of Bengal has in mind is vastly different from that of the rational creatures. Indians are devoid of commonsense because they will not accept the crumbs flung at them by the all-wise bureaucracy. If commonsense

Comments on Lord Ronaldshay's speech at the St. Andrew's Dinner at Calcutta.

Mahrátta (8), 12th Dec.

means taking things lying down as they come, if it implies receiving meekly the yoke imposed by alien rulers, if it denotes want of self-respect, if it consists in allowing stones to be thrust down the throat when the belly is crying for very bread, then indeed Indians are destitute of commonsense and they are happy and proud in that they are so..... The bureaucrats are so clay-pated a lot that they would never understand the underlying spirit of the philosophy of Non-co-operation till, like the motley fool of 'As you like it,' break their shins against it. We assure the 'bold bad man' of Bengal that it is as sure as he lives that India will attain her goal by dint of this non-violent non-co-operation, and when it is too late, he will awake one bright morning to a sense of the great potentialities of the movement. Not satisfied with thus bantering the movement of non-co-operation, the Governor of Bengal bestows an enormous deal of cheap ridicule on the end non-co-operation is to achieve..... The last charge laid against the movement by the Governor of Bengal is simply revolting. He says: 'Any Indian making a comprehensive survey of the non-co-operation movement could scarcely be blamed if he came to the conclusion that the only pass-word required to give admission to the non-co-operation camp was race-hatred.' In inventing this pass-word Lord Ronaldshey has surpassed himself. If there is one characteristic of the movement more conspicuous than another, it is this, that there is not the faintest glimmer of hatred of any kind in it. The movement of non-co-operation is largely inspired with spiritualism: it is based on non-violence; it is buttressed by the purest of pure forces, *viz.*, soul-force, truth-force or love-force; it is carried forward with unadulterated patriotic motives. Under such circumstances nothing can be remoter from truth than the attribution of motives of hatred to this movement. Let the Governor interrogate himself on the question of treatment of Indians in South and East Africa and in the Fiji Islands. Has he any word to say to his fellow-brothers in those places who are doing their best to oust Indians from those Colonies? Let him, again, rest assured that race-hatred is the offspring of Western civilisation, and that it has now flung its shadow over all white races..... Lord Ronaldshay is at liberty to limn monstrous pictures of India *ad infinitum*, but Indians who have full well understood the putrid blood coursing beneath sleek glossy white surface, will not be carried away even an inch from the position taken..... The speech of the strong man of Burma on a similar occasion and that of the would-be Governor of Behar and Orissa on the occasion of the liberalist address given to him the other day in Bombay are resonant with the same bureaucratic note..... The close similarity between the views about non-co-operation expressed by two of the best bureaucrats *in esse* and the third *in posse* abundantly proves that the atmosphere of the hide-bound bureaucracy reduces all to one dead level of equality in thought, word and action. Every day the gulf dividing the rulers and the ruled is widening; nor are such utterances calculated to bridge it."

10. Commenting upon Lord Selborne's speech in the House of Lords, the *Kesari* says:—Lord Selborne wants to lay the blame on the Government of India for not proclaiming to the people the noble and magnanimous intentions of Government, but the real fact is that both Parliament and the Government of India are equally guilty in the matter. The Punjáb outrages were committed by Dyer, Frank Johnson and Bosworth Smith who behaved like Rakshasas. It is not that the Government of India alone screened them. Who will forget that Parliament set its seal of approval on their demonical deeds? Does not the responsibility of racial hatred between Indians and Europeans bursting into flames rest an Englishmen showering lakhs of rupees approvingly on Dyer who slaughtered wholesale innocent Indians needlessly? Even if the Government of India go about advertising their magnanimity, as advised by Lord Selborne, ever so much, it will have no effect in the face of these terrible deeds. If there be a real desire that it should not be defamed, the British Parliament should abandon its selfishness and remove the Punjáb and Khilafat injustice and hand over to Indians full *swardjya* as early as possible. But there are

Comments on Lord Selborne's complaint in Parliament that the Government of India have not sufficiently proclaimed their magnanimous intentions.

Kesari (114), 7th Dec.; *Indian Social Reformer (7), 12th Dec.

no signs of such advice being welcomed. Government believe more in repression and though outwardly they may make a show of not beginning it, it is being resorted to secretly. The editor of the *Akali* was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment and a thousand rupees' fine. For quoting an article from *Young India*, the Calcutta *Servant* was warned. The Secretary of the Punjáb Non-co-operation Committee was prohibited from speaking for six months. What does it all mean? It is a fact that the bureaucracy has not yet learnt the universal principle that Empires based on bludgeon-rule do not last for ever. [The *Indian Social Reformer* remarkes:—"'Noble, magnanimous intentions' are all right in their own way, but when these are not sustained by noble magnanimous acts, they easily lend themselves to an ugly interpretation."]

The Right Honourable Herbert Fisher and Indian Nationalism.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Dec.

11. In the course of its comments on the Right Honourable Herbert Fisher's 'Studies in History and Politics', the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—"Mr. Fisher's lucubrations on Indian polity are a forceful reminder that an Englishman is dull and strangely inaccessible to new ideas. Mr. Fisher has been caught up in one of those vicious circles and has been unable to extricate himself from the whirlpool of prejudice and race bias, common among men of his class. He thinks of the rising tide of Indian Nationalism in terms of 'bombs, dacoities, and other spasmodic deeds of violence', but he has never paused to reflect why these have accompanied that tide of Nationalism. For after all it will be conceded that the 'spasmodic needs of violence' are alien to the spirit of the Indian people, and that they are essentially western in conception and growth, is a sufficient proof of the utter inadequacy of the present system of administration, and its being alien to the spirit of the people..... Recent events have only deepened the unrest, and roused in a remarkable degree the spirit of suspicion and distrust. An appeal to forget an unavenged past and for co-operation with those whose records are indelibly blood-stained, might have met with some response before the war; but the new awakening has taught people to realise the ignominy of such response to the people."

Protest against the alleged launching of a campaign of repression by Local Governments in India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Dec.

12. "The Local Governments all over the country, being probably directly inspired by the Government of India and taking their cue from the questions and speeches of anti-Indian M. P.'s appear to have resolved to start a vigorous campaign of repression against the Press, with a view, no doubt, thereby to deal a deadly blow at the non-co-operation movement, which reckons upon the Press as a valuable instrument for propaganda purposes..... Obviously, the campaign has been launched because the official publicity bureaus and subsidized news agencies and newspapers have failed to achieve their object, as they were bound to fail. The authorities now seem to be giving way to panic and to be playing into the hands of designing alarmists, both in this country and in England. The old faith of the rulers in the panacea of repression and more repression for all political discontent seems to have lost none of its attractions in spite of the new angle of vision, which, we were told, has come into play. We regret the relapse on the part of the authorities into unbridled autocracy, more for the sake of the Government themselves than for their victims in the Indian Press or for the movement at which the persecution is indirectly aimed, but which is, on the other hand, bound to receive added strength from such tribulation and suffering..... We had thought the presence of Mr. Montagu at the head of affairs would have proved a restraining influence at the critical juncture. But Mr. Montagu too, to judge from what is everyday happening, has grievously betrayed the trust reposed in him by Indians. There is no single British statesman in whom India can at present put her faith to secure the redress of her wrongs. As Mr. Gandhi has truly remarked the loss of India's confidence in British statesmanship is complete, and India can only look to herself for succour. We have an indestructible faith that in the fresh ordeal which the Indian Press is called upon to face, the latter will

evince the same undying courage, the same will to triumph over persecution and suffering as it did in the past. As for the authorities, we can only say that the means they are resorting to to put down the present 'unrest' are more calculated to fan the conflagration than to smother it. It is sheer madness to refuse to look to the past and profit by its lessons."

*13. Referring to the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the province of Delhi and the declaration of Volunteer Corps as unlawful, the *Mahratta* writes :—"The reasons adduced for taking these drastic steps look well on paper but have no earthly connection with facts. The communique issued by the Government justifying their course of action states that 'class hatred, the social boycott of individuals, the intimidation of Government servants, and indeed of all lawabiding citizens, sympathy with revolutionary movements elsewhere, and a violent anti-Government propaganda have been consistently preached'. We cannot believe a word of this. Had there been sufficient evidence to prove a bit of all this yarn, the Government would never have spared the use of section 124 A and section 153A, which come so readily to their rescue. We believe that it is nothing but an attempt to lash themselves into fury in order to strike a blow at the present movement of non-co-operation. Similarly regarding the volunteer corps, it has been alleged that the local volunteers' leaders have organised the city roughs to intimidate and coerce the peaceful citizens. It is said that these volunteer associations are organised on quasi-military lines, and they threaten to interfere with the maintenance of law and order. All this bespeaks nothing but a panicky state of mind, and it goes to prove clearly that the bureaucracy is beaten hip and thigh by the non-co-operation movement. A big storm is brooding and for a time India will be in a deluge of repression."

Mahratta (8), 12th Dec.

14. Government have made laws to put as much restraint upon freedom of speech and writing as possible; but Mr. Gandhi has courageously broken them all. When in the contempt case, the High Court declared Mr. Gandhi guilty and let him go with a warning, he there and then said plainly that he would again do what he had done on occasion arising. In short he declared the warning of the High Court to be useless. Since then he has been violating the Press Act from time to time. The Seditious Meetings Act also does not seem to apply to him. Mr. Gandhi plainly says that what he does is with the object of paralysing the present Government and to destroy it. He adds that it is Ravanic and Satanic, unjust and sinful, that it reduces the people to slavery and is murderous and blood-thirsty. But Government do not dare so much as to move in this matter. Justice Strachey punished the late Mr. Tilak for causing disaffection and in 1907 Mr. Davar also punished him. The Government of Bombay a third time dragged him to Court for objectionable lectures. Although Mr. Gandhi's utterances, words and thoughts are very much stronger than those of Mr. Tilak, yet Government take no step against him. Although Mr. Gandhi has over and over again repeated the words for which Sufi Iqbal and Moulvi Lakimullah were punished in the Rhotak district in the Punjáb, yet Government have done nothing. The Anglo-Indians are all amazed at Government not snapping up Mr. Gandhi. In our opinion, the fact of Government leaving Mr. Gandhi alone is a sign that some wisdom still survives in them. There can be no doubt that at heart Mr. Gandhi is not a séditionist. All his efforts are directed towards the removal of injustice and the obtaining of *swardj* for the benefit of India. How can Government prove that Mr. Gandhi is at heart a seditionist by dragging him to a court of justice? Hence they do not arrest him.

Government are wise in leaving Mr. Gandhi alone.

Gujarâti (19), 5th Dec.

*15. "India has pronounced her judgment with one mind that the present system of administration is nothing but militarism masquerading as civil Government. What else it is, armed with all the repressive powers of Seditious Meetings Act, Defence of India Act, Criminal Law Amendment Act, and a host of other repressive acts coupled with inexhaustible resources

The present administration in India is rank militarism masquerading as civil Government.

Mahrâtta (8), 12th Dec.

of Sections 124-A and 153-A of the Indian Penal Code! When the bureaucracy has no argument either to defend their acts and policy or to defeat the popular representatives, they invariably resort to this argument *ad baculam*, and it is nothing but the mailed fist. The history of India's struggle for freedom is replete with instances of the unbridled use of the mailed fist, and the road to self-Government has at least so far been lined with the sufferings and sacrifices of martyrs. The circumstances or the psychology have not changed even a bit, and even to-day we find the bureaucracy exhibiting its mailed fist when no intellectual argument based on reason and logic can sustain their power."

Alleged possibility of martial law being applied to Sind.

Hindu (153), 14th Nov.

16. In the course of a dialogue the *Hindu* observes:—Voter—How is it possible for Martial Law to be promulgated in Sind? Non-co-operator—Listen. It is not in our power to appoint a Viceroy. Lord Chelmsford is still sitting like a nightmare on the bosom of India. It would not be strange if his successor were no better than he. An exact copy of Sir M. O'Dwyer, Mr. Lawrence is now at Bombay. If he or one of his ilk were posted to Sind and conceive the idea of exterminating the agitators and, like Sir M. O'Dwyer pretending a rebellion, secured permission from the Viceroy for the proclamation of Martial Law, which it is not difficult to obtain even under the new conditions, horrors such as we had in the Punjáb might be repeated in Sind. Even now officers can be found in plenty who are capable of massacring people as at Jhallianwala. Voter—Sind is not so near the frontiers as the Punjáb and therefore the Viceroy would not lightly order the introduction of Martial Law in Sind. Non-co-operator—That does not matter. Our patriot of the *Bharatvásí*, the disciple of Mrs. Besant, has drawn the frontier to a distance of 23 miles only from Sind. Voter—If the new reforms cannot afford us security against martial law horrors of what use are they?

Policy of conciliation on Government's part necessary before the anti-non-co-operation movement can hope to succeed.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Dec.

17. In the course of a letter to the *Bombay Chronicle* Mr. M. G. Bhurgr writes:—"The Non-co-operation movement has indeed, no credit with the more sober and thoughtful section of the people. The great bulk of reasoning opinion is opposed to the scheme as a folly and a danger, a will-of-the-wisp with a lure that leads to ruin; such opinion has not been slow to come forward on the platform or in the press, and is striving to counter a force which is getting increasingly out of control every day. But anxious as such opinion is to combat to the full extent of its power an influence, to the ruinous tendencies of which it is fully alive, it feels, at the same time, that its most strenuous efforts will not achieve any great success without Government themselves playing their own part in the campaign..... Conciliation on the part of Government is what is first wanted before any results can be expected in the campaign against the movement. Otherwise, the opponents of non-co-operation must wish and work in vain. Against them are ranged the forces of disappointment and despair. Already there are signs that these desolating influences are at work around us. There are indications that the British connection, which was always an integral part of the policy of Indian nationalism, is about to be foreworn in the new creed of the Congress. Witness the resolutions of the Provincial Committees of that body, which are significant portents of what may come to pass. In other words, Sinn Feinism, with all its resulting evils, is alreaiy looming large in the near future. Surely this is too grave a situation to be viewed with equanimity. It is a condition fraught with harm both to Government and to the people. It is no good shirking the situation through weakness or indifference. It must be met, and the best means of doing so is timely conciliation."

Appeal to the Moderates not to allow themselves to be duped by the authorities.

Hindu (153), 19th Nov.

18. Government has now held out a threat to the non-co-operators that if they did not stop their operations, repressive measures would be taken against them. It is, therefore, likely that Government may resort to repression at any time and Government is quite welcome to do so. Repression will, instead of throttling the movement of non-co-operation, impart fresh vigour to it.

If, however, the idea of Government is to remove unrest, then the best course for it would be to remove the causes of it in consultation with the real leaders of the country. Instead, however, of trying to do away with the causes of the trouble, Government, with a view to create division among the people of the country, has now started humouring and praising the Moderates. It is just this game of divide and rule that Government has all along played which has enabled a handful of foreigners to rule, and rule sternly over a nation of 33 crores of people. We would ask the Moderates whether they have ever been consulted by Government in any public affair relating to the country. Were they consulted by Government when the Rowlatt Act was being passed in the teeth of opposition from the country? Were they consulted when the Martial Law was being proclaimed in the Punjáb, etc., etc.? If not, then surely the present move of Government is inspired by some ulterior motive. The Moderates should, therefore, be not so blind as to get into the trap of Government and go against their own kith and kin.

Mr. Gandhi's ideas as to what Indian Swarajya ought to be.
Young India (14), 8th Dec.

19. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Lord Ronaldshay has been doing me the favour of reading my booklet on Indian Home Rule which is a translation of Hind Swaraj. His Lordship told his audience that if Swaraj meant what I had described it to be in the booklet, the Bengalis would have none of it. I am sorry that Swaraj of the Congress resolution does not mean the Swaraj depicted in the booklet; Swaraj according to the Congress means Swaraj that the people of India want, not what the British Government may condescend to give. In so far as I can see, Swaraj will be a Parliament chosen by the people with the fullest power over the finance, the police, the military, the navy, the courts, and the educational institutions. I am free to confess that the Swaraj I expect to gain within one year, if India responds, will be such Swaraj as will make practically impossible the repetition of the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs, and will enable the nation to do good or evil as it chooses, and not be 'good' at the dictation of an irresponsible, insolent, and godless bureaucracy. Under that Swaraj the nation will have the power to impose a heavy protective tariff on such foreign goods as are capable of being manufactured in India, as also the power to refuse to send a single soldier outside India for the purpose of enslaving the surrounding or remote nationalities. The Swaraj that I dream of will be a possibility only when the nation is free to make its choice both of good and evil. I adhere to all I have said in that booklet, and I would certainly recommend it to the reader. Government over self is the truest Swaraj, it is synonymous with *moksha* or salvation, and I have seen nothing to alter the view that doctors, lawyers, and railways are no help, and are often a hindrance to the one thing worth striving after. But I know that associations with a satanic activity, such as the Government is engaged in, makes even an effort for such freedom a practical impossibility. I cannot see allegiance of God and Satan at the same time."

Government of India's Resolution on non-co-operation.
Hindu (153), 13th Nov.

20. The Viceroy had issued an order calling all sensible men and Moderates to rally round Government and denounce the non-co-operationists. The bureaucracy has called for co-operation and it is regrettable that some of our brethren have swallowed the bait and are contemplating measures to attack the non-co-operationists. Would these men tell us since when the bureaucracy has put trust in them and since when they have regarded it as a well-wisher of the country? They must admit that the non-co-operationists, even though misguided, are well-wishers of the country and that their movement has been inspired by the best of motives. If this is true, there is no reason why any class of people should co-operate with those whose hands are still stained with the blood of innocents and whose hearts are still black with breach of faith and who stand convicted of betrayal of India's trust. However bad the non-co-operationists may be, they cannot be worse than the bureaucracts. However mad and blind Mr. Gandhi may be it must be admitted that he is mad and blind in his love for the motherland and that he is not mad from a sense of power and blind to India's interests to serve the ends of his own people as is the Viceroy. Brothers! reflect a little. Do not ruin the motherland by

yielding to bureaucratic machinations who have always played brothers against brothers to serve their own ends. Will you cause the slaughter of your own kith and kin, following the advice of the bureaucracy?

Comments on the progress of the non-co-operation movement.
New Times (9), 3rd Dec.

21. "Do the critics really believe that non-co-operation is dying? In a recent Government publication against the new movement, the question is seriously asked if non-co-operation succeeds, what will prevent the establishment of a Pathan or Japanese Empire in India? If non-co-operation succeeds! Why—if it succeeds, Government will climb down; there will be peace, reconciliation between the Nation and the State, and India will be strong enough to resist any Pathan or Japanese invasion..... The situation, it must be confessed, is serious and indicates that non-co-operation is anything but a failure..... The measure of the boycott of elections is the measure of the country's resolve to reject the 'Reforms' and demand *swarâj*. A man like Mr. Baptista, the soul of the Labour movement in Bombay, has stood aloof from the Councils because of non-co-operation. Nationalists of the Bengal School and the Tilak School have refused to go to the Councils; what weight could the country attach to the decision of such Councils? Non-co-operation has spread even to the Sikh community..... Students whom political circulars prevent from attending political meetings now listen unafraid to the lectures of Mahatma Gandhi and his comrades, and are even allowed to discuss non-co-operation at their debating societies. And the Vice-Chancellor of the Hindu University, Pandit Malaviya, tells the students frankly that he will have the University train them in *swarâj*! And the Anglo-Indian press praises Pandit Malaviya whom it abused hard before the advent of non-co-operation. The Anglo-Indian is only too anxious to-day to make common cause with Pandit Malaviya, with Mrs. Besant, with the Liberal, with the Moderate, with the National Home Rule Leaguer, with every Indian he can get hold of, if only to organise a powerful combination against the non-co-operator and crush him! Who will say non-co-operation is a failure?"

Exhortations to students to join national schools.
Al-Wahid (151), 19th Nov.

22. Are you aware of the movement afoot now in India which is intended to sweep off the manacles of servitude imposed on the country? Have you ever cared to inquire as to the why and wherefore of the unrest noticeable in every homestead and village? Above all have you considered what is your duty in the present great upheaval and struggle and whether any sacrifice is required of you also in the name of the country? You must have read and heard of things about the Aligarh College, the Khalsa College, the Calcutta Madraseh and other institutions. What is the matter with you that you are still lying idle, unmindful of your duty to your creed and country? Mother India is at this moment entreating you to do your duty to her and Islam is delivering its final message to you. Have you become so dull of sense that you cannot respond to the call of the country? To-day the eyes of our motherland are turned to you. To-day the hopes of the country are centred in you. Will you stand aside and do nothing for the sake of your country and religion? You must be aware that the purpose of education is independence and self-dependence. Education is acquired with a view to freeing the country from its wretched bondage. Have you ever seriously considered whether the education which is nowadays imparted to you and in acquiring which you spend so many years of your lives is calculated to lead you to independence and self-dependence or to still greater servitude? Have those of you whose ambition is to become Mukhtiarkars after graduating so lost your sense of self-respect, through the education given to you, as to see nothing wrong in selling your precious lives for a few coins or notes which will be given you on your wearing the badge of servitude (service)? If the noble blood of your forbears courses through your veins, if you are true sons of your motherland and nation it is your bounden duty to enter the field of non-co-operation in pursuance of the dictates of your religion and country and get yourselves

educated at national schools. Dear young men, be up and doing, the hour has come.

Non-co-operation and the duty of parents.
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

23. The first responsibility of determining what education their children should receive rests with their guardians and they are the persons best authorised to settle it. It is the duty of the children to obey the parents. In the programme of the Tilak Maha Vidyalaya (Poona), students have been asked to produce the guardians' letters of consent, as far as possible. We trust the same wise principle would be followed in the case of other institutions. It is the natural desire of the parents that their children should not remain uneducated and that there should be some arrangements to enable them to receive education by which they would be able to maintain themselves. All the same it must be said that guardians have not realised as vividly as they should their duties in this respect. It is clear from the work undertaken in Aligarh, Gujarát and Poona that nobody has an idea of keeping the students idle. It would have been better if the recent meeting of guardians in Poona had made some constructive proposals. The guardians have not yet felt the pressure of the present political conditions and they are not prepared to undergo the self-sacrifice asked for by the Congress. But they should necessarily bear in mind that they cannot evade the demand of the Congress henceforth for long. Enraged public opinion is able to compel acceptance even now and day by day it will grow stronger. If the guardians do not perform their duty of their own accord and if something happens to them, they will have no room for complaint. Boys should obey their parents, but there is also a limit to this principle. If the family is well-to-do and if the boy is a major and if there are conveniences of receiving national education, we do not see why the children should obey their miserable parents if they come in their way. It is our misfortune that there are not a few such parents at present. In Maháráshtra, formerly, every family had to supply one son for the army. The nation is to-day in the hands of foreigners and it is nearing destruction and if at all it can be preserved, it will be by self-sacrifice. If every family were to dedicate one son for national service a tremendous force will be created and our lost independence will be gained. But we have not yet cast out low selfishness from our mind which wants that our children should not suffer ever so little even if the *watan* of independence be lost. People should give up their suspicious attitude and aid in every way the cause of national education. If the parents take it up, the question of national education will be surely solved and the cause of non-co-operation will succeed. If our unnecessary expenses on mere show are curtailed and if guardians are ready to undergo some sacrifice it is not impossible to give up Government grants. The best persons to agitate are the guardians, and if they move, the conductors of the present institutions will be prepared to give up Government grants and if any remains obdurate, it will not be very difficult to bring him round. It is a little more difficult to disaffiliate institutions. But if parents mean it, it is not impossible. If the parents do not take any constructive measures they should clearly bear in mind that the day of utter destruction will soon dawn.

Hitechhu (68), 28th Nov.

24. Now that the Council elections are over the question of non-co-operation in education should occupy the attention of the people. The people themselves should take up the question of educating their children if they want to get rid of foreign rule and become fit for *Swarajya*. Mr. Gandhi has started a National University at Ahmedabad and many High Schools have given up Government grants in Gujarat. Boys in the Punjáb are leaving Government schools and colleges. It is, therefore, to be regrétted that when the question of non-co-operation in education is agitating the whole of India, very little enthusiasam is seen in the matter in the province of Sind in general and in the city of Karáchi in particular. In these circumstances, we would ask non-co-operationists of Karáchi to direct their attention towards the question.

25. We are afraid those lip-loyal admirers of Mr. Gandhi who see everything good in his personality but everything bad in his movement and who thereby seek to wreck non-co-operation are greater enemies of a peaceful revolution than they care to realise. Either these people think that no good can be achieved except by a bloody revolution or they knowingly play into the hands of the Government which to save its face wants to gather as many Indians to its side as is possible in these troublous times. The resignation of titles and the withdrawal of children from aided schools are not the chief or only planks of the non-co-operation platform. We think that even Government ought to know better than believe the title-holders and the fathers of aided school children to be the only followers of Mr. Gandhi, and that any want of response from these dignitaries is an indication of the response Mr. Gandhi has obtained from the masses. On the other hand, if we read the signs aright, by belittling the titles which their fond owners are still blindly hugging and by belittling the education that is tainted with Government help, Mr. Gandhi has secured the firm and enthusiastic adherence of those millions who as yet have no titles and whose children as yet have not stepped into a school, aided or otherwise. If the aided schools were emptied and title-holders all in a breath renounced their titles, no doubt their complete unanimity would have staggered the world, simple and innocuous though it would have been. But even the fact that there live timid people who dare not descend from their precarious seats on the fence of criticising and who palm off their timidity for political foresight is of the utmost use to Mr. Gandhi who can tell his unsophisticated countrymen how insidiously detrimental these titles and these aided schools are to our country's cause, if they can befool the best of us and lead them astray from their plainest duties.

Comments on the Moderates' attitude towards non-co-operation.
Kánara Leader (38), 7th Dec.

26. The non-co-operators have caused mischief among students. They claim that the parents of students are on their side. This, however, is not borne out by the decisions of the Trustees of the Aligarh and Khalsa Colleges. At the same time the rejection by the Anglo-Arabic school at Delhi of the proposal for non-co-operation is further proof of the hostile attitude of parents. The Aligarh College has for the time being been closed as non-co-operators were at work among students, encouraging them to set at naught the authority of their parents. The non-co-operators imagine that they have greater regard for the welfare of students than their parents themselves. The non-co-operators have so far done next to nothing in the interests of the student community. And students must consider whether they should follow their so-called benefactors or their parents who have as it were dedicated their lives to their well-being. At the same time they must see what is the advice to them of men who have spent their lives in the cause of education. We refer to Lala Hansraj of the D. A. V. College, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Principal Paranjpye and Mrs. Besant. All of them, famous in the annals of education in India, have condemned non-co-operation and their word ought to have greater weight than that of the non-co-operators with the student community.

Mischievous effects of non-co-operation on students.
Sind Vasi (158), 14th Nov.

27. In the course of an article on the caste system, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—"Thus whilst I am prepared to defend, as I have always done, the division of Hindus into four castes, as I have so often said in these columns, I consider untouchability to be a heinous crime against humanity. It is not a sign of self-restraint, but an arrogant assumption of superiority. It has served no useful purpose and it has suppressed, as nothing else in Hinduism has, vast numbers of the human race who are not only every bit

Mr. Gandhi's condemnation of the practice of non-touching the "untouchables".
Young India (14), 8th Dec.

as good as ourselves, but are rendering in many walks of life an essential service to the country. It is a sin of which the sooner Hinduism purges itself, the better it is for itself, if it is to be recognised as an honourable and elevating religion. I know no argument in favour of its retention and I have no hesitation in rejecting scriptural authority of a doubtful character in order to support a sinful institution. Indeed I would reject all authority if it is in conflict with sober reason or the dictates of the heart. Authority sustains and ennobles the weak when it is the hand-work of reason, but it degrades them when it supplants reason sanctified by the still small voice within."

Admission of untouchables in national schools.

Navjivan (72), 5th Dec., *Hindusthán* (24), 10th Dec., *Arya Prakásh* (15), 5th Dec.

28. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—Many people are advising me to boycott the untouchables from the National schools as otherwise the movement for *Swardjya* would prove unsuccesssful. If I possess any trace of the Hindu religion, God will give me the strength to do without the *Swardjya* secured by boycotting the untouchables. I am trying to think out arguments to prove that it is our religious duty not to regard the untouchables as Pariahs. We fail to understand that it is a sin to consider the low caste people as untouchables owing to the influence of a long standing custom. Just as the British Government cannot perceive their own satanic character, some people cannot discern the chain that binds them down in slavery. I consider it my duty to convince such people and to be patient with them. [The *Hindusthán* and the *Arya Prakásh* try to run down the agitation that is being engineered by the Vaishana priests against the admission of untouchables in the National schools and colleges, and they both uphold Mr. Gandhi's decision to admit them and consider it quite in keeping with the spirit of the Hindu religion.]

Mr. Gandhi's views on social boycott in connection with the non-co-operation movement.

Young India (14), 8th Dec.

29. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"It would be totally opposed to the doctrine of non-violence to stop the supply of water and food. This battle of non-co-operation is a programme of propaganda by reducing profession to practice, not one of compelling others to yield obedience by violence direct or indirect. We must try patiently to convert our opponents. If we wish to evolve the spirit of democracy out of slavery, we must be scrupulously exact in our dealings with opponents. We may not replace the slavery of the Government by that of the non-co-operationists. We must concede to our oponents the freedom we claim for ourselves and for which we are fighting. But there is a non-violent boycott which we shall be bound to practice if we are to make any impression. We must not compromise with what we believe to be an untruth, whether it resides in a white skin or a brown. Such boycott is a political boycott. We may not receive favours from the new Councillors. The voters, if they are true to their pledge, will be bound to refrain from making use of the services of those whom they have declined to regard as their representatives. They must ratify their verdict by complete abstention from any encouragement of the so-called representatives. The public will be bound, if they are non-co-operationists, to refrain from giving these representatives any prestige by attending their politital functions or practice. I can convince the possibility of non-violent social ostracism under certain extreme conditions, when a defiant minority refuses to bend to the majority, not out of any regard for principle but from sheer defiance or worse. But that time has certainly not arrived. Ostracism of a violent character such as a denial of the use of public wells is a species of barbarism, which I hope will not be practiced by any body of man having any desire for national self-respect and national uplift. We will free neither Islam nor India by processes of coercion, whether among ourselves or against Englishmen."

30. "Of late we have been receiving lot of correspondence on the question of the 'depressed' classes regarding their untouchability..... Most of our correspondents are full of righteous indignation at the existing disability our downtrodden and suppressed brethren. There are some of them, however, who seem to be working under the hallucination that the Government has been doing all that it possibly can for a genuine uplift of the 'depressed classes'. 'Are not all legal rights secured to them under the *Pax Britannica*, under the ægis of the British Rule?..... Are they not entitled to the same rights and privileges which the proudest amongst us can claim?'—That is their line of argument. Now it is one thing for the law to lay down injunctions, it is another thing for these injunctions to be put into practical operation. And no law can make a people a tithe better, which is either only a pious sentiment or a hoax, or is violated by the authors themselves. The elevation of the so-called 'depressed' classes depends much more upon the actual betterment of their moral and material condition than a *mere* recognition of equal political status. And we would ask our correspondents to tell us by solid facts and figures what the contribution of our 'benign' Government has been to this. What has the Government done for the education of the 'depressed' classes who form one-fifth of the total population of this country? Facts and figures tell us that over 270 millions of the total population of India are illiterate, and hardly (one) 1 per cent. of the literates belong to this unfortunate class..... What has the Government done to educate them out of their habits of uncleanliness, squalor and dirt and insanitation, which are amongst the causes which induce the better classes to keep away from their fallen brethren? What has the Government done to educate them to give up their habit of drink and taking other intoxicating and devitalising, degenerating drugs, which is unfortunately too much ingrained in them. The fanciful figures, numbering over eight digits of income from excise duties quoted elsewhere is the only answer and contribution of the Government!..... The national educational movement inaugurated in accordance with the programme of non-co-operation attempts to fulfill this double mission. It aims at converting this nation of the 'Pariahs of the Empire' into a nation of self-respecting, self-dependent men; it holds as one of the means of reaching this goal, the elevation of 'pariahs' we have created in our midst as equal brothers and partners sharing with us the same right that we claim for ourselves. Untouchability is not a religious or caste injunction..... The Hindu religion preaches equality of men, making difference only according to character and qualities. That is the principle which we understand to be underlying the caste system. Untouchability is advocated with the impure, the wicked and the defiled, and not with the humble born. The non-co-operation movement may consider the satanic Government and its alms as 'untouchable'; but it works for the uplift of the 'depressed' classes as it works for Hindu-Muslim Unity."

Alleged hollowness of the claim that Government have done much for the uplift of the untouchables.
Young India (14), 8th Dec.

31. A correspondent writing in the *Kesari* says that the non-co-operationists should, along with their other activities, take up the question of temperance. In his opinion the movement could be made a successs if, besides impressing upon the people the evil effects of drinking by means of lectures, songs, etc., the Abkári contractors also, who bid at auction sales of liquor shops in defiance of popular will, are subjected to social boycott.

How the non-co-operation movement should be extended to Abkári.
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

32. After describing in poetical terms how the prophet Mahomed was born on the 5th August 570 to regenerate a sinful and gloom-stricken world that was fast in the grip of iniquity and tyranny, the *Al-Wahid* remarks:—For this reason the current month Rabiul Awwal is sacred to Muslims and every Muslim home must to-day observe the Idimilad (*i. e.*, the birthday festival) of the Prophet to the best of its ability. But Ids come and go. It is not enough to have festivals, etc., in celebration of the happy

Exhortations to the Muslim world to start non-co-operation with the infidels.
Al-Wahid (151), 24th Nov.

occasion. On this day we must call to mind the present gloomy situation, the ruin of Islam, and the desolation of the Jaziratul Arab. We must recall to our mind the fact that the edifice of Islam, whose foundation-stone was laid by our holy Prophet who worked so hard and suffered so terribly to raise it to completion, is being razed and trampled under feet. Our Prophet's last will regarding the Jaziratul Arab (being kept clean of non-Muslim element) is being ruthlessly flouted. The holy Mausoleum of our dear Prophet is to-day in the hands of a refractory rebel—an enemy of Islam. Can any faithful heart remain at ease in face of such serious disintegration of the national status of Islam and such hopeless ruin and disruption of its religion structure? Is it not the bounden duty of every true Mussalman to be up and doing, following in the footsteps of the Prophet, with a view to rejuvenate Islam and dissipate elements of irreligion and falsehood? Is it not time for the Muslims to start non-co-operation with the infidels and their supporters and to prove the truth of their devotion to Islam by making up their minds to help the revival of Islam by means of financial and personal sacrifices? The Idimilad annually recurs to remind us of the bold and dauntless incidents of the life of the Prophet. God has promised to help us to cleanse the earth of irreligion and apostacy and to revive the process of progress of Islamists if we once more take to the Prophet's example.

33. Some Government servants were present at a lecture on non-co-operation at Dhiggave (Dhárwár). Their names were reported and the Collector of Dhárwár dismissed one of them—Mr. Narsapur—and suspended for six months two others—Mr. Gambhir and Mr. Havaldar. We are obliged to the Collector for sending one more recruit to join the army of the non-co-operators.

How the non-co-operation movement is getting recruits.
Raj Hansa (88), 7th Dec.

34. Mr. Gandhi and his associates have shown us in non-co-operation an easy, straight and practical way for the uplift of India. But we regret to have to say that certain so-called non-co-operationists do not know how to carry out the programme of non-co-operation and they go even to the length of harassing the people. Non-co-operation teaches the Hindus and Moslems to break with Government altogether. But it is for our readers to see how much success has been achieved in this direction. The Quadrangular cricket matches were played this year as usual. Were not the non-co-operationists aware of the cricket programme? How is it that an enthusiastic non-co-operationist like Mr. Khatri lost sight of this fact? He should not have allowed the Indian teams to play with the English team. It is strange that the Indian teams should have played with the English team when the non-co-operation movement is being loudly advocated. It seems to us that the non-co-operationists preach one thing and practise another.

Indian teams should have been prevented from playing with the English team in the Bombay Quadrangular cricket matches.
Insáf (69), 10th Dec.

35. Mr. S. E. Stokes, an American Missionary settled in India, concludes an article on non-co-operation in the *Bombay Chronicle* as follows:—"To sum up my position upon the present application of the principle of non-co-operation, I feel that in view of our present defencelessness apart from the British, and in view of the thoroughness with which Government has trained the soldiers of the backward but warlike races upon our borders, we should be doing the Motherland a disservice if we succeeded in securing Swaraj at the present juncture. Supposing that the present Government will not yield to Mr. Gandhi's demands for justice in connection with the Punjáb outrages and that the British Imperial Government will not fulfil its pledges to Turkey—neither of which they are likely to do,—it seems to me that the methods by which many of those associated with Mr. Gandhi seek to forward the policy he advocates will lead to results very different from that which the Mahatmaji desires, and consequently that the present application of the principle of non-co-operation is a perilous one and only justified if we can find no other way as efficient and yet fraught with less danger."

Probable results of the non-co-operation propaganda.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Dec.

36. "Every person who has given some thought to the present situation asks with pained surprise 'Whither?' Men who have grown grey in the service of their country, men who have striven their utmost for the uplift and advance of their Motherland, find to their dismay that upstart politicians with the wildest ideas, in their hurry and inexperience, are out to poison and retard the growth of the tree of real progress which they have reared and tended so carefully for long years and which has just begun to fructify. Upon their ability to eradicate this cankerous growth will depend the future well-being of India..... Of all the items of Mr. Gandhi's infamous programme the inroad upon the careers of young students is deserving of the strongest condemnation. Alas, that in order to give a specious show of strength to his discredited movement he should have fallen so low! By the new Reforms India takes a decisive step to responsible Home Rule within the Empire. Indians gain a large measure of power and influence in Provincial administration..... At this most vital stage in the history of a people, the apostles of unrest thrust in the disastrous doctrine of non-co-operation clouding the bright future opening out before the country. Mr. Gandhi and his band of assorted politicians have tried by methods more foul than fair to wreck the Councils. They have employed means which make all right-minded Indians blush with shame and mortification. But despite this campaign of the vilification of Government and of intimidation and vituperation towards the candidates for the Councils which they carried on so assiduously, Mr. Gandhi and his fellow non-co-operators have failed to achieve their object..... If some men whose services would have been useful to the country have held aloof India has to thank Gandhi and his insane propaganda. The non-co-operationists have had to swallow a bitter pill in connection with the councils, and in their chagrin they are continuing the campaign of insult and intimidation against the successful candidates, as is evidenced by their wild and vituperative speeches at Bombay and elsewhere. We appeal to Government to set down a firm foot on this wile propaganda. While we are anxious that Indians should fully avail themselves of the new Reforms, we cannot let pass without reference the deep wrongs suffered by India which have been the cause of much disappointment and bitterness. These wrongs should be redressed and their recurrence and repetition should be made impossible. With this fervent prayer we commend our countrymen to enter upon the new era opened to them by the new Councils with faith and hope, and co-operate with Government to achieve the goal of Home Rule within the Empire."

Political Bhomiyo (74), 3rd Dec., Eng. cols.

37. The *Muslim Herald* reverts to the subject of the prize-distribution ceremony held recently at the Anjuman-i-Islám High School, Bombay, and accuses Mr. Ahmed Siddique Khatri of a predilection for notoriety. It states that the Musalmans of Madanpura refused to hold a meeting for condemning the action of the Anjuman in spite of repeated requests made to them, and regrets that a class of literary hacks are always prepared to publish anything for the sake of lucre. The paper maintains that sensible leaders of the Muslim community have severed their connection with the Central Khilafat Committee since it shelved the Khilafat affair and concentrated on the *swaraj* question, adopting boycott and emigration as a means to its end. Hence it advises the Musalmans not to subscribe towards its funds as they are not meant for furthering the Khilafat cause.

Advice to Muhammadans not to subscribe to the funds of the Central Khilafat Committee.

Muslim Herald (161), 10th Dec.

38. At a meeting the other day Mr. Gandhi told the audience that Government had caused injury to the religion of Musalmans and warned the Hindus that if they did not become careful it would destroy their religion also. We are positively against the present bureaucracy as wanting in justice and humanity. But we must admit that the bureaucracy in India has never interfered with our religion. It is just because of this that the bureaucracy has continued so long. Howsoever bad

Protest against Mr. Gandhi's assertion that Government want to injure the religion of Hindus and Moslems.

Bharatvasi (152), 9th Nov.

the British may be (and several of them are bad), it is an established fact that the British are never enthusiastic in the cause of religion. We are sorry that Mr. Gandhi has dragged religion into politics. We would earnestly request him to keep religion apart from politics in the name of peace and goodwill on earth. Recently Mr. Gandhi asked his countrymen not to celebrate the Devali. We are positively against the non-celebration of the Devali whether in deference to the wishes of Mr. Gandhi or, as some have suggested, by way of mourning over the death of Mr. Tilak. The reasons given by him for the non-observance are surprising indeed. One of these is that the rulers of the country offend against the religions of both Hindus and Muhammadans because they eat beef and pork. This is indeed heart-breaking as coming from Mr. Gandhi. Pork is lawful to Hindus and beef is lawful to Muhammadans. If Hindus eat pork and Muhammadans eat beef, will Government be responsible for this also? Has Mr. Gandhi calculated how much beef is eaten by Englishmen in India who form a very small portion of the population of the country and how much by Mussalmans who number seven crores? We think that arguments such as this will rather create ill-feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans.

Failure of the non-co-operation movement.
Indu Prakásh (45), 8th Dec.

39. The *Indu Prakásh* says that although three months have elapsed since the adoption of the resolution on non-co-operation by the Congress, the movement has made so little progress up to this time that its adherents will not fail to be sorely disappointed. It points out that the Nationalists themselves were not united when the movement was launched and remarks that it thus suffered a set back at the very commencement. It tells the Nationalists that the Legislative bodies will not be any the worse for their abstention since they could achieve nothing tangible even when they were in them. The paper asks the promoters of the movement to recognize their failure and abandon it and devote their lives and energies to the attainment of something substantial.

Non-co-operation is bound to fail unless the right method of working is adopted.
Bharatwásí (152), 21st Nov.

40. Mr. Gandhi has declared that there is now a war of non-violence going on between the Government and the people. He has also expressed an opinion that in this state of war there is no harm if students' education is sacrificed for the sake of political exigencies. We wish to point out that if the state of war exists the General Commanding the forces ought to observe the rules of war to bring it to a successful end, namely (1) He should not allow his battle front to be large. (2) He should see that the enemy is attacked at the weakest point in order to break the line of its forces. (3) He should calculate beforehand whether the offensive or defensive method of warfare should be used. As it is, the General Mr. Gandhi has in carrying on his war of non-violence adopted methods which are quite contrary to the ordinary rules of warfare. For instance (1) Mr. Gandhi has allowed his battle front to remain extensive. Renouncing titles, boycotting schools, giving up practice by pleaders, throwing off Government service, refusing to be enlisted in the police or the army, boycotting foreign goods, refusing to pay taxes, etc., etc., are the items to which energies are to be directed. To achieve success in this direction considerable money and energy are required. It is not possible to devote attention to all these things at one and the same time. (2) The renouncing of titles, the boycott of Courts, the boycott of Councils, etc., etc., are not the weakest point of attacking the Government. The weakest point of attack lies in refusing to pay taxes, but in this direction nothing has as yet been done by the people to embarrass the Government. (3) Mr. Gandhi in his scheme of non-co-operation should have focussed all the forces of the country at a single point with a view to embarrass the British people. The boycott of English goods could alone have done that, provided of course such a boycott had the support of the whole country. Such a boycott would have pinched the British capitalists greatly and would have brought the Government to submission. That was indeed the proper method of offensive attack which Mr. Gandhi has failed to fathom. Other methods like the boycott of courts, schools and colleges, renouncing titles, boycott of railways, Posts and Telegraphs, etc., are mere

child's play which cannot possibly embarrass the Government in carrying on its administration. Such methods on the contrary put the Government on guard which has ample resources at its disposal to meet the situation. If railways, posts and telegraphs are boycotted it is the people who would suffer and not the Government. Of course if the railway lines are broken, or telegraph wires are cut or such other things take place it will seriously affect the Government, but such things are not included in the non-violent non-co-operation advocated by Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Lionel Curtis on the Reforms.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Dec.

41. Commenting on Mr. Lionel Curtis' new book on dyarchy in India, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"Whether it (*i.e.*, dyarchy) succeeds or ends in failure Mr. Curtis' name is bound to be associated with the present reform scheme as much as that of Mr. Montagu himself. In his introduction Mr. Curtis, we are told, lays stress on the great share the Indian Civil Service had in working out the various schemes in which the principle was applied and pays a tribute to the 'spontaneous loyalty' shown by the Service to the cause of a candid enquiry, but those of us who are aware of the way in which the 'Service' has been nagging at all schemes of genuine political advance in this country ever since Lord Ripon's days and the undisguised threat of 'revolt' they held out in the present case—a threat by which they succeeded in getting the scheme finally whittled down to its present ignoble form—will be disposed to think that Mr. Curtis' tribute is rather beside the mark. Side by side with his tribute to the 'spontaneous loyalty' of the Indian Civil Service Mr. Curtis, it will be seen, has some very pertinent, though nasty, things to say of 'a small class' of Europeans in this country. The Dyer episode has painfully revealed the size of this 'small' class, which embraces not only the vast majority of non-official Europeans, but a large number of officials as well. We are obliged to Mr. Curtis for speaking out so frankly regarding the disgraceful conduct of this class, but we are afraid the remedy with which he proposes to stamp out such exhibitions of racialism is hardly an efficacious one..... Such a procedure (*i. e.*, deportation) is hardly calculated to remove the false idea of race-superiority, which is the source of all the mischief that is complained about..... Only when the European is made amenable to the same law and procedure as the Indian, and Indian courts of whatever status are rendered competent to deal with Europeans in the same manner as Indians, will the over-bearing and caddish behaviour of this particular class of Europeans and Anglo-Indians be properly curbed. As to his advice to his Indian friends to throw the whole weight of their influence on the side of 'law and order,' Mr. Curtis may rest assured that there is no human being on earth who loves and respects 'law and order' more than the Indian, but when 'law and order' degenerate into open lawlessness and injustice officially sanctified, no other human being is there who would feel it more poignantly, albeit in private, than the Indian."

The Madras Publicity Bureau and the voting at the recent Council elections.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Dec.

42. "The attempt to minimise the effect of the Non-co-operation movement on polling has landed the Madras Publicity Bureau in a sad blunder, of which those in charge of the Bureau must be heartily ashamed. What is the use of disguising the fact that only a small proportion of the voters exercised their privilege? It may be that in certain centres a larger proportion of votes was recorded than the others, but it would be a piece of deliberate chicanery to tell the world that Mr. Gandhi's movement has been 'a dismal failure' and that there has been very little, if any, effect of it noticeable in the elections. We know what an ignominiously small proportion of voters went to the booths in cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona, Lahore, Amritsar, etc. Even Madras and Calcutta did not record even 50 per cent. of the votes, while, as the Madras Publicity Bnreau admits, in the contested British constituencies 68 per cent. of the voters polled in 1900, 78 per cent. in 1920 and 55 in 1918. The percentage in 1918 was low because a goodly proportion of the voters were abroad fighting the country's battles."

43. "As soon as the elections are completed an attempt must be made to find out the percentage of voters who exercised their right of vote. This can be done only by the Government, though we do not know whether the Government will do it. One view of the matter is that the lack of all interest in the elections is a reflection upon the Government..... It will require no additional work or trouble. The figures are there; for every candidate elected a certain number of votes has been recorded. All that is necessary is to publish a statement in the form of a table or a number of tables, showing the number of votes on the register, the number recorded and the percentage of the recorded votes to the actual number. These figures may be startling, but if they are not published the wildest speculations and surmises will be made; and these are not likely to produce a good effect. We have heard it said of one constituency that only 2 per cent. of the voters recorded their votes. There is no means of checking this statement; it may be right or it may be wrong; we may accept or we may reject it, but the great outstanding fact remains that we are ignorant of the actual facts and figures, and unless it pleases the Government to enlighten us we must continue to be ignorant. ..... It is being asserted with an air of exultations that this marked failure of the franchise and the refusal of an overwhelming majority of the electors to record their votes is due to the irresistible power of the movement of non-co-operation. To be able to deny such a statement it is necessary that we should be in possession of such information as we have indicated above. We have not the slightest doubt ourselves that various other forces have been at work to bring about the apathy and indifference that have been such marked features of the recent elections..... Let us, however, be placed in a position to prove that non-co-operation alone has not restrained the electors from exercising their right, and we can do so only by the help of the Government." [The *Indian Social Reformer* remarks.—"On the whole, we cannot think that the abstention of non-co-operation has materially affected the composition of the Councils; though, no doubt, it is responsible for the absence of a few names of competent publicists from them."]

Government should publish a list giving percentages of the voters who actually voted at various places.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 8th Dec., Eng. cols.; **Indian Social Reformer* (7), 12th Dec.

44. The boycott of Councils has been as successful in Sind as elsewhere. In spite of threats, inducements and various other arts employed to compel the voter to vote, very few votes appear to have been recorded. Most of the men who voted were Government servants, pensioners, Honorary Magistrates, title holders and men who were at the mercy of officials in connection with some thing or another. The more independent classes of the population refused to vote not because of indifference, but because of their adherence to the cause of non-co-operation. It is, therefore, clear that those who have been elected are not representatives of the people. They may be representatives of Government servants and their agents and of men who have no sense of honour and no consciences. They can more appropriately be called Government nominees. When the list of successful candidates has been published we shall be in a position to go into the history of each successful candidate and show whether they had rendered any services to the country or whether they had not spent their lives in the flattery of white officials and in selling their consciences. We shall then leave it to the just to decide whether such traitors who have absolutely no record of public service in the name of religion or of the nation can be elected in contravention of the injunction of Moslem faith by Muslims or in contravention of the injunction of the country by Hindus. It is necessary at the present moment that the nation should speak out and say that the sycophants who have been returned to the Councils are not representatives of the country. For this purpose meetings should be held throughout the country, just in the same way as meetings for the boycott of Councils were held.

Are the elected representatives of the Council true representatives of the country?

Al-Wahid (151), 23rd Nov.

45. The Council elections that have taken place and will take place are against the wishes of the majority of people and not even 10 to 20 per cent. of the voters have taken part in them. Therefore, these Councils are not in the real sense elected, and we have nothing to do with their opening and closing ceremonies. It but follows that the ceremonies held by or in honour of the Duke of Connaught in this connection should be boycotted. It is our duty to observe such a boycott in accordance with the resolution of the Special Congress, and we trust that the people will do so.

The opening ceremonies of the new Councils should be boycotted.
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

46. The Council elections for the Bombay Presidency have been a mere farce. More than eighty per cent. of the voters are reported to have refrained from making use of their vote. The indifference shown by the voters to the elections is the result of the repressive policy of Government. Those who have now been elected can never claim to be the representatives of the people. Mr. Tehemurus Modi, who has been elected from the Surat District, is said to have secured many of his votes by using pressure upon his cultivators and threatening them that the lands given to them for the purpose of cultivation would no more be given to them if they did not record their votes in his favour. Moreover, it is reported that Mr. Modi went round to canvass for votes in the company of Mr. Lalbhai Ambaram, retired Deputy Collector, and secured votes from many of his cultivators by the influence of that gentleman. Retired servants of Government are prohibited from making use of their influence in political matters, and Mr. Lalbhai can be said to have disobeyed Government orders, if there is any truth in the allegations made against him. We would, therefore, ask Mr. Kabraji, the Collector of Surat, to inquire into the matter.

Complaint about the objectionable manner in which a Surat candidate secured votes for the Council elections.
Deshodaya (66), 7th Dec.

47. "Ireland is in a sad way. The murders of British officers have shocked the Englishmen. But these cold-blooded and despicable murders were born of a ruthless policy of reprisals. I have been keenly reading the accounts of these reprisals, and I think Amritsar was rather let off quite easily with a mere Jhallianwalla massacre, considering what the reprisals in Ireland are. Indians should thank their lucky stars that there was no Field-Marshal French in the place of General Dyer. The lesson to be derived from the Irish tangle is that when Englishmen cannot do anything for a country which is so near them, and with which they are allied by marriage ties and common religion, what can they or will they do for India. Moderate friends, please ponder!"

Comments on the situation in Ireland.
New Times (9), 2nd Dec.

48. "One cannot understand if it is the same England which took up the challenge of German militarism in 1919 and sent its tiny expeditionary force against the advancing hoards which now looks callously at all the happenings in Ireland. Matters in the unhappy country are going from bad to worse..... Such a state of things may have its excuses if England is at war with Ireland, but surely no English statesman says this. Why, then, the apathy of the Government and the Houses of Parliament to the travail of Ireland which is subjected to outrages and indignities perpetrated by Germans in Belgium? We have to take several lessons from the course of the modern history of Ireland, specially in this that the British conscience has grown so dull and obtuse as a consequence of British victories that it is not possible for subject countries to rouse it in defence of principles of justice and righteousness. Ireland is not even a subject nation. If she is treated with apathy and indifference, there is no wonder that India does not find any mention of herself in the British Press and that the House of Lords patted Dyer on the back!"

Hindusthán (23), 5th Dec., Eng. cols.

49. "Pravasi", an usual contributor to the *Rdst Goftdr and Praja Mitra*, writes:—Many well-meaning and far sighted people entertain hopes that the Duke of Connaught, when he comes to India to open the new Councils and the Chamber of Princes, will bring a message from the King-Emperor which will give certain pledges and help to restablish the confidence of the people in Government. Our rejoicings will know no bounds if these expectations are realised. But it is likely that the pledges that will be conveyed in the Royal message will meet the same fate at the hands of the bureaucratic officials as the grant of the amnesty given by the King-Emperor to the political prisoners. In that case we shall, for the prerent, have to pin our faith to the success of the agitation for the establishment of *Swarajya* that is being made at present.

Reflections on the Royal Message to be brought by the Duke of Connaught.
Rdst Goftar and Praja Mitra (32), 5th Dec

50. Some of the strikes in Bombay have been ended by compromise; but it is really regrettable that a Government department like the Post Office has not yet been able to solve satisfactorily the problem. The stubborn attitude adopted by Government has not resulted in any good. The postmen are firm in their demands, and it does not at all appear that they will rejoin. The Postal authorities declare that they have made satisfactory arrangements, but it is not likely that things will go on as well as before. The new men engaged by the Post Office have made such a muddle that more inconvenience is caused to the public than before when there were delivery centres. With such men the Postal Department will not assume normal conditions for five years to come. There is only one remedy for the inconveniences caused to the businessmen of Bombay, and that is to satisfy the postmen by a suitable increase in their pay. If the Postal authorities do not see their way to do this, they should settle matters by arbitration with the help of representatives from among the public and the postmen. Further delay is harmful both to the public and the Postal Department. It is necessary to lay aside all considerations of prestige and to end the hardships of the public. There is a limit to human patience and the public are disgusted with this affair. The present state of things does not reflect any credit on the able officers of the Department.

The Bombay Postal strike.
Hindustdn (24), 6th Dec.

51. "We are not concerned with the quarrel between the Postal authorities and their employees, nor with any point of pride which may be in it. We are concerned with the duty of the Postal authorities towards the Indian public. That duty is to provide a decent postal service. They have failed to do so for the last three months, and, so far as we can see, there is no probability of their doing so for as many months to come. Their failure has reduced a number of the smaller Indian merchants to the verge of bankruptcy, and has very seriously affected the good name and credit of Bombay in foreign countries. It is no use saying that they cannot go beyond the provisions of this or that inquiry; or that they are really making very heroic efforts *in camera* to overcome all difficulties. We are concerned with the public aspect of the matter..... Their ultimatum to the strikers, based upon a point of bureaucratic pride, as if there were no general public in the case at all, and as if they were the absolute masters of the situation, is a piece of arrogance upon the part of public servants which would not be tolerated, we believe, in any other country in the world. ..... Let the Postal authorities give up talking nonsense and indulging in heroic struggles out of sight and give a decent Postal service to the Indian public of Bombay. The cost, whatever it may be, of restoration cannot be anything like the heavy cost which is imposed upon the Indian public daily by the present insecurity and delay in the means of communication."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Dec.

52. "We think the Government's position taken up in this particular case is scarcely tenable or just. The Government seem to hold to the view that after the recent

Sdnj Vartdman (33), 4th Dec., Eng. cols.

increase given to the postmen all doors of complaint were closed for ever. They evidently seem to forget—as we have repeatedly pointed out before—that what was good enough yesterday is scarcely good to-day, or that the living wage of yesterday may be and is barely sufficient to keep one's body and soul together to-day. They seem to have forgotten that circumstances alter cases and that the present circumstances are such that one single rule cannot justifiably be applied to all cases. In short, the public strongly believe that the postmen have a case which, under the present special circumstances, ought to be specially dealt with. To their infinite credit let it be said that during all these days when they have been on strike they have behaved well with exemplary patience. Side by side with the patience of these men, the patience of the public is above all praise. In spite of countless worries, the public have suffered with rare resignation; and we think the time has now arrived when the Government must come down from their hobby horse of prestige, and try to put an end to the present most awkward situation."

Postal deposits should be withdrawn in retaliation for Government's attitude towards the Postal strikers.
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

53. The Bombay Postal strike still continues because the authorities are unbending. But the officials should bear in mind that the postmen also will not be less stiff as their cause is wholly just. We understand that the postmen have decided not to give in until their demands are fully conceded, whatever happens. They have fortunately got a leader like Mr. Baptista. While letters containing covert threats of assaulting Mr. Baptista are published in the *Times of India*, he is engaged in starting the messengers' service and bringing the Postal Department down. Government have met their equal. People should rush in aid of the postmen. It is not a question of the postmen alone. Many classes of Government servants on low pay are waiting for the result of the strike, and the postmen's strike will solve the question for them. But should not Government suffer in some way for doing injustice to their faithful and hardworking servants and for causing loss to lakhs of Bombay citizens and thousands of merchants? One way is to boycott Postal Saving Banks. Why should people deposit their money in post offices and allow Governnent to use 15 to 20 crores at a low rate of interest when the Postal officials dismiss their honest servants for the grave fault of asking for sufficient food? There will be no self-sacrifice in enforcing this boycott, for hundreds of new industries are in need of capital and if money is engaged therein, more than 3 per cent. will be earned. It is necessary to give tit for tat in return for the injustice done by the Postal officials to their servants. Should we not be ready to do even such a simple thing in order to express sympathy for the postmen?

How Government should exercise control over export of foodstuffs.
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

54. The *Kesari* is for maintaining control at least on foodstuffs and coal, and it says that as there are signs of famine, it would be suicidal to remove it tell the danger of famine is over. It continues:—What are we to say when Government maintain the control, turn traders, send wheat to foreign countries and earn profit? Control is meant for stopping export and not for Government getting money. It is sheer injustice and favouritism that Government should do this work and select agents who are in their favour and make them partners in profit. Government should only set a limit on the quantity of export. They should not interfere with those who export within the limit laid down. Government have declared that they would maintain the wheat control till the end of March. About rice, however, no such assurance has been given. We hope that before giving it Government will not forget the growing famine conditions in the country. Import of rice into India from Burma is now freely allowed and is expected to produce a welcome effect on the price of rice. If, however, Government throw open the door of export of rice to foreign countries at this time it will have immediately an adverse effect.

The present Governor of the Punjáb no better than the last one.
Lokashahi (119), 6th Dec.

55. Sir Edward MacLagan is apparently following in the footsteps of his predecessor. O'Dwyer resorted to repression and proved conclusively that he was a demon. MacLagan also by his utterances in the Punjáb Legislative Council has shown that he is capable of imitating him. O'Dwyer loved repression and MacLagan loves it too. The only difference is that

whereas O'Dwyer could gratify his desire, MacLagan has not had an opportunity of doing so. [The paper then refers to Sir Edward MacLagan's remark that the elections were a success.] How very false this statement is! Lala Lajpatrai has duly exposed the hollowness of the Lieut.-Governor's claim. We wonder when the white officials will realise that they can no longer govern India with blind confidence in their own wisdom and that the people are sure to pull them by the ear if they are guilty even of the least impropriety.

Comments on the action of the Punjáb Government in prohibiting a Home Rule Conference at Jallianwalla Bagh.
Hindu (153), 20th Nov.

56. Why do they not allow a Home Rule Conference to be held at the Jallianwalla Bagh? Why do the officials prevent the holding of a meeting there? Guilty conscience is biting them. It was at Jallianwala Bagh that the officials had murdered innocent men and the blood of babies had flown in torrents. The memory of the frightful sights is oppressive to them. How can they bear to see the people holding meetings which would only serve to remind the officials of their sins? It is with a view to hide their sins that they resort to such arbitrary measures. They would not have issued such strange orders if they had not been guilty of murders. Let them prevent the holding of Conferences and meetings, but the Jallianwalla massacres connot possibly be forgotten by the people. They cannot forget them so long as a blood-drop of mother India runs in their veins. The dark blot on the British administration must remain so long as the guilty officers are not duly punished with a view to do justice to India.

The alleged outrages in the Champaran District (Bihar).
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

57. Referring to the alleged outrages in the Champaran District (Bihar), the *Kesari* says:—We cannot all of a sudden even believe it. But the news has been afloat for the last two weeks and Government do not deny it and do not offer any explanation. Therefore, a doubt arises that there may be something at the bottom. About 15 telegrams were sent by Bihar correspondents to various places, but the Telegraph Department suppressed them. Government have the right to do so in order that false news may not spread and cause discontent, but Government should make at the same time a statement about the real situation. Mahatma Gandhi has gone there to make an inquiry and it is not possible now to hide the true state of affairs. Should not the officials called Directors of Information receiving two thousand each and appointed to give information have explained matters in time?

Alleged high-handedness of European officers in India.
Bombay Chronicle (2), 12th Dec.

*58. "Atropos" in the *Bombay Chronicle* (Sunday Edition) mentions an incident in which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales while in Australia being stopped from passing through a gate by the man in charge quickly took a round about way, and remarks:—"One wonders what would have happened to an Indian gate-keeper if, an Ayah, in the employment of a European magistrate in a mofussil town, was refused permission to go through a particular road with the baby in a perambulator? The Indian gate-keeper would have been soundly horse-whipped or even might have had a fatal kick on his enlarged spleen, the owner would have been sent for, humiliated before all the menials of the household and even might have been asked to compensate the Ayah for insult and to sack the poor gate-keeper. Such are the ways of the thundering jehovas of Indian bureaucracy in hand whose the children of the soil are treated as interlopers."

The bureaucrats distrust the Moderates.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 10th Dec.

59. Sir Frank Beaman, after retiring from the Indian Civil Service has contributed an article to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in which among other things it is remarked:—"Moderates and principal Extremists differ only in courage and candour: not in principle. Their common ground is dilslike of being governed, and hatred of the white domination. This is quite natural, but let it be clearly understood. Its logical conclusion is separation and overthrow of British rule." What will be the effect of such misrepresentation on the part of an Indian Civilian with forty years of experience in India, on the people of England among whom stark ignorance about India prevails? What can the entreaties of the Moderates secure for India from the officials who are so

distrustful of them? We make a present of the above quoted views of Sir Frank Beaman to the Moderates and ask them to ponder over them.

Protest against Government acquiring lands under the Land Acquisition Act and handing them over to companies.
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

60. The Land Acquisition Act is an instance of Government misusing openly an Act passed on the ground of public good. The Act has been perverted and Government are compulsorily acquiring thousands of acres belonging to rayats for low prices and handing them over to the Belapur Syndicate in Ahmednagar District, the Tata Company in Poona District and the Khopoli Land Company in the Kolába District. Before the proper price of the lands thus acquired is paid to the owner, the servants of the Companies enter the lands, cause damage and if the owner raises objection, threaten him with the rifle! Even if these violent proceedings may be set aside as exceptional, it is quite reprehensible that Government should by force of law acquire the land for low prices and give to the Companies an opportunity of selling the same again for a higher price and getting the middleman's profits. But Government are behaving towards the rayats in this manner in connection with the Khopoli Land Company. This company is to acquire in Devabad, Chincholi, Adosi, Varosi and seventeen other villages two thousand acres and it is to sell it to different colour and leather manufacturers for such prices as it can get. Why should Government assist the Khopoli Land Company to get brokerage and ruin the rayats? When the manufacturers will come forward, then if Government see it fit to assist them, it may. But in anticipation of manufacturers turning up in 25 years' time, why should the rights of the rayats be altogether destroyed? Is this justice or pure violence? The wise Collector of Kolába writes in reply that though the Company would buy the lands now, the rayats will be entertained as rayats till the factories are set up. Is this not absurd advice? When the manufacturer is prepared to start his factory he will buy the land at the current price. What is the use of ruining the rayats now and destroying their rights of ownership and converting them into tenants-at-all? What will Government gain by committing such patent injustice and getting in return the discontent of the rayats?

Appeal to Government to release the Savarkar Brothers.
Gujarâti Punch (21), 5th Dec., Eng. cols.

61. "The publication by the *Bengalee* of an interview with Dr. Savarkar, the youngest brother of the deported Savarkar brothers who recently went to the Andamans, and obtained a first hand knowledge of their political views, once more brings to the forefront the sad case of the Savarkar brothers. It is sad to think that the case of Savarkar brothers was not thought fit to be dealt with under the Royal Proclamation, although the latter, issued for the sole purpose of facilitating the task of 'obliterating all bitterness' between the different classes of His Majesty's Indian subjects, did not lay down any definite instructions which can, by any stretch of the imagination, be so construed as to stand in the way of its application to it. The Savarkar brothers have volunteered the very same confession of a change of political views and the undesirability of extreme or violent methods—a confession which has brought liberty to many an unfortunate ex-detenu, and we fail to understand what stands in the way of their release. The Royal Proclamation definitely lays down that let those who, in their zeal for political reform, broke the law in the past respect it in the future, and if the Savarkar brothers show their willingness to respect the law of the land in their future life, we believe they ought to be given a chance of doing it..... Will the Government of India take this opportunity to prove by action rather than words that they are anxious to maintain the liberty of person of those who do not advocate violent methods of political agitation? Even apart from that the fact that the eldest brother, Mr. G. D. Savarkar, has been a victim to tuberculosis and stands in danger of losing his life unless he is restored to liberty is an additional reason why the Government of India should put an end to its wrath towards the Savarkar brothers. Will, then, the Government show by practical example that they are not above all considerations of humanity?"

62. When poor Muhammadans go to certain Moslem J. P.'s. to get their signatures on their passports, these J. P.'s. who have not resigned their J. P. ships tell them that they have either resigned their J. P.ships or promised the Khilafat Committee that they would do so and that they are, therefore, not in a position to affix their signatures to the passports presented before them. These J. P.'s. thus add to the hardships of Moslem travellers by their lies. What should be done to bring them to their senses? Why does not some one expose them? Why do not these cowardly J. P.'s. resign their J. P.ships and join the Khilafat Committee? May God save Islam from such false and cunning people!

Complaint about Muhammadan J. P.'s. of Bombay.
Insáf (69), 10th Dec.

63. In the course of a long article contributed to *Young India* in which he tries to show how the existence of the British Government has adversely affected mass education in India, Mr. Daulat Ram Gupta writes:—"It is generally believed that from the time the British Government have taken in their hands the duty of educating the people of India, in accordance with the Parliamentary despatch of 1854, the country has made remarkable progress in education, in so far as the number of schools, the number of scholars, and the standard of education are concerned. It will be my business to prove, that we have made no such progress in these respects—a fact which will be startling to some and a revelation to others—and in so far as our mass education is concerned, we have certainly made a downward move since India has passed to the British Crown..... In a period of 37 years the Government has done nothing whatsoever for mass education. In a period less than this, England was able to educate the whole of its population; in a period considerably less than this America could give education to a population without any records of civilization or intellectual stamina; and in a period equal to this, Japan was able to work out its destiny. But such is the way of doing things in India, that during all this time, nothing was done except to shift schools from one place to another, to shift the expenses of education from one source to another, to shift the responsibility from man to man; in fact to make shifts as best as could be done."

Alleged adverse effect of the British Government on mass education in India.
Young India (14), 8th Dec.

***64.** Referring to the Government of India's communiques on the subject of the despatch of a friendly mission to the Dalai Lama of Tibet, the *Gujaráti* remarks:—"It is difficult to understand why the Dalai Lama should have become so suddenly inspired with such a feeling of friendship and admiration for British officers that he should feel impelled to request the Indian Government on several occasions to depute one of them to pay a friendly visit to Lhasa. The genesis of this mysterious correspondence is and must remain unknown to the public. Who initiated it, how and when? We should further like to know the total number of the members of whom the party is composed. Evidently the Indian Government will have to pay the expenses of this peaceful diplomatic mission. But for our part we feel very sceptical as to the absolute accuracy of the statement in the communique that it was the Dalai Lama and his Ministers that were anxious to receive a British officer as their guest in the absence of any reason whatsoever and in complete forgetfulness of the aggressive performance of Lord Curzon's Government..... Besides the Tibetans are naturally suspicious of foreigners and especially of the British who had once invaded their territory for no substantial reasons. Is the secret object of this Mission, which, we strongly suspect, was self-invited, to conclude some commercial or political treaty to enable British traders and manufacturers to find an outlet fof their goods and thus pave the way for the increase of British influence in Tibet with all the usual political complications so familiar to the students of Indian history? The correspondence that preceded the so-called voluntary invitation by the Dalai Lama will never he placed before the Indian public. But they are in no way concerned in the affairs of Tibet, and there is absolutely no reason why India

Comments on the despatch by the Government of India of a friendly mission to the Dalai Lama of Tibet.
Gujaráti (19), 12th Dec., Eng. cols.

should at this hour be called upon to spend a few lakhs upon this friendly, but very mysterious deputation, which will, of course, be expected to present costly Nazaranas and receive them in return as a matter of social and political courtesy. Nothing will ever be known to the public about them. We must enter our most emphatic protest against the sending of this friendly but what might prove one day a meddlesome mission in the absence of fuller reasons in justification of what looks like a positive waste of the tax-payer's money in the interests of some imperial objects unknown to the Indian public."

Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's speech at the State Banquet at Bikaner.

Hindusthán (23) 5th Dec., Eng. cols.

65. Commenting on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's speech at the State Banquet at Bikaner, the *Hindusthán* remarks :—"His Excellency observes : 'One looks too often in vain for the sanity of judgment required for true leadership.' We have heard of a man looking for a mote in the eyes of a neighbour when he has a beam in his own eye..... In our humble opinion 'Sanity of judgment' is impossible before Jhallianwalla and before the wrongs of the Khilafat. Perhaps it was just because His Excellency has this 'Sanity of judgment' to a superior extent than ordinary mortals that he stayed away in the cool and salubrious atmosphere of Simla while the Punjáb tragedy was being enacted on the plains. It is this same 'Sanity' which has kept him holding tight to his official duties in this country which has unanimously asked for his recall. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, finding everywhere a sullen and non-co-operating India, comforts himself with the delusion that rulers of Indian States will take their place as natural leaders of people. This is not the first time that an effort is made to bring about an undue interference from rulers of Indian States in the affairs of British India. In fact in the time of Lord Minto there was a serious proposal to have a Council of notables, but public opposition was so great to this idea that it had to be dropped. Notwithstanding popular opposition, British bureaucrats cast their eyes longingly always at the co-operation of Indian princes in British Indian affairs thinking that their influence will bring about a reconciliation of Indian people to the follies and foibles of British rule. The opposition to such an idea has not lessened but has increased to an intensity. Indian princes have no claim to be considered as natural leaders of Indian people. It is by this time sufficiently known who are the natural leaders and who are not. His Excellency's speech is full of pharisaical demands for self-sacrifice and devotion on the part of Indians when his government has chosen to stand aloof from us..... Does His Excellency remember the Delhi Conference held at a time when the German guns were booming near Paris and does he also remember that all the Indian people were implored to give their highest and best to the protection of the British Empire? Does he also remember the events which transpired after the declaration of the armistice, which was brought about to no small extent by the efforts of the Indian people and the Indian armies? Has he so soon forgotten the Rowlatt Act forced through the Councils in the teeth of opposition from all the representatives of India, whether Moderates or Extremists? Is his memory so short that he has forgotten the bloody tragedy of Jhallianwalla? From whom does he want that devotion and self sacrifice which the war had called forth? From the countrymen of the people butchered at Jhallianwalla whose blood still lies unavenged? Let the Government of India first make reparation, first restore to us that self-respect of which, they robbed us in the Punjáb, and then talk about the Indian people not showing devotion and self-sacrifice."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 6th Dec., Eng. cols.

66. "On reading the speech of Lord Chelmsford in reply to His Highness the Mahárájáh of Bikaner's speech, proposing the health of His Excellency and other distinguished guests, we were vividly reminded of the fable of the kettle and the pot..... With all due respect, we are constrained to say that Lord Chelmsford would be consulting his high dignity if during his remaining sojourn in this country he refrained from expatiating on the present political situation in India. His hands in the creating of the present situation are not so free, that he, living as he does in

a glass house, should indulge in the pastime of throwing stones at others, or that his administrative record so clean that he could afford to jeer at the black colour of the pot..... We have always noticed that while speaking on the existing political situation in India, His Excellency always ascribes it to the aftermath of the last war and completely ignores the disappointing part that his Government played in greatly intensifying the result due to the war..... His Lordship wants us to infer that during the war-time there was internal discord which was the result of war and which has been much intensified since the war ceased. We beg to state that this is a perversion of facts and a distinct falsifying of history. Whatever may have been the case elsewhere, it is a positive fact that during the war-time, not only was there no internal discord in the country, but on the contrary the whole of India was united heart and soul to render the greatest possible services to the King and the Empire in bringing the war to a successful conclusion.. ..... Wise statesmanship in India was at a discount and the tide of goodwill came and flowed back neglected and unutilised, never to come back again. History will justly point the finger of blame towards Lord Chelmsford's Government for missing the golden opportunity—who gave the people stones when they wanted bread, and who rewarded India for her unique services by the gift of the Rowlatt Act, the Martial Law, the Indemnity Act, etc., etc. No one denies for a single moment that the after-war economic condition of the country was gloomy in the extreme, but most positively it was by no manner of means so gloomy that it might not have been weathered safely by goodwill, tact and sound judgment. Lord Chelmsford deplores in his speech that there is no lack of patriotic enthusiasm among the champions of Indian progress; but one looks too often in vain for the sanity of judgment required for true leadership. Shall we ask with all due respect, 'Was there sanity of judgment and true leadership at the helm of Indian Administration when the need for both was so badly felt during the last years of the war and after? ..... If 'the art of Government requires to be learnt', we are afraid His Excellency must have learnt his art at a very bad school and under bad teachers, otherwise he would not have thrown the country into its present condition of extreme discontent and chaos."

***67.** An anonymous correspondent writes to the *Mahrátta*:—"There are no two opinions in the country about the merits of the Chelmsford administration. All responsible and recognised politicians have expressed nothing but unqualified disgust, Babu Surrender not alone excepted who in a recent speech at the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council certainly out-Montagued Mr. Montagu himself in the lavish praise he bestowed on Lord Chelmsford and his administration..... What then is Bombay going to do when Lord Chelmsford would be coming there at the time of leaving the shores of India next March? In his recent tour His Lordship visited a number of towns and cities possessing either Municipalities or local boards; and almost all of them have shown the moral courage of refusing to present any address to his Lordship. Will the Bombay Corporation follow the lead? One expects that there can be no two answers to the above question; for Bombay prides itself on being the premier city, and its Corporation on being the most efficient one, in the whole of India. But the record and achievements of the present Corporation are hardly likely to silence our apprehensions in the matter..... The recent mendicant expedition to Government for the loan of an officer for the post of the Deputy Commissioner shows that the Corporation is ante-diluvian and hardly feels the pulse of the nation. Under these circumstances, it is very probable that the Corporation will disgrace itself and the city it is supposed to represent, by stopping to present an address to Lord Chelmsford, who possesses the enviable qualification of being the first Viceroy to have his recall universally demanded by the country. The duty of the citizens of Bombay at this juncture is, therefore, as clear as day-light. They must bring to bear maximum possible moral pressure upon the Corporation. Every week, if not every day, meetings must be held in every nook and corner of the city calling upon the City Fathers to refrain from presenting an address to Lord Chelmsford..... Awake, then, ye citizens of

The public should force the Bombay Corporation not to give an address to Lord Chelmsford on his departure from India.
Mahrátta (8), 12th Dec.

Bombay! Arise! agitate! or be for ever fallen and disgraced! Consider only for a moment what the rest of India will think of you if your Corporation presents an address to Lord Chelmsford, and do your duty resolutely and fearlessly."

Who should be the next Viceroy?
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

68. Nobody seems to be anxious to become the Viceroy of India. Last week, three names were put forward, *viz.*, those of Lord Carmichael, Lord Willingdon and Sir George Lloyd. Of the three Lord Carmichael would be the best, but he does not appear to be strong enough to control high-handed civilians. It was thought that Sir George Lloyd had something in him. But he also became a puppet in the hands of Messrs. Carmichael, Curtis and Cadell. Lord Willingdon has been fully exposed by Mr. Horniman, and it would be an unbearable insult to appoint him as Viceroy. Now Mr. Churchill's name is suggested. In these circumstances the Ministry should make a wise choice. Really speaking the people of India need not bother themselves as to who is coming out as Viceroy. But it is better that the non-co-operation programme should be allowed to run its course smoothly than otherwise. If the British Ministry does not approve, if it wants to try India's mettle, and if it has the courage to do so, let it send out Dyer or O'Dwyer as Viceroy.

Lokashahi (119), 29th Nov.

69. Mr. Lloyd George was once considered to be a very far-sighted statesman. He has become old now and has begun to make bad mistakes owing perhaps to senility. It was he who insisted upon the destruction of Turkey and he alone is responsible for the present Irish situation. Under the Home Rule Bill before Parliament he proposes to give very little real power to the Irish. Mr. Lloyd George's expectation that he can pacify the Irish by this most inadequate measure can only be explained by the fact that he has now become senile. We have no doubt that this failing will also be in evidence when he makes an appointment to the Indian Viceroyalty. He and his cabinet should, however, bear well in mind that Indians will no longer be cowed down by the hollow threats of any Viceroy that may be sent. [Writing elsewhere, the paper refers to the report that Lord Willingdon may be the next Viceroy and remarks that the Ministry cannot make a worse choice in view of the intense unpopularity which he has earned by his highhanded administration both in Bombay and Madras. It declares that if he is appointed Viceroy it would be adding fuel to the fire of the present commotion in the country. It remarks that as a matter of fact no one, in the present days of non-co-operation, would care to see who came as Viceroy, but it is constrained to write thus as it entertains the highest love, loyalty and respect for His Majesty the King-Emperor, and as it does not wish to see the British Empire robbed of its brightest ornament, *i.e.*, India.

The new scheme about the recruitment of the I. C. S.
Servant of India (10), 9th Dec.

70. "The decisions of the Government in regard to the future recruitment of the I. C. S. are published. They will not give satisfaction to the people. Government has given no heed to public opinion as expressed in the Viceroy's Legislative Council in 1917, when popular representatives indicated the action which they desired Government to take on the Public Services Commission's recommendations. The view was strongly pressed at the time that nothing short of instituting Simultaneous examinations in India and in England will meet the needs of the situation..... This demand is by no means exorbitant, for with full self-government the entire Civil Service will be recruited in India. But if Simultaneous examinations cannot be set up, Indian members in the Viceroy's Council pleaded that the proportion of Indian recruits should be fixed at least at fifty per cent..... The present decision of the Government will therefore cause intense dissatisfaction throughout India. Again, the principle of nomination with a view to obtaining a due representation of communities and provinces in the services is repudiated by all thoughtful Indians, and yet, in spite of the adverse opinion expressed on the matter, Government have not only adopted it, but extended its use. For the Commission had recommended that out

of the nine posts for which direct recruitment was to take place in India seven should be thrown open to competition and two should be filled by nomination; which means 22 per cent. But now Government has decided that 33 per cent. of the posts open to direct recruitment should be filled, if necessary, by nomination. The strongest possible objection must be taken to this decision. We recognise that it is necessary to give representation to communities in the lower services, but the highest service in the country must be kept sacred from the inroads of this vicious principle."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 12th Dec.

*71. "The orders issued by the Government of India on the recommendations of the Public Services Commission regarding the larger admission of Indians in the Service paradoxically styled Indian Civil, are disappointing. The proportion of 33 per cent. rising by 1½ per cent. annually for ten years to a maximum of 48 per cent. of the total number of appointments in the Service, follows the proposal of the Montagu Chelmsford report on Constitutional reforms and is an improvement on the Commission's recommendation..... In our opinion the least that would be acceptable will be 50 per cent. at once to be worked up in ten years to the complete Indianization of the Service by the progressive decrease of recruitment in England. After ten years no one who is not domiciled in this country should be eligible for appointment, except under special circumstances. The retaining of the present age-limit, 21 to 23, instead of the ridiculous one proposed by the Commission, 17 to 19, is satisfactory. We approve of the decision to hold a separate examination in India and not the same examination as in London, for the reason, among others, that the latter which is adapted to, if not based upon, the courses of the two great English Universites, will seriously interfere with the evolution of Indian Universities on lines demanded by Indian needs and conditions. The aim should now be to make the Indian examination the principal door, and the English examination, a subsidiary one, to the Service, with a view to the eventual closing of the latter."

Dnyán Prakásh (18), 10th Dec.

72. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that the resolution of the Government of India will not give satisfaction to the people. It contends that even if it was not possible to hold simultaneous examinations in England and India it should have been laid down that at least 50 per cent. of the appointments should go to Indians. The paper also takes exception to the acceptance by Government of the principle of nomination with a view to secure representation in the service of the various communities in India as, in its opinion, the principle of communal representation should never be allowed to find a place in the recruitment of the higher services.]

Appeal to the Bombay Government to improve the salaries of the low-paid Karkuns.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Dec.

73. "The Government, in their Resolution No. 438, dated 25th June 1920, sanctioned the lowest pay of Rs. 40 instead of Rs. 60 asked for by the Karkuns with effect from April last. Seven long months have passed since then and these hardpressed and loyal servants of the Government are still wondering why their benign masters have not yet been pleased to give effect to it. Naturally after a long and dreary wait, overcome by despondency that nothing was being done to relieve them from the pressure of their ever-growing debts, they began to give vent to their feelings through their associations..... But, as is their wont, the bureaucrats smelt sedition and insubordination in this humble petition of theirs, and in a circular (of which we hold a copy) Mr. P. R. Cadell, the late Commissioner of the Northern Division, took serious exception to the 'meetings of the so-called Karkuns' Brotherhood..... held in each district at which resolutions were passed making *extravagant* (italics ours) demands. In the same circular the worthy official also directed all Sub-divisional and Taluka officers 'to warn their establishments that participation in such demands, made jointly in an unreasonable manner and supported by threats, amounts to insubordination, and that subordinatas taking a personal share in the passing of such resolutions will be regarded as having

disobeyed the Rules laid down for the conduct of Public Servants'. We are surprised that an experienced official like Mr. Cadell, the late Director of Civil Supplies, fully conversant with the existing economic conditions of the country, as also the growing market-rates of food-stuffs, could be so led away by the vision of supposed insubordination, when his distinct duty, as a public servant, was to remove the just grievances of these unhappy karkuns. Bureaucratic blindness to the needs and susceptibilities of Indians is notorious, but we thought that with the dawn of the new era of Reforms these irresponsible *ma-baps* would take a more sympathetic view of the requirements of the underpaid and underfed honest servants of Government..... Are we to believe that the Government of Sir George Lloyd, after these startling revelations, will still turn a deaf ear to the representations of these unfortunate people? While the members of the higher services of Government are ever ready to be fed fatter in spite of their already bulky pay, are the voiceless karkuns to suffer silently and see their dear and young ones famished and naked, dying the slow death of starvation? This want of feeling of humanity in the Administration is the most besetting sin of present-day civilization, and we have every hope that the Government of Sir George Lloyd will take early steps to improve the lot of these unhappy people."

Low paid employes of Government should strike work.
Prakásh (128), 1st Dec.

74. A correspondent writing in the *Prakásh* advises low-paid employes of Government, such as clerks, peons, etc., to strike work for better pay. He draws attention to the disparity between the salaries paid to Indian employes and the white officials of Government and remarks that whereas the whole of the work is done by the former the latter only exercise supervision and affix their signatures to papers submitted to them by their Indian subordinates. The writer exhorts the patriotic Indians to raise a fund for the benefit of those who thus go on strike and declares that if the strike movement is made general the attainment of *swarajya* will not be long delayed.

A protest against supply of canal water to sugar-cane growing concerns in the Ahmednagar District.
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

75. A correspondent writing in *Kesari* points out that canals in the Ahmednagar District were originally constructed with the avowed object of mitigating the conditions resulting from frequent famines. He, therefore, questions the wisdom as well as the legality of the action of Government in undertaking to supply canal water to sugar-cane growing concerns instead of reserving it exclusively for the use of the rayats who grow food grains. In his opinion the present extensive sugar-cane growing in the district is an indirect invitation to famine. The writer refers to the famine year 1911-12, when, according to him, Government had instructed their officers to encourage the people to grow food-grains instead of cotton, and it asks why they follow a different policy now and supply canal water for growing sugar-cane to the detriment of corn-growers.

Necessity of Government's spending more on canals than on Railways.
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

76. The *Kesari* deprecates the building of more Railways as suggested by the Punjab Chamber of Commerce and says:— The rayats are suffering indescribable losses and there is also a terrible loss of cattle on account of the annual famines. It is unpardonable that while not even 5 to 7 crores are spent on canals, 25 to 30 crores should be spent on Railways. The idea of the Nira Right Bank Canal was first started in 1876 and it is not still constructed and a network of Railways is spread all over the country, useful in carrying raw goods to England. It is clear from this, on what principle and for whose benefit, the administration of India is carried on.

Government's plan for free gift of *betta* lands to agriculturists in Kánara.
Kánara Leader (38), 30th Dec.

77. Mr. Collins, the special Forest Settlement Officer, is reported to be busy in Ankola Taluka (Kánara) making enquiries about the whereabouts of the ryots and of their needs and requirements. The ryots are returning the compliment by enquiring about Mr. Collin's whereabouts,—(since he is paying flying visits between Ankola and Kárwár)—and also about the extent of Mr. Collin's powers. The people want to know if he is authorise

of the nine posts for which direct recruitment was to take place in India seven should be thrown open to competition and two should be filled by nomination; which means 22 per cent. But now Government has decided that 33 per cent. of the posts open to direct recruitment should be filled, if necessary, by nomination. The strongest possible objection must be taken to this decision. We recognise that it is necessary to give representation to communities in the lower services, but the highest service in the country must be kept sacred from the inroads of this vicious principle."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 12th Dec.

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Dnyán Prakásh (18), 10th Dec.

72. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that the resolution of the Government of India will not give satisfaction to the people. It contends that even if it was not possible to hold simultaneous examinations in England and India it should have been laid down that at least 50 per cent. of the appointments should go to Indians. The paper also takes exception to the acceptance by Government of the principle of nomination with a view to secure representation in the service of the various communities in India as, in its opinion, the principle of communal representation should never be allowed to find a place in the recruitment of the higher services.]

Appeal to the Bombay Government to improve the salaries of the low-paid Karkuns.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Dec.

73. "The Government, in their Resolution No. 438, dated 25th June 1920, sanctioned the lowest pay of Rs. 40 instead of Rs. 60 asked for by the Karkuns with effect from April last. Seven long months have passed since then and these hardpressed and loyal servants of the Government are still wondering why their benign masters have not yet been pleased to give effect to it. Naturally after a long and dreary wait, overcome by despondency that nothing was being done to relieve them from the pressure of their ever-growing debts, they began to give vent to their feelings through their associations..... But, as is their wont, the bureaucrats smelt sedition and insubordination in this humble petition of theirs, and in a circular (of which we hold a copy) Mr. P. R. Cadell, the late Commissioner of the Northern Division, took serious exception to the 'meetings of the so-called Karkuns' Brotherhood..... held in each district at which resolutions were passed making *extravagant* (italics ours) demands. In the same circular the worthy official also directed all Sub-divisional and Taluka officers 'to warn their establishments that participation in such demands, made jointly in an unreasonable manner and supported by threats, amounts to insubordination, and that subordinatas taking a personal share in the passing of such resolutions will be regarded as having

disobeyed the Rules laid down for the conduct of Public Servants'. We are surprised that an experienced official like Mr. Cadell, the late Director of Civil Supplies, fully conversant with the existing economic conditions of the country, as also the growing market-rates of food-stuffs, could be so led away by the vision of supposed insubordination, when his distinct duty, as a public servant, was to remove the just grievances of these unhappy karkuns. Bureaucratic blindness to the needs and susceptibilities of Indians is notorious, but we thought that with the dawn of the new era of Reforms these irresponsible *ma-baps* would take a more sympathetic view of the requirements of the underpaid and underfed honest servants of Government..... Are we to believe that the Government of Sir George Lloyd, after these startling revelations, will still turn a deaf ear to the representations of these unfortunate people? While the members of the higher services of Government are ever ready to be fed fatter in spite of their already bulky pay, are the voiceless karkuns to suffer silently and see their dear and young ones famished and naked, dying the slow death of starvation? This want of feeling of humanity in the Administration is the most besetting sin of present-day civilization, and we have every hope that the Government of Sir George Lloyd will take early steps to improve the lot of these unhappy people."

74. A correspondent writing in the *Prakásh* advises low-paid employes of Government, such as clerks, peons, etc., to strike work for better pay. He draws attention to the disparity between the salaries paid to Indian employes and the white officials of Government and remarks that whereas the whole of the work is done by the former the latter only exercise supervision and affix their signatures to papers submitted to them by their Indian subordinates. The writer exhorts the patriotic Indians to raise a fund for the benefit of those who thus go on strike and declares that if the strike movement is made general the attainment of *swarajya* will not be long delayed.

Low paid employes of Government should strike work.
Prakásh (128), 1st Dec.

75. A correspondent writing in *Kesari* points out that canals in the Ahmednagar District were originally constructed with the avowed object of mitigating the conditions resulting from frequent famines. He, therefore, questions the wisdom as well as the legality of the action of Government in undertaking to supply canal water to sugar-cane growing concerns instead of reserving it exclusively for the use of the rayats who grow food grains. In his opinion the present extensive sugar-cane growing in the district is an indirect invitation to famine. The writer refers to the famine year 1911-12, when, according to him, Government had instructed their officers to encourage the people to grow food-grains instead of cotton, and it asks why they follow a different policy now and supply canal water for growing sugar-cane to the detriment of corn-growers.

A protest against supply of canal water to sugar-cane growing concerns in the Ahmednagar District.
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

76. The *Kesari* deprecates the building of more Railways as suggested by the Punjab Chamber of Commerce and says:— The rayats are suffering indescribable losses and there is also a terrible loss of cattle on account of the annual famines. It is unpardonable that while not even 5 to 7 crores are spent on canals, 25 to 30 crores should be spent on Railways. The idea of the Nira Right Bank Canal was first started in 1876 and it is not still constructed and a network of Railways is spread all over the country, useful in carrying raw goods to England. It is clear from this, on what principle and for whose benefit, the administration of India is carried on.

Necessity of Government's spending more on canals than on Railways.
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

77. Mr. Collins, the special Forest Settlement Officer, is reported to be busy in Ankola Taluka (Kánara) making enquiries about the whereabouts of the ryots and of their needs and requirements. The ryots are returning the compliment by enquiring about Mr. Collin's whereabouts,—(since he is paying flying visits between Ankola and Kárwár)—and also about the extent of Mr. Collin's powers. The people want to know if he is authorise

Government's plan for free gift of *betta* lands to agriculturists in Kánara.
Kánara Leader (38), 30th Dec.

to do anything more than select the most barren and useless *bettas* for free gifts to agriculturists in return for a proper amount of grateful loyalty towards Government to be shown by the recipients of those breath-exhausting gifts !

Comments on the position of Indians in Fiji.
Praja Bandhu (30), 5th Dec., Eng. cols.

78. Referring to the statement of the Rev. Mr. Andrews about the intended return of Indians in Fiji to India, the *Praja Bandhu* remarks :—"But as if to add insult to injury, we are told, an effort is being made for the resumption of Indian emigration to that colony. We are sure, after the bitter experience of so many years, not a single labourer, man or woman, will be allowed to leave the shores of India under any system whatever. Our industrial development is by this time sufficiently advanced to give employment to all unemployed labourers. The only thing needed is that our industrial magnates should wake up and prevent the white planters of the distant colonies from exploiting and bleeding the labour force of India, especially when their own industries are languishing for want of men. We think this is now the only way by which an object lesson can be taught to the British Government whose apathy towards the interests of Indians generally has by this time become so very notorious and obnoxious."

Servant of India (10), 9th Dec.; *Gujardti Punch* (21), 5th Dec., Eng. cols.

79. "The Indian situation in Fiji, always serious, has become very critical. About 30,000 Indians, *i.e.*, nearly a half of the Indian population, are preparing to leave the Colony in sheer despair and, as a preliminary step, have sold off their property at great sacrifice..... ..... A brief account of the happenings of February last which a correspondent of Mr. Andrews' in Fiji furnishes leaves no doubt in one's mind that there was a repetition of the Punjáb tragedy in that Colony with the result that the discontent among Indians has become more deep rooted than ever. The Indian public has ever since been pressing for an open inquiry by an impartial tribunal into the causes of the disturbances and the methods adopted to suppress them; but the Fiji Government has been equally vigorously resisting such a demand. The Indian Government cannot escape its share of the blame for its scandalous supineness in weakly agreeing with the Fijian Government that no more inquiry was needed than the one-sided one carried out by the Government of the Colony. This is a grave dereliction of duty on the part of the Government of India. Indians can never regard the Fiji 'incident' as closed any more than they can regard the Punjáb 'incident' as closed." [The *Gujarát Punch* writes:—"The problem of Indians abroad has always been a vexed one, and the history of their treatment by the White Brahmins, whether in Canada, South Africa or any other place, has never been a bright record. The case of Fiji, however, stands in sinister isolation even in comparison with these dark records, and we believe it would be impossible to find a parallel to the treatment of Indians in Fiji even from among the records of those old times when man was nothing but a beast of burden..... Want of ships, however, will prevent the sudden return of these thirty thousand Indians to India, and unless prompt steps are taken to impress on the Government of India the need for providing deck accommodation for these passengers as also to prevent them from disposing of their property in Fiji before a return passage is available, great misery will result from the contemplated course..... As for Fiji, it is pretty well certain that the return of Indian lobourers will not be the best of things. But it has forfeited all claim even to ask them to stay. Let Fiji do without those whom it cannot pay even a living wage in return for the most strenuous of labours."]

There should be a Commission to inquire into corruption in connection with Army contracts in Sind.
Sind Observer (12), 24th Nov.

80. "The greatest curse in India to-day is the wholesale bribery and corruption which is carried on throughout the land by the richest and poorest, the highest and lowest alike, both in Government and Non-Government circles..... Corruption is not only confined to the lower class of the masses, but to the so-called respectable businessmen and Government officials. Evidence of this is forthcoming every day. Men who were at one time respected as godly citizens are now

standing their trial for misappropriation in the sense of making contracts at the rate-payers' loss to gain their own personal ends. Commissions have been sitting in Bengal and the Punjáb, and not a few at Home to enquire into the corrupt practices which were in vogue during the war. No commission has yet sat in Sind; when it does there may be some interesting exposures and developments in this obscure corner of the Empire. There are many persons in the country who a few years ago were very insignificant, earning about two to three hundred rupees per mensem, and who are now enjoying wealth derived by means of corrupt practices in connection with Army contracts. Some of them have left clues and trails behind them which entail no difficulty in following up. On the other hand, there are others who by virtue of their holding official positions and being of so-called high social status are allowed to carry on the good work, whilst deliberate official blindness serves to cover up the evidence. As the enquiry commission have already shown, the army is also tinged with the corrupt scourge. There are many military individuals in evidence who draw no more than Rs. 200 per mensem and who are able to live like lords and princes with their own motors and traps. The police (not only the constables, but superior officers) are not altogether exempt. It may or may not be that they are under-paid, but it is quite beside the point."

81. "The District Magistrate of Meerut has fined a European Sergeant Rs. 15 for horse-whipping two students of the local College. We wonder if the Magistrate or the Sergeant would have been satisfied with the reasonableness of the sentence if the tables had been turned and the sergeant and not the students had been subjected to that elegant form of pastime indulged in by the former. Just now some of the local Governments appear to be keen on stamping out attempts at promoting enmity between the different classes of His Majesty's subjects. How does the United Provinces Government view the extraordinary punishment (!) awarded to the sergeant? Is it calculated to cement the good-will between Europeans and Indians? The wounds inflicted on the student community of the Punjáb are hardly healed. If the Government of the U. P.'s is disposed to check the spread of disaffection among the students of its own Provinces it will do well to call for the papers with a view to a revision of the grossly inadequate and highly insulting sentence imposed on the sergeant."

Comments on the Meerut (U. P.) District Magistrate's decision in the case of a European Sergeant horse-whipping students.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Dec.

82. We understand that contracts in connection with the Development of Bombay are being given only to European Companies. In order to effect this development, a tax was imposed on cotton bales and it will have to be borne by the Indian consumers. The tax is to be collected by the Bombay Municipality and the contracts are to go to foreign companies. This is very good justice! A complaint was made about military contracts being given to European Companies even when Indian Companies were ready to offer a lesser rate and the Industrial Commission and the Stores Committee have urged the removal of the injustice. If Sir George Lloyd were still to assign the 20 crore contracts to Europeans it would be unpardonable favouritism and he will earn a bad name. We hope that he will not commit such a patent injustice and that he will be more careful and just in the matter.

Protest against Bombay Development contracts being given only to European Companies.
Kesari (114), 7th Dec.

83. "Recent developments in Europe offer Britain one more chance for winning over Turkish Nationalists to the side of the Allies..... The shifting sands of European politics have changed, and the verdict of the Greek people in favour of King Constantine gives Britain one more chance of retrieving from the fatal step. The Premier's pledge to the Indian Muhammadans with respect to Smyrna and Thrace was as clear as it can be, and the fulfilling of it, now that there is a chance for doing it, will go a great way in assuaging Moslem

Appeal to England to bring about a revision of the Turkish Peace terms.
Gujardti Punch (21), 5th Dec., Eng. cols.

feeling. It is quite clear that with the return of King Constantine to the Greek throne, a Greek army in Asia Minor, even if it is retained, will not be worth an hour's purchase, and now that even militarist France definitely favours a revision of the Treaty of Sevres, we hope Britain will not stand in the way. The treaty will, in the face of recent events, be practically a dead letter even if it is not revised. Will, then, Britain not be so generous as even to claim the perhaps unmerited grace of a definite revision of the same?"

84. Dwelling upon the necessity of revising the Peace terms with Turkey, the *Akhbár-i-Islám* writes:—The situation in Greece is going from bad to worse. Although the Allies have sent a strong note of protest to Greece, yet it is likely that ex-King Constantine will be restored to the throne. It is certain from the cables we have received with reference to the situation in Greece that there will have to be a revision in the relations of the Allies with Turkey. We believe that this is a golden opportunity for the Allies. If the Allies take only a part of the care they have taken to safeguard the interests of Russia, Austria and Germany to conserve those of Turkey, there would be such widespread satisfaction among Muhammadans that not even a trace of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement would be left. The Muhammadans are not very keen about *Swaraj* for India. Their whole attention is concentrated on the Turkish situation. Taking advantage of this Mr. Gandhi and his followers have induced some Muhammadans to join the non-co-operation movement. If England was to seize the opportunity afforded by the situation in Greece to secure justice to Turkey, Mr. Gandhi's movement would die a natural death even though the number of Hindus is larger than that of the Muhammadans.

Akhbár-i-Islám (58), 6th Dec.

85. "The cablegram from 'our own correspondent' in Paris, which we published yesterday, regarding the discussions on the subject of revision of the Turkish Treaty, calls for some comment. It runs as follows:—'France and Italy are urging a revision of the Turkish Treaty and the restoration of Thrace and Smyrna to Turkey: Lord Curzon, who represents the British Non-Conformist conscience is opposing fanatically, determined to destroy the Muslim Empire and the nation. Lord Curzon has been said to represent many things, but never we believe, before has anybody thought of claiming that he represents the British non-conformist conscience..... It would be more true to say that he typifies at the moment 'the Satanic Nature of Government' (denounced by Mr. Gandhi) than that he represents 'the British non-conformist conscience' which at least is no mere matter of routine. That the non-conformist conscience is behind the foreign office in demanding the destruction of the Turks is true, but it is so from a sincere conviction, based on false or partial information. Lord Curzon and the foreign office know the truth, but think it 'inexpedient' to divulge it, in the interests of European policy..... The non-conformists could be converted by a demonstration of the truth; the foreign office never." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—" We gladly give publicity to the official denial given by the Home Government to our Paris Correspondent's message to the effect that while France and Italy were pressing for revision of the Turkish Treaty and the restoration of Trace and Smyrna to Turkey, Lord Curzon was fanatically opposing it. There is, says the Official Communique, not a word of truth in this statement, 'which indeed is grotesquely false and clearly a malicious fabrication intended to make mischief between the Allied Powers.' The communique goes a little further and says that 'Great Britain, France and Italy are acting together in absolute unison.' It is indeed a great relief to know that such harmony and community of feeling have after all been evolved out of the Near Eastern chaos, and we are glad to know that our correspondent's message was a 'fabrication'. But we had no reason to doubt for a moment our correspondent's *bona-fides* and nothing was further from our correspondent's intention or from our own than to create mischief between the Allied Powers. No man in his senses, after the recent blood-bath of the world, could for a moment think that any useful

Lord Curzon and the revision of the Turkish Treaty.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th and 13th Dec.

purpose will be served by creating misunderstanding and mischief between the Allied Powers..... It was with the desire to promote lasting peace, and not further war and dissension, that we published his telegram."]

*86. "Atropos" writes:—"The Paris correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* cabled the other day that while France and Italy are agreeable to it [*i.e.* revision of the Treaty of Sevres] Lord Curzon is deadly opposed to it. No wonder, the non-conformist conscience of this supercilious arrogant egomaniac cannot stand the upsetting of his imperialistic plans, which he fondly hopes, will bring power and wealth to his country, even at the sacrifice of international honesty. The biggest bungler in Britain's Foreign Policy, Lord Curzon, has made a mess in Persia—to wit, the Treaty of Teheran which the Mejliss will never ratify. Now the Middle East situation requires immediate solution, but if Mr. Lloyd George's bottle-washers in the Foreign Office still remain obsessed with the ideas of their self-importance and indispensability, using hollow threats to awakened smaller nationalities they will ere long see that they were sitting on the safety-valve."

Bombay Chronicle (2), 12th Dec.

87. The recent news about Russia shows that the final endeavour to crush the Bolsheviks has failed. As long as Poland was at war with the Bolsheviks, Wrangel and the French were fearlessly having a merry time. It was a game of European Powers to keep Poland and the Bolsheviks constantly at war and to prevent peace between them. The Bolsheviks, however, have now understood the trick and have offered favourable terms to Poland with a view to conciliate her. With undivided attention the Bolsheviks are now in a position to fight Wrangel, so that now his fate is sealed like that of his predecessors, Koltchak and Denikin. Russia's affairs are no doubt in a bad way, but it goes without saying that a country continuously subject to wars and attacks by European nations must needs be in a bad way. We are neither in sympathy with the Allies nor with the Bolsheviks. But we wonder in what manner the Allies, especially France, will now take Wrangel's defeat whom they had hitherto considered a powerful factor and whom they had backed up all along. We wonder what course they would adopt now. The European nations by mutual warfare have now weakened each other's power. Is it that their own misdeeds are now coming in their way? Is it that that they are meeting the same fate which they had brought about by raising internecine quarrels in India as well as in other countries? Those nations which have sought to encompass ruin of other countries will themselves be destroyed. They will have to render account for their misdeeds.

Nations which have sought the ruin of other countries will themselves be destroyed.

Hindu (153), 20th Nov.

EDUCATION.

*88. Commenting on the conferring of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on the Right Honourable Lord Sinha of Raipur, Sir Narayan Chandávarkar, Knight, and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Knight, by the Bombay University, the *Gujarâti* writes:—The function was indeed unique in the history of the Bombay University, because three Indians were the recipients of the honorary degree at one and the same Convocation..... Lord Sinha's career is without a precedent in the history of modern India and the country cannot be too proud of an Indian who has risen to high positions in rapid succession by his high character and great attainments. He has, of course, not escaped adverse criticism from a certain class of critics whose ignorance of history and politics is as profound as their little-mindedness..... If there are Indians who have not the insight, knowledge and capacity to appreciate the inward significance of Lord Sinha's phenomenal rise to what must be regarded as the highest position attainable at the present stage of India's political development, at least Lord Morley, whose proposal to admit Indians to the Indian Executive Councils, met with stout opposition in high quarters, appreciated the worth of such an Indian like Mr. Satyendranath Sinha, as Lord Sinha then was..... Mr. Sinha has

Comments on the conferring of the Degree of LL.D. by the Bombay University on Lord Sinha, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and Sir C. H. Setalvad.

Gujarâti (19), 12th Dec., Eng. cols.

grown into a peer of the House of Lords and even filled the post of the Under Secretary of State for India. [The paper here recounts the public services rendered by Sir N. G. Chandávarkar and Sir C. H. Setalvad, and then proceeds:—] His elevation to the Government of Bihar and Orissa is the first striking proof of the desire of the British Government to carry out the policy in question. There will be time enough to quarrel over the slowness of India's political progress. In the meanwhile let all thoughtful and patriotic Indians lend their moral support to Lord Sinha and render his administration a success. The Bombay University has done well to express its appreciation of his great attainments and its confidence in his patriotism, and let no Indians play the part of ungrateful and little-minded traitors to the best interests of their motherland by seeking to depreciate him and weakening his hands in the discharge of very onerous and responsible duties of his office. His success will be the success of his countrymen and the defeat of their calumniators, and let us all join hands in wishing him cordial and unqualified success. All public men cannot possibly be manufactured in one and the same mould nor attain the level of perfection. It is, therefore, neither fair nor patriotic to depreciate and belittle different types of workers, because they differ from the pattern for the time in vogue. The Chancellor's speech, which was happily worded and effectively delivered with a resonant voice, was highly graceful and sympathetic in conception and reflects very high credit upon His Excellency. We wish some of the countrymen of the three distinguished recipients of the LL. D. degree could cultivate even a little of the spirit of nobility and generosity that marked the Chancellor's estimate of the worth of the men whom the University has so fittingly honoured. The occasion and the scene with Lord Sinha as its central figure remind us of a well-known observation made by the late Mr. Justice Ranade that unless Indians show that they are in reality an inch taller than Europeans, the latter will be found slow to realise that the former are at least their equals in stature. The remark is pregnant with profound wisdom and the cheap critics of Lord Sinha and others will do well to ponder over its far reaching significance."

*89. *Mahrátta* (8), 12th Dec. "The sixth evening of this month, when the heart of the Chancellor of our Bombay University was filled to overflowing with 'profound satisfaction' at the sight of a 'threefold accession' to the roll of honorary Doctors of Laws 'at a single convocation,' and when the galleries of the University Hall were empty, deserted and probably closed, rouses many a grave and sullen thought in the minds of those who have some respect and concern for the Bombay University..... We have not the least desire to belittle the learning and the public spirit of the three eminent Indians on whom the degree was conferred..... But as we read the history of the achievements and accomplishments of the three new Doctors, as contained in the eulogies sung on the occasion of the convocation by their admirers, we cannot suppress the historical exclamation 'Oh, what a fall was there!' Chancellor, in his address, tells us, as a justification of the three degrees, that Lord Sinha, in more ways than one, has been 'a true pioneer of Indian aspirations,' that Sir Narayan, with his influence as a thinker, his work as a member of the Legislative Council and with 'the part he has played in the Indian National Congress'—we beg to draw the attention of our readers more particularly to Sir Narayan's last qualification—is 'a wise counsellor of youth and age,' and that Sir Chimanlal is 'a devoted servant of public life'. Had it been our intention to contradict these statements, we could have said much. We could, for instanee, have emphasised how Lord Sinha was not a pioneer of Indian aspirations if words had any meaning. Times are gone for good when the post of an Executive Councillor or a peerage was an object of Indian aspiration. To Sir George Lloyd, who cannot be expected to read Indian aspirations as clearly as the English alphabet, it may well seem that a Lord Sinha who was one of the signatories of the Versailles treaty and is the Governor-Designate of a province is a pioneer of aspiring Indians. Fortunately, however, it is not so. Indian aspirations have, since long, ceased to centre round official posts. If there is anything which Indians will now never aspire to, it is what Lord Sinha is and has been. 'Pioneer of Indian

aspirations!'—one is rather tempted to say that Lord Sinha is a living lie to Indian aspirations! We could also point out how ill the cap of 'wise counsellor of youth and age' fits the head of Sir Narayan and how uncomfortably the robe of 'a devoted servant of the public' sits upon Sir Chimanlal's shoulders. One has but to recall the complete indifference and want of tact and courage which Sir Chimanlal exhibited when some three years back the Bombay University corps for the defence of India was being organised, and complaints and appeals were showered by the students upon the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Chimanlal, as to the scandalous treatment they received from the Military authorities..... The point which we wish to bring home to our readers, and if possible to those that have the conduct of the University in their hands and its reputation and greatness at their heart, is one that is concerned, not with personalities, but with the dignity of a glorious educational institution, as the University should be, and with the prestige of the whole presidency of Bombay. This is not a place to write theoretically about the Doctorate or about the qualifications of its recipients. But if we look to the history of the Doctorate of the Bombay University, some queer facts confront us. The first recipient of this degree was Lord Ripon in 1884. From that time till the 5th of December 1920 only eight names were inscribed on the roll of the Honorary Doctors..... During the thirty years from 1884 to 1914, the University could see only four persons worthy of the degree and, what is more stinging to us, only one Indian—Sir R. G. Bhandarkar! What an admirable short-sight this! But by the mercy of Heaven some unknown surgeon came to our help, the cataract was removed, and the eyes of our University were opened! But, as fate would have it, one evil gave place to another, and the Bombay University which was so miserly in the last thirty years, grew so liberal that during the three years from 1915 to 1918, four persons received the degree of honour!..... We feel it our duty to raise a cry that a sad disproportion is visible in the way in which this degree is handled by the University. The degree is full of dignity. It is not a solemn trifle. It is humorous to find, though the honour is painful to us, that Lord Sinha, a Bengalee, is today crowned with the Doctorate and Sir J. C. Bose, again a Bengalee, has been as yet neglected, though the whole scientific world is honouring him for his discoveries and though he had come down to Bombay a year or two back. But, no room for the 'Pioneer of science,' here! No room for the King of poets—Ravindranath Tagore! And likewise, no room for the great philosopher, Sanskritist and Mathematician—the late Lokamanya Tilak!..... The honorary degree of Doctor is best conferred on those who acquire continental fame..... It is one of the main functions of a true University to extend high honour to men and women who devote their whole lives to the pursuit of knowledge..... Our University should be ambitious to make its gallaxy of Doctors consist of the most brilliant stars, whose lustre spreads over all times.

RAILWAYS.

*90. "Now that the Railway Committee has commenced its work in India we hope it will not confine itself to purely departmental matters, but will examine the whole question of railway management and administration from the standpoint of public utility..... We shall not at present dilate upon the woes of third class passengers on Indian railways. They are so pitiful and so numerous as to require a separate chapter by themselves. There are several other points of railway management, however, which have a close connection with the present economic distress keenly felt throughout the country and to which the attention of the authorities concerned requires to be drawn very urgently. There is no doubt that the present high rise in the cost of living is due in one way to the inefficient management of our railways. If railways were managed with due consideration for the needs and requirements of the people they could do much to relieve economic distress..... We cannot help saying that owing to lack of good management they seem to make things dearer and scarcer rather than cheaper and more plentiful. The reason is that railway administration has become too much bound by red tape, and the high

Some points for the consideration of the Indian Railway Committee.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 12th Dec., Eng. cols.

and mighty powers that control the Railway Board seem to have forgotten that the railways are for the public and not the public for the railways. Ever since the war began there has been a cry of deficiency of rolling-stock on our railways..... Now that the war is over matters have slightly improved, but there is still the same old cry. And yet, instead of making adequate provision for rolling-stock, railway authorities are thinking of a still greater expansion of their lines. More money is spent every year in laying down new lines than in providing rolling-stock. Nor is there any economy or foresight exercised in 'scrapping' railway waggons and carriages as unfit for use..... Surely many of these 'scrapped' vehicles could, if properly repaired and refitted, be again put to some use in time of necessity. But our railway companies are too rich to care for practising such mean economy. Goods trains in this country, for some reason not clear to the lay mind, always travel at a slow speed—we may almost call it a snail's pace. Be the reason for this what it may, we know that this slow speed is frequently the cause of looting and daylight robbery..... One reason of the rise in the prices of food-stuffs is the high scale of freight charges which cripple and depress internal trade by putting obstacles in the way of cheap transport. Freight charges are settled by the companies without considering the interests of the cultivator or the small dealer. In the case of quickly perishable food-stuffs, such as fresh vegetables, eggs, etc., these charges are so high as to effectually prevent the small farmer or dealer from bringing his produce to market in large towns. ..... The wholesale dealer accordingly manipulates all the produce and is able to extort high prices from his customers. A special committee has been appointed in England to consider the question of what is called 'pilferage' on railways. We wish a similar committee were appointed to investigate matters in this country; for the amount of pilfering which goes on most of our railway lines has reached such a limit as to be a disgrace to the railway companies..... The loss which the merchants have to suffer on account of this daylight robbery is of course made up by them by charging higher prices to their customers. It is the general public, therefore, that has to suffer on account of the dishonesty and gross negligence of railway servants. A vigilant inquiry in this matter would reveal how far the evil has progressed and what steps should be taken to check it."

91. Indians protested against the conclusions arrived at by the Esher Committee, mainly because when that Committee commenced its inquiry in England the Indian members were not even invited to be present. Even Sir Krishna Gupta, a member of the Committee who was then in England was kept in the dark. The same procedure is probably going to be adopted by the Railway Commission recently appointed by Government. The Commission will start its work immediately in England, that is to say, that the Indian members will not be present when the Commission will begin to sit. If this is true we ought to protest against it. We do not know why the authorities prevent the Indian members of the Commission taking part in the investigation in England. What is the use of having Indians on the Commission if Government is not prepared to give them equal opportunities with their European colleagues to investigate matters? Does Government imagine that methods such as this will be acquiesced in by the people of this country? It is just this attitude of Government which is largely responsible for the present state of things in the country. It is a pity that the authorities have not become the wiser for it.

Protest against the method of working proposed to be adopted by the Railway Committee.
Sind Vasi (158), 11th Nov.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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For the week ending 18th December 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

1. The *Gujarâti Punch* expresses great indignation at the policy of repression alleged to have been adopted in various provinces towards the non-co-operation movement and remarks :—" Objectionable as is the repressive campaign by itself, the direction which it has chosen to take is all the more so. In all the Provincial Governments—Bengal, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and the Punjáb, and Burma—where the campaign has begun, by far the larger number of cases are Press prosecutions, and knowing as we do the drastic and all-absorbing provisions of that replica of the Star Chamber Act in India which make it possible for a journal to subsist not because of its ability at escape being entrapped in its provisions but on the mercy of the executive, it becomes difficult to refrain from feeling that the persons who are thus marked out for executive action have not done anything extraordinarily subversive of law and order, but that their exposure of official wrongs is a bit inconvenient. To let this feeling gain ground by multiplying the number of such cases would not be the best of things at any time and in any country—much less so at a time when the people of this country have all but lost their faith in the *bonâ-fides* of British statesmen. It may be that the British Imperialists may be feeling firm on the strength of their howitzers and machine-guns, their aeroplanes and zeppelins ; but an Empire cannot subsist merely or solely on them ; and although the British Junkerdom may not like it, it is well to bear in mind there is something in this world like the force of public opinion and that there are times when it would be more profitable even from the mercenary point of view to bow to it than to flaunt it..... Repression has never been and will never be a cure for popular discontent ; and although it may produce for the time being the semblance of peace, it is semblance only and nothing more. If anything, repression smothers the flame, but it can never extinguish fire ; and when the smouldering fire ultimately breaks out, as it some day must, the conflagration consumes everyone and everything. Bolshevism and Sinn Feinism are living corroborations to the truth of the above. Will British statesmen realize this ? Let them come out for a moment from the polluting air of artificiality which surrounds them and think as men, not as officials, what would be the best cure for Indian discontent. If they do, they are sure to realize that whatever else it may be, it is not repression. If, however, they do not, history must repeat itself and none can help it."

Condemnation of the alleged repressive policy of the authorities towards the non-co-operation movement.
Gujarâti Punch (21), 12th Dec., Eng. cols.

2. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—" Evidence is pouring in upon me that repression is going on. And now the mask is removed. The farce of trials is to be done away with and orders under the Defence of India Act are to take their place. Here is one order from Calcutta..... It is the old dodge—no reasons are given. Vague fear of a disturbance is trotted out as sufficient reason for gagging a young man. Even a farcical trial serves one useful purpose. It enables an accused person to know the reason for restriction on his liberty. Under the order quoted, Mr. Nagendra Nath Bhattacharji has no knowledge of his offence ; the public has less. And yet there are people who wonder why there is hatred in the land, and then ascribe it, not to the high-handedness and intolerance betrayed by the Government, but to non-co-operation—the one remedy which is calculated to regulate it and, ultimately, to eradicate it. The Punjáb is not behind Bengal in the matter of administrative, as distinguished from judicial, repression..... Lala Lajpatrai, in his trenchant letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, has shown clearly that under Sir Edward Maclagan the Punjábees have not fared much better than under Sir Michael O'Dwyer. No doubt, Sir Edward's methods are not so rough and ready as Sir Michael O'Dwyer's. But what difference can it be to the Punjábees whether they wear chains with or without gilt ? The real article will any day be preferable to the misleading

Young India, (14) 15th Dec.

gilded one. Is the Punjáb essentially freer for the milder methods of the present administrator? Do the people feel taller? It is time we realised the true situation. The spirit of the administration of India is evil, degrading, and enslaving. It therefore matters little whether it is an angel who administers our affairs or satan."

3. "There was no need for the lengthy statement issued by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi in justification of his proclamation of the City under the Seditious Meetings Act and his declaration of the various Khilafat and other volunteer associations as unlawful. The traditions of the Imperial Capital are too well-known to the Indian public for them to be taken by surprise by any such proclamations. At the slightest breeze in the atmosphere, the political gods of Delhi have been known to shut their doors and windows with a bang and to barricade themselves as if for a siege..... Perhaps, only Mexico City can show the same unenviable record to its credit. The present 'proclamation' of Delhi, therefore, hardly comes as a surprise. It was expected sooner or later. Neither will the order for the disbandment of the various volunteer associations cause a shock to public feeling. The slight disturbance at a Moslem funeral is magnified into a pitched battle and is made the pretext for the declaration of the associations as unlawful..... If the Delhi incident were an isolated one, it would not have mattered at all. But it is not so. It is part and parcel of the larger and concerted action the bureaucracy is preparing to take its struggle with the 'new spirit', that is abroad in India. Press prosecutions, arrests of political workers, declaration of political bodies as unlawful, proclamation of districts under the Seditious Meetings Act and other weapons in the armoury of the bureaucracy are being furnished up one by one. The authorities appear resolved on putting down the non-co-operation movement by all means in their power. The cry for repression which has been raised repeatedly in the Anglo-Indian Press as well as a section of the British Press appears to have at last evoked a response..... The history of our political struggles during the last fifty years justifies the hope that the nation will triumph over all obstacles in the end."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Dec.

4. "The situation is doubtless, serious; and if disaffection be 'want of affection,' we are afraid the whole country is disaffected. Lord Selbourne accounts for the present situation on the ground that 'the Government of India remains dumb'; and he urges that Government should take steps to 'give the utmost publicity' to its 'intentions and policy'. Is Government 'dumb'? Has it not its publicity department? Has it not its Director of Information? Does it not speak its mind through Anglo-Indian journals which are busy, day in and day out, defending the bureaucracy's 'intentions and policy'? Has it not a well-paid C. I. D. to catch nationalist workers? Has it not a Press Act to throttle free press? Has it not repressive measures to choke free speech? Does it not spend lavishly on journals, such as the *Sachai*, to spread the news of the 'benefits of British rule and the magnanimous intentions of the British Government'? How is it, we ask in all seriousness, that all these advantages notwithstanding the bureaucracy is so unpopular? It is wrong to say the Government has remained dumb. Nothing is more eloquent than action; and the Government intentions and policy are disclosed through its deeds. The people judge of the British rule by its deeds. They remember the Jallianwalla Bagh; they remember the Martial Law; they remember the treatment meted out to their leaders; they remember the sufferings of patriots whose sin is that they have loved their country more than the bureaucracy; they remember the Khilafat wrong. The one insistent demand of civilization is for justice, national and international. Justice is the basis of progress; and the people feel that British imperialism and race-pride have trampled upon justice and national rights." [In a subsequent issue the paper refers to the various cases of repression in Sind, the Punjáb, the Central Provinces, Bengal and Burma, and remarks:—"This renewal of policy

New Times (9) 7th and 13th Dec.

of repression is significant. It is an admission on the part of Government that the Montagu Reforms have failed, that the bureaucracy's 'publicity' campaign carried on by 'Directors of Information' and papers such as the *Sachai* has failed—that the people refuse to regard the new Councils as instituting a 'new era' in India. If they did believe in the Reforms, in the Councils, in the Government publicity campaign, there would be little occasion for reviving repression or for regarding the situation in India as extremely dangerous..... The Government, strange enough, has set itself to the task of repression, while the officers responsible for the Punjáb tragedy—an important cause of the present unrest—have been shielded and some of them even applauded! Is it possible to suppress unrest without removing the real cause of the unrest? But the lessons of history, the lessons of the past, are lost upon the bureaucracy..... The Khilafat workers and non-co-operators who have been already prosecuted have stood up to the situation as men; many of them, indeed, have refused to have counsels to plead for them in the court; they have gone cheerfully to the jail; they have faith in the value of suffering. The bureaucracy blunders badly in thinking it can demoralise the people by a campaign of repression. The soul of the nation will not give up its struggle for freedom; it has lived through the coercion of 1906—10; it has lived through the terrors of Martial Law; it will live through the new campaign of repression."]

5. The show of reforms and the hand of repression are to be found together in British policy. With the instalment of the Morley-Minto reforms, the Press Act, Samiti Act, etc., were introduced, and again this time they are having their jig. Delhi is placed under the Seditious Meetings Act and four volunteer corps are broken up. The cause of this wrath is that the volunteers correctly enforced non-co-operation and the thing went home. The Commissioner says that the Act has been applied for the public good inasmuch as the Delhi citizens do not approve of non-co-operation. Will he explain then how the principles of non-co-operation if they are unpopular are dwelt upon in meetings of thousands and how people quietly listen to them. The fact is bludgeon rule will begin again though Government may make a show that they do not want to begin repression and keep it up till the return of the Duke of Connaught from India. From the prosecution of the *Rangoon Mail*, it appears that the epidemic will not be confined to Delhi, but that it will spread all over the country. All political agitators should note it, and make arrangements to protect their agitation from the poison of this epidemic.

Kesari (114), 14th Dec.

6. The Government of India have announced by means of a resolution that they would not interfere with the non-co-operation movement so long as it is conducted on peaceful lines. But the recent attacks on the freedom of the press and the right of holding meetings do not support the belief that Government are going to abide scrupulously by their undertaking. In addition to putting the Press Act into operation the Chief Commissioner of Delhi has now proclaimed the area under his jurisdiction. Had the non-co-operation movement resulted in breach of the peace, no one would have blamed the Chief Commissioner for adopting the course he did. That in the absence of any reasonable grounds the Chief Commissioner should deem it necessary to deprive the people of their liberty will not fail to cause pain to everyone. The reasons adduced by the Chief Commissioner in support of his action hardly justify it. [The paper here mentions the reasons why the Seditious Meetings Act has been made applicable to the Delhi Province.] But the important admission which the Chief Commissioner makes in this very communique shows the needlessness of the step that he has now taken. He states that the doctrines that are now being spread do not produce the least effect on the masses ; nay, Government have reason to believe that people wholly disapprove of them, and adds that the Act is being made applicable for the benefit of the law-abiding people themselves. If the masses are well disposed towards Government as stated by the Chief

Dnydn Prakdsh (18), 16th Dec.

Commissioner he should not have made the mistake of introducing a measure which would deprive them also of their liberty. Government could easily have achieved the desired end by taking legal steps against those who may happen to break the law. The application of the Seditions Meetings Act will gag the mouths not only of the agitators but of thousands of others as well who, according to the Chief Commissioner himself, are perfectly innocent. The Chief Commissioner declares that his object is to achieve the good of the people, but he fails to see how this very object is frustrated by the remedy he employes.

7. Commenting upon the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to Delhi and the adoption of other steps by the Commissioner of Delhi to put down the non-co-operation movement, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks :—

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 13th Dec.

Is it desirable to resort to repressive measures while appealing to the people to extend to Government their co-operation in checking the non-co-operation movement? The Indian political situation has reached a very critical stage. The Indian people have been fretting under the injustices done to them. Is not the adoption of repressive measures at such a juncture tantamount to adding fuel to the fire of discontent? We, therefore, cannot approve of the policy adopted by the Government of India in allowing the provincial Governments to resort to repressive measures in spite of the bitter experiences gained in the Punjáb. Both the Government of India and the provincial Governments should try to adopt the sympathetic policy pursued by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd in the Bombay Presidency.

8. The Court of the Benares University has done its duty to the student world by rejecting the proposal to refuse the Government grant for the University. The non-co-operationists should, after their defeat at Aligarh and Benares, now realise that the non-co-operation movement has not the sympathy of the sensible public. We do not see any sense in the proposal to renounce Government grants for educational institutions. These grants are made from the public funds and should be utilised in the public interests. The advocates of national education should not aim at renouncing Government grants but direct their energies towards getting education under popular control and effecting suitable changes in the present system of education. The reforms have heralded a new era in the sphere of education and it would be a suicidal policy to adopt non-co-operation with regard to it. We would, therefore, ask the non-co-operationists to give up their policy of destruction and to busy themselves with a sane constructive policy.

Comments on the refusal of the Benares University authorities to give up the Government grant.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 16th Dec.

9. The welcome decision of the Board of the Benares University to continue to draw the Government grant will give a serious blow to the non-co-operation movement. We hope this will serve as a lesson to those who are intent upon involving the Aligarh University in the pernicious movement and will open the eyes of those Muhammadans who have taken it up. In this connection we would like to draw the attention of our Moslem brethren to the speech made by Mr. Fazlul Haq as president of the Bengal Moslem Conference in which he has exposed the non-co-operation movement. [Then follows an extract from the speech in which the following sentences occur :—

Akhbár-e-Islám (58), 17th Dec.

We have every reason to doubt the *bonâ-fides* of most of the leaders of the non-co-operation movement as they are known to be irresponsible agitators of questionable antecedents. Some of them have distinctly told me that they have no sympathy with the Khilafat movement, and the only motive that prompted them to boycott educational institutions was to spread sedition and to make the path of a rebellion easy in India. These people have nothing to lose by adopting such methods; but we cannot acquiesce in bloodshed and plunder.]

10. "Mr. Gandhi in his enthusiastic propaganda of non-co-operation has taken up a stand which ought at once to be repudiated by all sane men who are also true lovers of India's progress. He advises students to forget western civilisation, western culture, and to turn their attention to the study of the Vedas. What he wants is a revival of the past—which is simply impossible."

Condemnation of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement.
Indian Commercial Mercury (13), 13th Dec.

*11. Mr. Gandhi is wonderfully optimistic and self-confident. But thoughtful and experienced Indians who know better what the resources of the British Government are, what wide divergence of opinion exists amongst the Indians themselves on the subject of his programme of non-co-operation and how all the veteran Congress leaders are entirely opposed to it, cannot afford to be equally optimistic. On the contrary, they are profoundly grieved over the present situation in India. Sharp and violent differences of opinion have even split up the country into opposing camps. Where unity prevailed, discord has begun to rule supreme. The minds of students, who have been exhorted to disobey their parents, elders, guardians and teachers, have become unsettled and distracted. They are being ruinously drawn into the vortex of political excitement and seduced from their legitimate sphere of duty..... Holders of titles, zamindars and the Indian nobility in general are opposed to the non-co-operation creed. No seat in the Indian Legislative Councils, the Legislative Assembly or the Council of State has remained vacant. Apart from the qualifications of certain members it is perfectly clear that there is no disposition on the part of good many thoughtful people to boycott the Councils. With the exception of a few lawyers who can be counted on one's fingers, professional men have not responded to Mr. Gandhi's call and never will..... Holders of titles seem to be fond of their titles and distinctions, and hundreds and thousands of them, young and old, are not prepared to throw their diplomas, certificates and badges into the sea. National Schools, Colleges and Universities have been founded in certain places. But we doubt if they are at all an improvement upon the existing institutions and if their promotors know much of educational finance and organisation..... Then there is the question of the stability and permanence of the new institutions. Because some handsome donations have been promised to-day it does not follow that the donors' circumstances will be equally flourishing in the years to come and that their heirs and successors will consent to continue the yearly grants..... Then there is the question of questions and that is what is to be the future career of the successful students turned out by the newly-started educational institutions if *Swardj* is not obtained within next nine months? We are absolutely certain that such a political miracle is not destined to take place in India even within a decade. But even if *Swardj* is obtained within nine months, how is it to be protected on land, by sea and in air? Where are the required army, navy and air force fully enquipped and fully manned?..... Mr. Gandhi has not told his countrymen how an English, Afghan, Bolshevik or Japanese invasion is to be prevented, even if internal chaos, bloodshed and anarchy are averted. These are no imaginary fears or empty speculations, but are questions of life and death to the future of this vast country with its teeming millions. They have already suffered for centuries and are they to be victimised once more because of the unavoidable inability of non-co-operators to prevent a foreign invasion after their momentary success, assuming for a moment that their political prophesy turns out to be correct. Such are the momentous considerations which the country has to take into account with a full sense of responsibility..... Plato was dear but Truth was dearer still. So said the wise Greeks. Mr. Gandhi is dear but the cause of Truth and of our beloved country is infinitely dearer."

Gujardti (19), 19th Dec., Eng. cols.

12. While we sympathise with the desire of our fellow-countrymen for *Swaraj*, we must in fairness admit that we are not yet fit to take charge of the affairs of our country. Those who think that we are, are simply showing their ignorance. Have we not *Swaraj* in

Sind Upkdrak (54), Sept. and Oct.

our Native States and what is the state of things there? Is it not a fact that, barring a few exceptions, the Native States of India are in a deplorable condition? Our fellow-countrymen should look at things dispassionately. If they do, they will realise that until they have fitted themselves for *Swaraj* they have no right to it. Mr. Gandhi wants us to refuse the annual grant of six or seven crores of rupees for education from Government. Why should we refuse the money which is paid out of the revenue of our own country? He further wants us to boycott the new Councils. He does not seem to realise that if we do so we shall be said to have given up our rights ourselves. The advise of Mr. Gandhi with regard to the educational grant from Government is certainly foolish. Where is the money now spent by Government on education to come from if the grant is refused? Who will be responsible for the sin of keeping students out of schools and colleges in opposition to the wishes of their parents?

13. The boycotting of schools and colleges is in our opinion suicidal. What will Government lose if all the schools and colleges in the country are emptied? Will they suffer in the least? Gandhi and his co-workers have not yet given a satisfactory reply to this. If Government are saved the necessity of providing funds for education, they will have at their disposal annually an additional sum of about twelve or fifteen crores of rupees. No one need hope that they will correspondingly reduce the taxes. For a man to say that he can attain full *swarajya* by resorting to non-co-operation is to supply proof of the unsoundness of his mind. If you want complete and unadulterated *swarajya* you must unfurl the standard of rebellion and make it a success. But at present no one is either prepared for it or is desirous of it. Every man, whatever his professions may be, wants British sovereignty. We all want *swarajya* within the Empire and no one objects to the employment of all constitutional means with a view to attaining it. We must not, however, expect our movement to bear immediate fruit. Government are no doubt largely responsible for the people's want of faith in all constitutional agitation. But since the first-named remedy, namely, armed resistance, is neither feasible nor desirable we must have recourse to all constitutional and legitimate means: [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—The education given in Government and aided schools is no doubt defective, but the defects are not such as cannot be removed. Besides, under the reforms education will be a transferred subject and people will thus have an opportunity of making the necessary improvements in the present system. It is the height of unwisdom not to take advantage of this opportunity and to seek to arrest our educational progress. In spite of all its defects the present system of education has not hindered our political progress. Can any one deny that our present awakening is mainly due to modern education? Indeed, Mahatma Gandhi and his co-adjutors are themselves the products of modern education and they would not have attained to their present position in the absence of it.]

Jagriti (47), 4th and 11th Dec.

14. Boys are being induced in the name of national education to boycott existing schools which receive Government help and are supervised by Government. It is, however, surprising that boys are even being asked to boycott the Benares and Aligarh Universities, which, though they receive liberal grants from Government, are not under their control! Luckily Mr. Gandhi has not succeeded at Benares owing to the influence of Mr. Malaviya. Mr. Gandhi has opened a National University at Ahmedabad and many students have joined it. But we would like to say that an institution cannot be considered as national by mere change of name or by the substitution of a Sanskrit or Persian word in place of an English one. How can the University claim to be national when it prescribes text books used in the existing colleges? It is only the thoughts, customs, morals, religion and language that can give nationality to education; and we fail to understand what connection there can be between any system of education and nationality. How can that education which teaches students to break the tenets of their religion and to associate freely with the untouchables be considered as national? Education which is suitable to a nation

Can Mr. Gandhi's system be called national?
Gujarâti (19), 12th Dec.

and which teaches the masses to read and write can be considered as national education; otherwise education knows no bounds of race or creed.

15. In trying to refute the charge of irreligion brought against him in connection with the admitting of untouchables to the nationol schools and colleges, Mr. Gandhi writes to the *Navjivan*:—The untouchability of the depressed classes is a stigma upon the Hindu religion. It is likely that it was introduced as a custom to meet temporary requirements at the time of the decadence of the Hindu religion. The custom has not the sanction of the Shastras. The verses that are quoted in support of it are merely interpolations or are capable of different interpretations. Untouchability has never been considered as a religious duty by the Vaishnavites. The *Gita* says that one who has acquired religious equanimity should consider Brahmans, dogs and the untouchables as all alike. Those Vaishnavites who want to consider the depressed classes as untouchables cannot claim that they give them equal treatment with others. [The *Praja Bandhu* supports Mr. Gandhi and tries to run down those who are trying to make much of the untouchability of the depressed classes and put obstacles in the way of the national education movement. The *Sánj Vartamán* also denounces the agitation that is being made against the admission of untouchables in the National University and upholds Mr. Gandhi's views.]

Untouchability and the national education movement.

Navjivan (72), 12th Dec.; *Praja Bandhu* (30), 12th Dec.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 14th Dec.

16. The situation in this country is serious. The non-co-operationists are now thinking of starting the movement of social boycott or ostracism of those who have been duly elected for the Council seats. In our opinion the movement will in no way break the power of the bureaucracy. It will on the contrary strengthen its hands and create a great split among the people. We expected this as a result of the non-co-operation movement. The result of the social boycott will be disastrous for the country. The members thus ostracised will be obliged to make common cause with the Government, to the great disappointment of the Nationalists. The non-co-operationists should take note of these things before they launch their scheme of social boycott of their own countrymen, to the utter ruin of the country through internal dissensions. Yesterday we stated in these columns that the Sind Provincial Congress Committee which met at Hyderabad on Sunday last had after some discussion passed a resolution to the effect that the creed of the Congress should be changed. But we learn today that the Committee has by a majority of votes decided that the question should be postponed till next year by which time the people will have sufficient time to deliberate upon it and come to a right decision. We congratulate the members of the Committee for arriving at such a foresighted decision. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—According to a telegram just to hand Mr. Gandhi recommends social boycott of those who take part in Council elections. We earnestly hope that this news may not be correct, for we think that resort to social boycott will cause great mischief in the country. The social boycott will be a dangerous move and will cause any amount of disruption in people's homes. The *Al-Wahid* recommends this boycott as a duty not only to Muslims but also to Hindus. The question is a very serious one indeed! At present a very large majority of the population are against non-co-operation. If social boycott is to be enforced against those who are co-operators there may be no peace in households. We would request our non-co-operator friends to be more sensible.]

Social boycott will be disastrous to the country.

Bharatwasi (152), 24th and 30th Nov.

17. "Lord Sinha is an ex-president of the National Congress. It is all the more regrettable to find him out of touch with the national life of India. His speech at the Taj Mahal Hotel is that of a member of the bureaucracy..... His speech shows how difficult it is even for an honest, able man to shake off the influence of his environment. Lord Sinha looks at the Indian problem from the stand-point not of the nationalist

Comments on Lord Sinha's reply to the address of the Western India National Liberal Association.

New Times (9), 10th Dec.

but of an official, albeit an official of advanced views..... Of this national consciousness demanding *swaraj*, Lord Sinha has but a poor conception. And we are not surprised at his attempt to make much of the 'Reforms'..... Lord Sinha regrets the boycott of the Councils; he thinks they would 'solve the many problems awaiting solution.' Can they? Mr. Sastri's question in the Council concerning the Punjáb tragedy was disallowed by the Viceroy; can the new Councils redress the Punjáb wrong and the Khilafat grievance? Can the new Councils give *swaraj* to India? Can they annul the recommondations of the Esher Committee regarding the use of Indian armies in Mesopotamia, Egypt and Africa to support the interests of capitalistic imperialism? Can the Councils guard the rights and self-respect of Indians in the Colonies? The new Councils cannot help the country in matters essential. Nothing indeed can help us until there is born respect for the people in the heart of Government and until we can make our demand for *swaraj* effective. The way to do it is non-co-operation. But Lord Sinha sadly misconstrues the meaning and message of non-co-operation..... Lord Sinha is a 'modernist'; he has little knowledge of the fundamental spirituality of the Indian people; he does not know that India's masses will not respond to a message which is not essentially spiritual..... Even Sir Chimanlal Setlawad admits that the Punjáb tragedy and the Khiláfat wrongs have deeply wounded the self-respect of the Indian people; there you have the ethics of non-co-operation; it is not consistent with the nation's self-respect to co-operate with Government guilty of the Punjáb and Khiláfat wrongs. Even Lord Sinha will admit that Government cannot recognise India's right to have immediate *swaraj* until Government have a real respect for the Indian people; there you have the psychology of non-co-operation."

18. The record of work of the non-co-operation movement has not been considerable. All that the movement may be said to have so far achieved is the refusal on the part of a few voters to vote and the boycott on the part of a few students of their schools and colleges. No title-holders, no Government servants, except in a few cases, have renounced the titles and appointments conferred on them by an "unclean" Government, although such renunciation involved no sacrifice. As regards pleaders, these for the most part have retained their sanads and done nothing in the way of non-co-operation. It would seem from the manner in which pleaders have responded to the call for non-co-operation that there is no great spirit of self-sacrifice among us. If such are the achievements of non-co-operation in respect to the more easy items of its programme, is it possible for the movement to be a success in its later stages which require greater sacrifice? Mr. Shaukat Ali recently declared at Jhansi that if non-co- operation failed Muslims would resort to *Hijrat* or proclaim *Jehad*. Whether it is possible for Muslims to practise Hijrat the experience of returned Muhajrins will show. Failing Hijrat, Mr. Shaukat Ali will certainly resort to Jehad. The question now arises whether the Hindu will join hands with the Muslim in his Jehad or whether he will look on as a silent spectator while the Muslim will be fighting the Government or whether he he will stand by the Government.

The progress of non-co-operation.

Sind Vási (158), 27th Nov.

19. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* recalls that Germany induced Turkey to concentrate her army in Europe on the ground that victory in the main theatre of warfare would preserve Turkish dominions in Asia intact and under her continued sway. It adds that the end of the war found Christian Germany intact, while the Turkish empire was deprived of its outlying provinces in Asia. The paper draws a moral from this event, and maintains that the latter-day tendency of Indian Musalmans towards union with the Hindus in quest of *swaraj* may be fraught with evil consequences for the Muslims, inasmuch as the attainment of *swaraj* cannot affect the solution of the Khilafat question; hence it advises them to ask themselves whether or not they are working for the Khilafat. [Elsewhere it condemns those Musalmans who are bent upon creating a split among their own ranks by electing, as they did,

Warning to Muhammadans not to unite with the Hindus.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (160), 12th Dec.

Mr. V. J. Patel as president at a meeting at Dadar in order to condemn the Anjuman-i-Islam, Bombay, or by offering a welcome to Colonel Wedgwood who fought against their Muslim brethren, the Turks. In yet another place it adversely criticises Lord Curzon for his alleged opposition to the French and Italian desire for revising the Treaty of Sevres, and concludes by appealing to the Musalmans to subscribe to the Symrna Sufferers' Fund.]

20. The *Gujarâti* publishes an open letter addressed to Mr. M. K. Gandhi by Mr. Narasinharao Bholanath Divatia of Bandra in which he reminds Mr. Gandhi of the quiet life he used to lead a few years ago at Ahmedabad and the efforts he made to fill the life of his followers with religious zeal and to elevate the cultivating class and to teach them not to use foul and abusive language in their everyday life and writes:—I am grieved to see that you are now engaged in teaching the general public to abuse the Government with such epithets as "Satanic administration", etc., and am staggered at the thought of your exciting feelings of unforgiveness and other more dangerous sentiments among the people, while at one time you were a staunch advocate of forgiveness. Why did you enter this vortex of politics? I pray to God that you may be driven out of it so that you may preserve your saintliness. Will you not resort to self-introspection? How is it that your followers continue to indulge in the cry of "Gandhi maharajki jai" when you have forbidden them from doing so? Why do not you resort to *Satyagraha* to get your wishes respected? Will you take the trouble to find out how far your advice of non-violence is neglected in the non-co-operation movement? No good purpose is served by merely saying that those who do not obey your instructions are not your followers. Even your admirers say that there is no leader more autocratic than yourself. If that is so, then you do not seem to have conquered egoism. You are not quite unaware that standing on the peak of the Himalaya is likely to make a man feel dizzy. The incense of worship may be pleasing to the sense of smell, but what is there to wonder if it makes one who receives it blind for the time being? I feel confident that you will not take any offence at my suggestion. Some of your admirers will no doubt pour out the vials of their wrath upon me, but I do not care for that.

An open letter to Mr. Gandhi praying him to give up politics.
Gujarâti (19), 12th Dec.

21. Discussing Colonel Wedgwood's suggestion regarding a Joint Conference the *Hindu* remarks:—Our countrymen should not be led away by Colonel Wedgwood's proposal, which has three great drawbacks. Firstly, it is unbecoming on the part of the Congress to approach Government at this juncture with a request of this nature when a similar request from Mahatma Gandhi suggesting the appointment by Government of a Conference in connection with the Punjáb, the Khilafat and the *Swarâj* questions fell flat upon the authorities. If Government wants reconciliation, the move in the direction should be made by Government. Secondly, Colonel Wedgwood's proposal settles on behalf of the entire country what type of self-government should be given to India. We think the question of self-government should be left to the Indians themselves to settle. The Colonial type does not allow of a colony having direct political relations with foreign powers. India wants to be free in this respect. Thirdly, when even some of the Moderates demand the immediate grant of the Colonial type of self-government, there is no need of a time-limit at all. The result of the deliberations of a Conference will be that even those who want the Colonial type of self-government immediately will be thrown back. We hope that our people will beware of Colonel Wedgwood's suggestion.

Appeal to Indians not to be led away by Colonel Wedgwood's suggestion for a Joint Conference.
Hindu (153), 3rd Dec.

22. "For the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress, accredited representatives of the British Labour Party will be attending one of its annual sessions—in itself an epoch-making event..... That the meeting is full of potentialities we have no doubt; but we hope that Indians will not count too much on the assistance of the Labour Party in the work of India's national emancipation. While feeling certain that the Party will exert itself to the utmost of its power to help India, we feel also that the measure of such help will be

India should not count too much on the aid of the English Labour party in the matter of national emancipation.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Dec.

determined by circumstances over which no individual can claim control, and chiefly by the energy, decision, and spirit of self-reliance which Indians themselves will bring to bear on their task..... We may also take it for granted that Labour, left to itself, will honestly strive to give effect to its intentions. But we must not forget the complex political currents and cross-currents which confound the highest aims and swamp the most humane ideals of the political philosopher..... It must be remembered that men like Mr. Ben Spoor, Colonel Wedgwood and Mr. Holford Knight are representatives of the intellectual minority rather than of the majority of British Labour; and that, if the Labour Party came to power tomorrow, we should be more likely to see Mr. Henderson or Mr. Thomas at the India Office than either Colonel Wedgwood or Mr. Spoor—that is to say, a perfect ignoramus upon Indian matters, more completely at the mercy of the permanent officials than any of his predecessors..... The presence of the fraternal delegates from British Labour at the forthcoming session of the Congress at Nagpur will, we trust, confirm the pledge of Labour goodwill and friendship for India; but above all let us hope that the delegates will use fresh and first-hand knowledge that they may acquire during their sojourn in this country, to eradicate the colossal ignorance of India prevailing among their countrymen."

23. We are not so enthusiastic as to extend a hearty welcome to Mr. Ben Spoor. We have not the same regard for the Labour Party as before. This is because the Labour Party does not act up to its professions. If the Labour Party really desires that every unit of the Empire should be in the enjoyment of peace and contentment, it should strive to achieve that end. Although it is not now in power, it has the power to do good to others. Has it discharged this duty? Has the Labour Party taken the lead in giving Home Rule to Ireland? The Labour members have talked a good deal about liberty and equality but have not done that which they could easily have done. [The *Vidushak* publishes a cartoon showing Colonel Wedgwood milking a cow (national movement) with one hand and holding a knife in the other, with the following letter press:—"O, this is no saint! This is a butcher! He will use the knife on the cow. (Colonel Wedgwood came here with the help of Congress money and has now began to speak against the resolution of the Congress.)"]

Sandesh (130), 11th Dec.; *Vidushak* (142), 6th Dec.

24. We have received news to the effect that the Mamlatdar of Sampagauvi Taluka, District Belgaum, has issued an order asking some kulkarnis, on the ground of their having gone to attend a non-co-operation meeting, to show cause why they should not be dismissed from their office. The meeting took place on 24th October 1920 and the Government order forbidding attendance at such meetings came out on 1st November 1920. So it cannot be said that the Kulkarnis attended the meeting in defiance of the Government order. Hence, what sense is there in accusing these poor Kulkarnis of sedition for having attended the meeting?

Proposed dismissal of certain Kulkarnis in Belgaum for attending a non-co-operation meeting.
Karnatak Mitra (39), 9th Dec.

25. Alluding to the Students' Conference to be held in Nagpur, the *Kesari* writes:—There is no doubt that Lala Lajpatrai, the president-elect, will give the students the advice needed. We suggest it to the students to discuss freely and calmly about their future attitude towards non-co-operation. It would be better not to pass resolutions unaccompanied by action. They should bear the responsibility themselves. If students by self-inspiration are ready for self-sacrifice, leaders will make some necessary arrangements for them. But the credit and responsibility of whatever they do will be theirs; and the students should set about their work with this idea in mind.

The All-India Students' Conference.
Kesari (114), 14th Dec.

***26.** In the course of an article on the Nagpur Congress, the *Mahratta* writes:—"One question on the agenda which stands out in bolder relief, is the question of the change of the Congress creed..... Discussion is likely to centre round the point of the definition of *swarajya*. As a matter of fact there ought to be the least difficulty about this point. All politically-minded people will agree that the best judge of a suitable form of

The question of the British connection with reference to the Congress creed.
Mahratta (8), 19th Dec.

government for a certain people is the people themselves. Again, in some quarters much ado is made of 'within the British Empire'. We fail to understand why India's goal should be sought to be cramped into this procrustean bed. None in his senses thinks of snapping all connection with the Empire, but it need not be idolised and held sacrosanct. It is the people's right to choose whether they are to remain within or without, and certainly the setting of such a limit is a useless and hobbling encumbrance. If all people unanimously agree that the Empire has become a dead weight for them and their country they must be at liberty to withdraw themselves from the crushing position. Besides the hair-splitting about the definition of *Swarajya* and the retention or the deletion of the words 'within the British Empire,' the distinction between 'legitimate and peaceful means' on the one hand and 'constitutional means' on the other, will, it is more than probable, give rise to a miasma of doubts and suspicions. In plain-speaking, for our part, we believe the distinction is not more useful and conclusive than that between tweedledee and tweedledum. For, whether the word legitimate or constitutional is included, both of them may be held to involve legal or illegal means. It cannot be definitely laid down that everything legitimate is legal or that what is legal is invariably constitutional."

27. "We for our part wish earnestly that India may retain her connection with Great Britain, but not against her will, nor upon terms which are dishonouring to both parties, but principally to the ruling party which imposes them. It must be perfectly evident to everyone who takes the trouble to think, that if the British connection has become irksome to a great number of Indians it is the fault of the British, and that if they are to favour it again, the British must redress existing wrongs and hold out such a prospect to the Indian nation as may recommend it to their minds, if not their hearts, in future. To sever the British connection by force is out of the question, for all the force is on the side of England. But we believe it to be impossible for England, with her democratic institutions to go on ruling a nation of more than three hundred million souls against that nation's will. Repressive measures will not really help, for there is such a thing as world opinion; and the propaganda against England in some foreign countries is already formidable..... What Englishman worthy of the name would seriously uphold the horrible ill-treatment which Indians are receiving in the British Dominions and colonies? What Englishman would call it just, or even wise politically, to use Indian troops for purposes offensive to Indian sentiment and public opinion? What Englishman would seriously contend that the breach of England's solemn pledges to the Arabs and the Indians in the Turkish treaty is defensible? What Englishman can really justify, or take a pride in the extraordinary attack of nerves which culminated in the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh? And yet most Englishmen accept these things, as nowadays they accept all accomplished facts, and, which is worse, they take their stand upon them. While that is so, the Indian nation cannot possibly take any pride or pleasure in the British connection..... In the midst of such injustice, indifference and hostility, what hope is there for her; what help can she discern, within the Empire? She is being forced into hostility to the British connection, and no Indian is in a position to stop the process. That must be done by an Englishman, or group of Englishmen. But where, since England is indifferent, and the Dominions hostile, can Englishmen be found with will or power to do it? Well, how about the English here in India? What is the difference between the Government of India at this moment, and the Government of any of the Self-Governing Dominions? Is it not this: that the Government of Australia, for example, represents the people of Australia and upholds their point of view through thick and thin, even to the point of threatening non-co-operation with the Imperial Government in case the national demand is not complied with? Let the Government of India do the same, just once; let the British in India take their stand for India firmly on but one occasion, and they will see for themselves how much their previous attitude has been responsible for the distrust and discontent of Indians. Complete *Swarajya* could and would include the British, if the British here in India stood for India; and it could be granted tomorrow without the slightest 'danger';

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Dec.

indeed, the immediate grant of it, by rousing enthusiasm, would avert all danger in the situation for long years to come. That is the solution we would advocate if it were possible. It seems to us impossible at present only because the hide-bound Anglo-Indian will not stand for India, because he will not meet the Indian upon equal terms; and because, in order to preserve his privileged position, he is organising opposition both in India and in England to the human rights and natural claims and aspirations of the Indian people."

Undesirability of weakening the non-co-operation resolution in the Nagpur Congress.
Kesari (114), 14th. Dec.

28. There are only two really important questions before the next Congress. What should be the constitution of the Congress? Whether there is any need of making changes in the Calcutta resolution? Of the two, the question of the Constitution is new and more important and it will not be surprising if it forms the principal subject to be discussed by the Congress. It is not desirable that when the Congress is demanding every year immediate *swarájya*, the words 'step by step' should be included in the statement of it objects. It is likely that this subject will give rise to serious discussion and differences. The second subject is non-co-operation. We do not say the subject is not controversial. The differences that arose at Calcutta about the details of non-co-operation are not yet composed. We attach less importance to this subject than to the constitution of the Congress. We held and hold that every one has a right to get the resolution amended, but once the question is opened there will be no end to amendments. There are some who would like to move backward just as there are others who would like to go forward. In many ways the Calcutta resolution can be improved upon. All the classes should be included in the agitation, at least the Congress resolution should be addressed to all classes. Non-co-operation should be applied to all the educated as well as the uneducated and all should equally be made to feel the responsibility. Though it is desirable to revise the Calcutta resolution on non-co-operation it is not desirable to weaken it and only those who want to make it stronger should take up the question.

Moderates should not attend the sessions of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 17th Dec.

29. The Moderates are being asked to take part in the forthcoming sessions of the Indian National Congress which will meet at Nagpur and to express their views before the Congress in as impressive manner as they possibly can. We are sorry we cannot endorse the suggestion, and hope that the Moderates will not choose to join the assembly of intolerant people and injure their self-respect. They have only to bear in mind the treatment given by Extremists to Mrs. Besant and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad at public meetings. The Moderates will have ample opportunities of discusing political matters and to express their views thereon in the Special Conference of the National Liberal Association to be held on the 29th December 1920.

Protest against the enlargement of the Provincial Executive Councils.
Bombay Chronicle (2), 19th Dec.

***30.** "Though the Joint Committee has recommended that the normal number of members of this Council need not exceed two, it is understood that we are to have no less than four members, two Civilians and two non-official Indians. In addition to these there will be, of course, the Ministers—two or more of them. Since none of the Ministers will be without a portfolio, it is difficult to understand why the Executive Councils should be enlarged in the extravagant manner proposed. It is stated that this is being done with a view to maintain intact the vested interests of the Service, which would have one post less than at present if the Council were to consist of only two members. So, rather than give up one post the Service appears prepared to saddle the provincial exchequer with the burden of maintaining two more. Thus the Governor is to be surrounded with a Council of four members and two or more Ministers. Lord Willingdon proposes to seek the aid of seven Councillors, of whom three will be Ministers.

At present, the Governor's Council costs about three lakhs per annum in salaries only. Henceforward, it is to cost double the amount. Are the Reforms really worth this enormous outlay? And, moreover, can this poor country bear the burden of this top-heavy administration, without detriment to its vital interests? In no civilised country is the Public service so costly as in this country and no country is poorer than ours. And yet the administration is being made every day more and more top-heavy. How long will it last?"

31. "It would appear that, in Madras and Bengal at any rate, the retention of two British members of the Executive Council is decided upon by Government, and since the Joint Select Committee has insisted upon an equality of European and Indian members, another Indian will have to be added to the existing one, so that the Executive Council in these presidencies will consist of two Indian and two European members. Thus, after the transfer of more than half the work to ministers, we shall have a Council of four men to do the smaller half of the work which is now being done by three, and which before 1909 was being done by two men. This is a scandalous waste of public money of which no Government which places the interests of the country above the vested interests of the officials will be guilty. It is not contended that the work has increased; indeed, the authorities make no bones of their anxiety to have two European members on the Council in order that these may act as an effective counterpoise, not only against their Indian ccolleagues, but against the ministry..... As it has so happened in Bombay that the seniormost councillor has recently laid down the reins of his office, it is to be hoped that in this Presidency at any rate such a reckless waste of public money will not take place. If on one side there is a danger of official extravagance, there is on the other side a danger of popular extravagance. The ministers' salary is to be determined, under the Government of India Act, by the Legislative council..... There is no doubt among Indians that the Executive Councillor's salary is much too high. It follows then that the minister's salary must undergo a sweeping reduction. The salary should not be so low as to scare people away; nor should it be so tempting as to make it in itself a prize to aim at. For it must be remembered that all our future ministers will not be Paranjpyes and Malaviyas to whom calumny cannot ascribe interested motives..... Is there any reason why provincial ministers in India should get more than what Cabinet ministers get in Japan, house rent and allowances being duly provided for? We cannot conceive of any. No one thinks in these countries of judging of a minister's position by the amount of his salary..... We want under Home Rule to make drastic reduction in the salaries of the high-grade officers and bring them into some sort of relation with India's economic position. What a moral force would our ministers wield if they themselves surrendered their high salaries! Instead of the ministers being regarded as of inferior status on that account, the Executive Councillors would have a guilty sense in their company, and whatever the ministers' personal feelings may be, the council must demand a large reduction of their salary..... Such a reduction of their salary would better enable us to have more ministers, and it is desirable to have more ministers than two. For we must bear in mind that the work which they will perform differs in kind from that done hitherto by Executive Councillors. Ministers have to shape their policy in accordance with public opinion, and it will be their business to create and mould public opinion as well as to be guided by it. Executive Councillors concerned themselves very little with what people thought, but ministers cannot keep themselves in being unless supported by public opinion, and much of their time will be consumed in creating such opinion. Moreover, they have to frame schemes of expansion on new and untried lines, and they will be able to do so adequately if they have charge of only one department..... That is why Lord Selborne, who presided over the Select Committee, gave expression in Parliament to the belief that there will have to be three ministers in every province and four in some..... It is of course evident that the more ministers we have the more experience we shall get, and when at the beginning we shall have to undertake investigation

Servant of India (10), 16th Dec.

in every department and plan future progress in unsettled conditions, it is essential that we should have more ministers."

*32. Appointments to the Executive Councils of other Provinces have been announced and the Bombay appointments also will be announced in a day or two. The appointments confirm the fear expressed by the popular party. Government have decided to appoint two Europeans and two Indians to the Executive Councils of Madras and Bengal and the same system will be followed in Bombay. Government have fallen a prey to the idea of false prestige and they have needlessly saddled the Provincial administrations with a great burden. Government seem to have placed before their eye the evil principle that there should be at least two European Civilians in every administration. As in the United Provinces the Governor himself is a Civilian, one more is found enough; but in Behar as the Governor is an Indian, he is burdened with two Civilians. It is quite unjust and will increase racial distinctions and distrust. It is also not in keeping with the recommendations of the Joint Committee's report. Individually the appointments in Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces are good. The appointment of Sirdar Sundersingh Majithia will create great discontent. Already people are disturbed on account of the Punjáb affairs; and the appointment of an unpopular man to a great responsible post will add to rather than lessen the difficulties of the administration.

Dnyán Prakásh (43), 19th Dec.

33. Referring to the report that there are to be four members in each of the Executive Councils of the three large Presidencies, the *Bharat Seva* remarks:—At present the three members of the Provincial Executive Council have been found to be quite sufficient. When Education, Commerce and Industries, Local Self-Government, Sanitation, Abkari and Agriculture are transferred to the popular ministers, much of the work of the Executive Council will be lessened; and then one Indian and one European member will be quite enough. If necessary, there might be three Ministers instead of two. Not only are four Executive Councillors quite unnecessary, but they would entail a great burden on the Provincial Exchequer. Besides, the intention to have four Councillors might be interpreted as meaning that Government want to strengthen from the very beginning their position against the Ministers and are unwilling to part with their power. The public do not want more civilians in the Executive Councils. They would not be pleased if there was one European and one Indian civilian in the Councils, for there are some Indian civilians who are not less high-handed than the European. We, therefore, wish that our Governor will not copy the example of any other province but will appoint a Council of only two members, one Indian and one European. At present the people have lost their confidence in Government, and if it is to be restored and if the new Reforms are to be made a success, Government should respect public opinion and should place as much power as possible in the hands of the popular Ministers. There should not be an Executive Council of four in opposition to the two ministers.

Bharat Seva (16), 17th Dec.

34. "The moment it became certain that a little measure of real non-official control was to be introduced into the administration, the governing caste hastened to improve the salaries and pensions of the higher ranks of the service, manned by themselves, in a most lavish manner. The low-paid subordinate ranks are left to be content with the crumbs and the leavings. Simultaneously with this movement is the other to multiply the highly-paid posts, on the plea of growth of administrative business. Take our own Presidency. Before the war, at the head of the Revenue and Financial Department there was one Secretary and one Assistant Secretary. During the war a Deputy Secretary's post was added to these. Now, under the Reform Scheme, it is proposed to divide this Department into two, the Revenue Department and the Financial Department, each with a Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Assistant Secretary. That is to say,

Protest against the duplication of the higher appointments in the Bombay Secretariat.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Dec.

where formerly there were only two, now six highly paid officials are to be appointed to cope with the work. Has the volume of business increased three-fold since the war? Similar will be the case with the Political and Judicial Departments, which is now to be bifurcated into the Political and Home Departments, each with its Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Assistant Secretary. This duplication of establishments is expected to entail in each case an extra expenditure of about a lakh of rupees. In this estimate we are not counting the cost of the additional clerical staff, stationery, etc."

Appeal to the elected members of Reformed Councils to resign their seats.

Lárkána Gazette (52), 27th Nov.

35. At the last election, when candidates had sent their names for the Council seats, each one of them had been appealed to by the public to withdraw his candidature and respect the decision of the Congress. Some of course responded to the appeal while others turned a deaf ear to it. To such as have now been elected we appeal again to respect the voice of the public by resigning their membership. It will be a graceful thing for them to do so of their own accord. If however they hesitate in taking such a step we suggest that a joint deputation of Hindus and Muhammadans should wait upon these gentlemen; and in case they do not listen to anybody, public meetings should be held in every town and village to denounce their conduct. The Sind Provincial Khilafat and Congress Committees should take early steps to form a joint deputation to wait upon such gentlemen.

Thousands of people will be rendered homeless by Tata and Company's operations in Mulshi Petha (Poona).

Kesari (114), 14th Dec.; *Lokasangraha* (117), 17th Dec.

36. Mr. Vinayak Mahadev Bhuskute writes about the Mulshi Dam to be built by Tata and Company and says that he has toured in the parts likely to be affected thereby and says that Government are rendering 15,000 persons homeless by granting permission to Tata and Company and incurring the sin of putting the tract providing thousands of khandies of rice to Maharashtra under water. He remarks that he does not know what public good Government mean to achieve by this dam. The people are ready, he continues, to follow with one mind the ways suggested by the leaders and that they are expecting eagerly the arrival of the leaders to succour them. [The special correspondent of the *Lokasangraha* who says he personally visited some of the villages affected declares that extreme restlessness prevails among the villagers at the prospect of Government depriving them of their dearly loved lands. He goes on:—Prayers, deputations, &c., have come to naught. The mavlas of 52 villages in Mulshi Peta have become mad in their hopelessness as to what to do to save their lands, dear to them as their very lives, in their present utterly helpless condition. Thousands of agriculturists in the Ahmednagar and Sholapur districts are already leaving their villages owing to famine conditions, and the operations in the Mulshi Peta are going to add 15,000 to their number by submerging the most fertile lands belonging to them. During the famine two years back, this peta not only exported thousands of khandis of corn to other districts, but sent out three lacs worth of grass and also maintained a thoussnd cattle from Ahmednagar. It will never do to submerge such a useful tract. If Government mean to misuse the Land Acquisition Act in this manner, they should be warned in time, and the whole of Maharashtra should awake itself not to allow the submersion of the lands dear to the mavlas who once fought under Shivaji's banner for the sake of Maharashtra.]

Mahratta (8), 19th Dec.

***37.** Mr. N. C. Kelkar writes in the *Mahratta*:—"I have just returned from a tour in the south-western corner of the Poona district, where I was invited by the representatives of 52 villages which are threatened with destruction within the next two or three years on account of the proposed dam on the Mula river. And I have returned both a sadder and a wiser man. I say sadder, because my heart grieves over the fate which awaits thousands of villagers in this part of the Poona district; and I may say I come

back wiser in this sense that it confirms me in the conviction that the Bombay administration is almost a heartless one and is permeated through and through with a purely capitalist spirit. I was invited to give the doomed villagers some advice, but I found that they knew already more than I could tell them. They had lost all faith in the righteousness of the administration. It is possible they may not go to any sad extreme in their despair, but it is obvious that if they leave their homes and go abroad, they will carry with them an undying feeling of bitterness towards the Government and will also swell the ranks of the enemies of the rich commercial classes in the land. From my inquiries I learnt that the District authorities do not heartily support the project of creating an unnatural bed of water, which is actually to spread over, or at least render uninhabitable, an area of roughly about 500 square miles, and to destroy the hearths and homes of the present and the future generations of fifteen to twenty thousand people..... But the final dispensation in this respect unfortunately remains neither with the Mahalkari, nor the Deputy Collector, nor the Collector, nor even the Commissioner. They may indeed, as they have necessarily to, carry out the policy of the Government, however unrighteous or heartless it may be; but I believe that in their heart of hearts they would rather not do this bad job..... The tract in question is now to be acquired under the Land Acquisition Act for the benefit of the Tata Company, who have prepared a project for generating electricity by hydraulic power drawn from the proposed water-bed, and who have already floated a joint-stock company to finance the project. The question therefore arises whether the purpose for which the land is to be acquired is a 'public purpose' within the meaning of the Land Acquisition Act. The farce of a public inquiry in this respect has, of course, been gone through; but the Act practically gives the last word to the Executive Government in such matters, and the purpose here will become a public purpose by the mere fact that the Bombay Government choose to say so..... It is notorious that the capital financing this particular project is for the great part non-Indian, also that the management of the Tata concerns is prominently European. Only a nominal fraction of the share capital is open to the public as such. One, therefore, fails to understand how far the project is a 'public purpose' from the broad Indian point of view. During the inquiry under Section 40 of the Land Acquisition Act it was stated on behalf of the Tata Company that the electric power would be, in the first instance, transmitted to Bombay and used by mills and electro-chemical factories. If the mills are driven by electricity there will be less smoke issuing from Bombay chimneys. But it is only the capitalist logic that can prove that it is justifiable to destroy the homes of twenty thousand ancient families in the Poona district to secure what at best may be described as an amenity of life of a portion of the rich classes of the island of Bombay. Then, again, who are those for whose benefit will the electro-chemical factories be conducted? The bye-products of the project may benefit foreign capitalist companies like Graham and Company; but who are they that fifteen to twenty thousand peasant proprietors of the Poona District may be sacrificed at their altar? The Railway Companies, it is said, may be able to electrify their services; but here, again, one may pertinently inquire how Government can justify the entire destruction of the homes, hearths and occupation of fifteen to twenty thousand harmless people simply because the convenience or the efficiency of railway service may advance by a few points?..... As regards shares, of course the big landholders alone can profit by this concession. But Government are bound to see that the Company does not refuse the offer made by a landholder who is willing to take shares instead of money compensation. As for exchange of land, Government are morally bound to make an honest and a strenuous effort to secure land for land. Their moral obligations in respect of their own agricultural ryot are certainly far more onerous than in respect of new capitalist companies whose enterprise is aimed only at making the rich richer..... As regards compensation, Government have parctically everything their own way, as the Collector who makes the primary award, as well as the District Judge who makes the final award in a case of contest, are both of them salaried servants of Government. And both of them being officially interested are moreover in a majority of cases absolutely incompetent to

properly appreciate the financial loss likely to be caused to the land-owner by the land acquisition..... The evil is further aggravated by Government acting upon the maxim 'acquire in haste and compensate at leisure." One can easily imagine the difficulties of the land-owner who happens to be driven from his land before the process of fixing the compensation ends. ..... I really do not see why Government should not insist upon finishing in a satisfactory manner this business of fixing and paying compensation in cash before allowing an adverse entry on the land. The whole world of equities is in favour of the cash payment of compensation before dispossession, and the only satisfactory way to secure this is to insist upon private arbitration, so far as the amount of compensation is concerned, though the land may be compulsorily acquired. I do say that notwithstanding anything contained in the Land Acquisition Act, there is nothing to prevent Government, if they so wish it, from insisting upon private arbitration for land acquisition and actual payment before the necessary notification for dispossession is issued..... The pet beneficiary of Government may naturally suffer by this process, but he is after all a parasite..... So far as I have seen, Government have, in the present case, done absolutely nothing beyond putting up the usual notices on the village *chawdies* by way of taking the imperilled ryot in their confidence, speaking words of explanation and consolation to them and assuring them in a practical manner that, though perhaps the land acquisition may be necessary, they will do everything in their power to safeguard their interests so far as conmpensation and rehabilitation are concerned. The ryots are absolutely in the dark as to their doom; and only a vague sort of consternation is preying upon their mind night and day. It is natural, therefore, that they should think of such extreme though non-violent measures as despair alone suggests and a real love of the hearth and home alone inspires. I found them openly proclaiming this as a sin which is sure to count against the British Government in God's judgment upon the latter; and though one may try to persuade these people to take a wider view of the matter, he finds Government almost determined to do everything possible to contradict and upset all charitable construction upon their acts, and to make themselves appear to the ryot as unrighteous, unjust and manifestly partial to the capitalist class—especially a capitalist class of their own kith and kin. The present Governor replying to the deputation of the Trades' Union Congress resented the imputation that Government were capitalist in their inclinations. I openly ask His Excellency if anything more is needed to prove the allegation to the hilt than the official support to the present hydro-electric scheme, which destroys the homes of fifteen to twenty thousand agriculturists in order to eliminate the smoking chimneys in the island of Bombay. When His Excellency was approached with a request to receive a deputation on behalf of the villagers threatened with destruction, he simply referred them to his Secretary. I am quite sure His Excellency must have wasted much more time, than would be required for receiving this deputation, into nonsensical frivolities like patronising by his presence a cricket contest in Bombay, or a harmful diversion like the horse-races on the maidan. Surely a *ma-bap* Sarkar ought to behave better towards its children."

38. 'A rayat' writes in the *Raj Hansa*:—At the time of the recovery of the last instalment of the land assessment the Mamlatdar of Navalgund (Dhárwár) gave an illegal order to the village-officers to collect about Rs. 820 for repairing a private well. The order was executed, collections being made at half the local fund rate (*i.e.*, half an anna in the rupee) from the poor rayats. Though the Collector has been requested over and over again to do justice to the poor rayats and punish the Mamlatdar, he has yet done nothing. Why should there be this lawlessness under a Government which calls itself lawful and just? If Government do not care to investigate this matter even now, we hope some members of the Legislative Council will put questions regarding it.

Complaint that a Mamlatdar in the Dhárwár District collected money from the rayats to repair a private well.

Raj Hansa (88), 14th Dec.

39. *Young India* thus concludes an article in which it reviews Miss Ellen La Motte's book entitled "The Opium Monopoly", published by the New York publishing house of Messrs. Macmillan and Company:—"It is a well-known phenomenon that drugged people are usually docile and submissive. Miss La Motte thinks that that is the secret of much of the successful British colonisation. She has successfully demonstrated by facts and figures which we have quoted copiously that wherever the British flag waves over subject peoples there opium is sold and its use sedulously encouraged, as did the English merchant of the illustration in Siam. 'Is would seem at first glance', Miss La Motte concludes, 'as if subject racet were fair game if there is money in it. Subject races, dependents who have no vote, no share in the Government and who are powerless to protect themselves—fair game for exploitation. Is this double-dealing what we mean when we speak of 'our responsibility to backward nations', or of 'the scred trust of civilization' or, still again, when we refer to 'the white man's burden?' And we ask, will the Reform boon save India from this blasphemous crime she is made to perpetrate upon thousands of her own children by the growth, use, and export of the opium poison? We pause for an answer."

Alleged harm done by England to the Asiatic nations through the opium traffic.
Young India (14), 15th Dec.

40. As the conditions likely to be proposed by the Ministry are quite unacceptable to the Sinn Feiners, it is clear that the attempt at compromise will fail, like so many other things. It would be ridiculing self-determination, if those who sing its praises were to order others not to establish republics and accept a particular administrative system. It is no compromise to ask for a one-sided agreement requiring the stoppage of revenge but at the same time leaving Government free to send leaders to jail. Though peace reigns in Ireland this week (*sic*) disorders will again commence when the failure of compromise will be known and at last the British ministry will have to abandon their pride and effect a compromise.

The situation in Ireland.
Kesari (114), 14th Dec.

41. One shudders at the recent news about Ireland. A review of the situation in Ireland compels the observation that Ireland, because of its excessive zeal, has become an unfortunate country, and that His Majesty's Government because of its arrogance has also become an unfortunate Government. There is no doubt that the Government has committed heinous and brutal deeds in Ireland. The Prime Minister himself admits all this, but condones it on the ground that the officials of Government had been driven to it by the excesses of the people themselves. We cannot but shed tears over the plight of Ireland and wonder at the blind self-sufficiency of the British Government. History, both past and present, shows that repression has never succeeded in suppressing any movement. A movement for which the late Lord Mayor of Cork sacrificed his life, for which young men went to the gallows with smiles on their faces, cannot die out under repression. The Government has gone too far in a campaign of repression, with the result that Irish patriotism has grown from more to more. The young men of Ireland are now bent upon gaining freedom, and nothing that the Government can do can daunt them. There is one way only to quiet Ireland, and that is to grant her her birthrights.

Hindu (153), 28th Nov.

42. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses its inability to grasp exactly the existing situation from the various press communiques published by the Foreign Department of the Government of India with regard to the diplomatic missions to Afghanistan and Tibet. It traces the vicissitudes of the Afghan Peace mission after the preliminary conversations at Mussourie and its ultimate recall to Kabul after reaching Jallalabad on its way to India, owing to the party of General

Appeal to Government to publish the correspondence on the subject of the missions to Afghanistan and Tibet.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 16th Dec.

Nadir Khan becoming very powerful in the Afghan Court, and points out that, with such strong feelings against the British Government prevailing in Afghanistan, the announcement that the Afghan authorities are preparing to invite the Government of India to send out a Peace Mission to Kabul cannot fail to cause surprise. In order to allay the uneasiness and astonishment prevailing among the public, the paper urges Government to publish the correspondence which led to the invitation by the Afghan Government. It also makes the same request with respect to the correspondence on the subject of the friendly mission to Tibet. The paper declares that such publication is all the more necessary as the people fear that, from recent happenings, it would seem that Lord Curzon, who is now Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is attempting to carry out the ambitious schemes about bringing Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet under the protection of the Government of India which he entertained when he was Viceroy but which he was then prevented from carrying out by the higher authorities.

How the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy is ruling India.
Rashtradharma (new), 11th Dec.

43. At present the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy is ruling in India in the name of the King of England according to its own sweet will. We all know how very heavily the Indians have suffered during the last 150 years owing to the satanic and selfish character of this administration. If a patriotic Indian exposes the faults in their administration, these high officials appointed by the Emperor to serve the people, instead of effecting any improvements in it, only seek to punish him. Some law is always set in motion to stop the mouth of a man who happens to find fault with the Government. If an Indian discharges this duty by means of a newspaper, his paper is either suppressed outright or its existence brought to an end by punishing its editor. The citadel of this bureaucracy is so impregnable that no one, except perhaps all-consuming time, can hope to make any impression on it.

Comments on the conduct of an English Professor at Sialkot.
Al-Wahid (151), 1st Dec.

44. Under the heading "A demented Englishman" the *Al-Wahid* remarks:—A mad English professor at Sialkot used an indecorous term with reference to Mahatma Gandhi in the class. The students stayed away from the college as a protest. This has cleared the head of the Englishman of its dungy stuff and made him declare that he was a great fool to call Mahatma Gandhi a fool. Mahatma Gandhi was really a very esteemable leader. With such words he prefaced his apology, etc. Indians can always take the wind out of the heads of Englishmen as did the students of Sialkot: only a little courage is required.

Comments on Mr. Lionel Curtis's remarks about insulting behaviour on the part of Europeans in India.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 14th Dec. (Eng. cols.)

45. "We do not understand why Sir Michael O'Dwyer is at such pains to refute the extremely moderate statement of Mr. Lionel Curtis that the embitterment of some educated Indians is in every case due to the rankling memory of a European's insult..... Sir Michael is wrong in believing that Mr. Curtis's statement is contrary to facts, and that it is a cruel libel on official and non-official Europeans in India. The general attitude of the European towards the Indian has been one of arrogance and aloofness. There is nothing particularly unnatural or inhuman in this attitude. It has in fact been the traditional attitude of the ruling class towards the subject masses everywhere in all periods of human history..... In the case of the European in India, to the insolence of office was added the pride of race. The Englishman came as a foreigner and a ruler, and he never forgot, not only that he was the ruler, but that he was a foreigner. His aloofness as a foreigner alienated the people quite as much as his insolence as an official- This combination of qualities has undoubtedly diminished the popularity of British rule in India. At the present day of course it is not correct to refer the existing discontents to want of manners and sympathy on the part of the average European in India. They are broad-based on more serious faults and defects. But the beginnings of popular

discontent can be traced to the unpopular qualities indicated above..... If the British officials had tried to be civil and cordial towards the people of the land, and to participate in their feelings and pursuits, they would not have drawn such bitter opposition to themselves as a privileged class. But they did not think it necessary, for the contentment and good government of the people to cultivate courtesy and cordiality. They remained cold, distant, arrogant..... In India the manners of the European is a matter of political concern. It is in this view that Lord Morley delared that bad manners, odious everywhere, were in India a crime. Unfortunately, the authorities, in most instances, condoned or made light of this particular crime, with the result that the European, believing that he could behave as he liked towards the Indian with impunity, became more and more insolent and the Indian, believing that he could get no justice for injury done by a white man, became more and more embittered. However, it is no longer possible to solve the problem of Indian politics by a mere improvement in the manners of the European or Anglo-Indian..... The causes of the disaffection lie deeper, and the remedies will have to be more drastic..... There has to be a change not only of manners and methods, but of fundamental principles. Bad manners may not be incompatible with good government, but a bad Government does appear worse by the insolence of the governing class. With the prevalence of more correct principles of government there is bound to come a higher standard of manners too."

46. Commenting upon Mr. Lionel Curtis's suggestion in his book on Indian Diarchy to the effect that local Governments should be empowered to deport those Europeans who have been proved to be guilty of insulting behaviour towards Indians, the *Hindusthán* remarks:—There can be no doubt that Mr. Curtis has laid his finger on one of the real causes of the Indian discontent. The racial bias exhibited in deciding cases between the black and the white and in matters such as compensating Europeans and Indians in connection with the Punjáb outrages, etc., is the real cause of disaffection. The old feeling of respect for British justice has been gradually destroyed; and it is essential that Government should take some steps to mend matters. But it is doubtful whether the remedy suggested by Mr. Curtis will have the desired effect. If insulting and violent behaviour without cause is an offence, it is desirable to let it be punished by the ordinary criminal law. In cases of breaches of the law Europeans should be treated in the same manner as Indians. To arm local Governments with the powers proposed would mean the perpetuation of the distinctions between high and low. So long as the various forms of racial distinction between Indians and Europeans are not removed, the discontent prevailing in India will never die out. "We are the conquerors and the Indians are a subject people." As long as such an attitude prevails it is not possible for such discontent to disappear.

Hindusthán (24), 15th Dec.

47. Referring to the closing of the Dyer Fund started by the *Morning Post* the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—"We wonder what useful purpose is this disgraceful information going to serve by being cabled all the way from London to India, and presumably to all other parts of the world. Is it meant for India's edification? If that is the purpose, Reuter's action is quite unjustifiable. India needs no further edification on the subject. Such a cable, if it serves any purpose at all, simply acts as an instrument to re-open an extremely smart sore..... That a great English daily newspaper should stand champion to the 'butcher of Jhallianwalla' is itself a matter of the highest significance..... But the subscribers to the Dyer Fund are, after all, insignificant and of lesser importance than men who stood up on his behalf in both the Houses of Parliament. A Carson in the Commons and a Finlay in the Lords will always be regarded in India as the sinister incarnation of everything that is foul and blood-thirsty in the nature of man..... We have been told that the verdict of the Lords and the discussion in the House of Commons did not represent the true feeling of the British people towards the Dyerian episode. Such a statement simply begs the question. If the

Reflections on the Dyer Fund started by the *Morning Post*.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 11th Dec., Eng. cols.

Houses of Parliament do not represent the British public who does? Do the subscribers of the Dyer Fund of the *Morning Post* represent the true British heart? But if they too do not, is Anglo-India the true and rightful custodian of the heart and mind of Great Britain? But if all of these are to be repudiated then all the Dyerian sympathy evinced by his countrymen is merely smoke and ashes. But is it? It is not; everyone of them, individually and collectively, are the representatives, in their own distinct spheres, of British mentality. Every one of them, individually and collectively, show most conclusively the direction in which the wind is blowing. The real fact of the matter is that not only Dyer, but all his supporters and sympathisers have given the British case away. They have shown as distinctly as the noon day sun that in spite of England's connection with India for more than a century and a half the gulf between the two has not been bridged and never will be."

Contrast between the treatment of newspaper correspondents in Ireland at present and during the Martial Law regime in the Punjáb.

Servant of India (10), 16th Dec.

48. "The freedom which is allowed to newspaper correspondents in Ireland in face of the civil war which is raging there stands out in bold relief when contrasted with the gag which was applied to the press in the Punjáb when O' Dwyerism had to deal with the local disturbances of last year..... O'Dwyerian statesmen evidently did not think (and who could say they were wrong?) that civilization would support them if Mr. Andrews were allowed to go into the Punjáb and to tell the world of the happenings there."

Comments on the manifesto issued by the Council of the Missionaries in India, Burma and Ceylon.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 11th Dec.

49. We are gratified at the endeavours made by the Council of the Missionaries of India, Burma and Ceylon to take their place in the national life of this country and must congratulate them on the manifesto they have issued, though rather late in the day, on the political situation in India. The manifesto is, unfortunately, worded in ambigous language; still it gives clear indications of heartfelt sympathy with Indian aspirations. The Missionaries have done well in drawing attention to the high death-rate and illiteracy in India and it is hoped our Christian Government will take steps to make education free and compulsory in this country and thus enable people to understand the rules of health and escape falling victims to preventible diseases. The recommendation made by the Missionaries about the brotherhood of nations needs to be laid to heart by the Colonials. It is gretifying that the manifesto considers self-government as the means of India's salvation and warns Government against the use of brute force. Had Government not placed their trust in brute force, the tragedies in the Punjáb would have been averted and the political situation of India would not have reached a critical stage and there would, moreover, have been no occasion for the Missionaries to issue their manifesto.

A comparison between British India and Native States.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 19th Dec.

***50.** "The multiplication of repressive legislation in British India during recent years has very nearly brought civil liberty here to much the same level as in Indian States. People have been externed without the opportunity of being heard in their defence, men have been prohibited from making political speeches, and authorities have taken great offence at the publication of adverse criticism in British India as in Indian States. The 'political levels' of British India have of late steadily tended to approximate to those of Indian States in respect of civil liberty. This tendency has served to throw into relief the advantages possessed by Indian States in at least two important and, in our considered view, vital matters. Nothing, to our mind, is more depressing and demoralising in a political system than the existence of a ruling race. From this canker, many Indian States are totally free. The second follows from the first. The higher ranks of the Services are not manned by men who come from beyond the seas, spend as much furlough and privilege leave as they can get beyond the seas, and take away with them the

knowledge and experience they have gained in their respective spheres when they retire to enjoy their pensions beyond the seas. A political system of which these two features—a ruling race and non-domiciled services—are an integral part, may reproduce the forms of responsible Government, but real responsible Government it cannot tolerate..... The absence of these two corroding features of the British Indian bureaucratic system is a great advantage to the cause of constitutional reform in Indian States. The fact that it is not so at present to a considerable extent is due to the fact that Indian rulers have for long enjoyed responsibility without power, and now, since the non-intervention policy was inaugurated, seem to enjoy power without responsibility."

Comments on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's speech in opening the new Improvement Trust chawls in Bombay.

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 18th Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 18th Dec.

51. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* gives His Excellency Sir George Lloyd the credit for the present activity displayed by the Bombay City Improvement Trust in erecting dwellings for the poorer classes, and while commenting upon the reference made by His Excellency to the transfer of the Trust to the Municipality in the course of his speech in opening the new chawls on Clerk Road, the paper remarks:—We were under the impression that the Improvement Trust would be transferred to the Municipality in March next, but we are disappointed by the reference made to the subject by His Excellency in his recent speech wherein he said that the transfer would be effected after the completion of the present building schemes of the Trust. This is really very disappointing. It seems that His Excellency has no confidence in the ability of the Municipality to continue the building programme of the Trust and to bring it to completion. The announcement made by His Excellency will not lead to good results as it will produce a bad impression in the market with regard to the Municipality and the Trust. [The *Bombay Samachár* expresses its indebtedness to His Excellency for his sympathy for the poor and his solicitude for getting them well-housed, and in commenting upon his recent speech writes:—The ground to be reclaimed from the Back Bay will be utilised in the interests of officials and the rich classes. But as the general public is more interested in the programme for providing houses for the middle and poorer classes, they would very much like that scheme to be expedited as much as possible. His Excellency should, therefore, make an announcement at an early date as to the land that is to be acquired for erecting houses for the poor during the next two or three years and the amount of the development loan that will be utilised for the purpose of building such houses.]

The duty of Government in the matter of providing housing accommodation for the middle classes of Bombay.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 15th Dec.

52. Mr. Kershandas Shivshanker Bhat writes in the *Praja Mitra and Pársi*:—The Government of Bombay, with a view to helping the poorer classes in the matter of housing, have issued a loan for the development of Bombay. The efforts made by Government for the benefit of the poor are praiseworthy, but it is equally, or even more, necessary to devise remedies for the relief of the middle classes too; for the difficulties and hardships they have to face in securing house accommodation are beyond description. Middle class families cannot stay in the localities inhabited by the lower classes, and hence they are helpless. To add to their difficulties, the landlords give them notices to quit on the pretex that the buildings need repairs. The Government ought to undertake some housing scheme for them. It is true that under the Bombay development scheme, provision has been made for sale of building sites to the members of the middle classes but it is only the rich who can buy such plots and build houses upon them. As they will demand exorbitant rents, the middle classes will be no better off than before. It behoves the Government of Bombay to pay special attention to these hardships of the middle classes and, with a view to relieving them, take in hand a scheme for providing sufficient houses for them, and also direct the owners of buildings which are to be repaired not to pull them down all at once, but to leave one part intact while

the other is being repaired. It is only Government who can give such relief, and we hope they will look upon the middle classes with sympathy and try to do their utmost for them.

53. Owing to the great congestion in Bombay, people are advised to go to the suburbs. In order to encourage the exodus to the suburbs, His Excellency the Governor has framed a gigantic scheme costing rupees thirty crores for the development of Bombay, towards which rupees nine crores has already been subscribed in the shape of the first "Development Loan". But the main question is, what guarantee is there for the safety of those who go to live in the suburbs? For some time past there are complaints of gangs of robbers making frequent raids there; and if this state of things continues, the inhabitants of the suburbs will be compelled to return to the city. It is not surprising that the inhabitants of these out-of the-way places should be startled to hear the details of the raid on the house of a Parsi family in Santa Cruz on Tuesday last, in the course of which the owner of the house and his son were cruelly beaten. There are serious complaints to the effect that the Bombay city police is not sufficient for the needs of the city itself and its responsibilities are being enhanced by the expansion of Bombay. It was, therefore, quite proper, that the people of Bandra refused to be placed under the Bombay Municipality, for as the existing police is not sufficient for Bombay how would it be able to take care of Bandra? We have no objection to Bombay being developed in all possible ways; but it is our humble opinion that its limits should not be expanded all at once and in all directions, and that just like Bandra the other suburbs of Bombay should be placed under separate municipal and police control. The recommendations made by the Decentralization Commission should be put into practice by thus creating small independent suburbs.

The Bombay suburbs should be placed under separate municipal and police control.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 12th Dec.

54. An anonymous correspondent, writing in *Sanj Vartaman*, complains that with the commencement of the racing season in Bombay liquor-shops are being utilised as media for gambling on the races. These liquor-shops are decorated in grand style and are patronised by young and old and even by little children. Betting is going on at these liquor-shops at a very brisk rate. The writer points out that, far from decreasing, the number of those who fall victims to the mania for race-gambling would seem to be on the increase, as can be seen from the large number of people frequenting these liquor shops for the purposes of betting.

Complaint that liquor-shops are being utilised in Bombay City for purposes of betting on the races.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 11th Dec.

***55.** "In the Allahabad High Court, a certain Lieutenant Reynold was tried on a charge of misappropriation in connection with 20 bales of Khaki..... Our mind lingers on the case for the only reason that in spite of the fact that the Jury as well as the Judge found the Lieutenant completely guilty, the latter received only a year's imprisonment for the gross misappropriation. As if conscious how, in his fit of mercy for the accused, he was wandering from the path of justice, the Judge of the Allahabad High Court justifies his lenient attitude by saying: 'There is one further element peculiar to you which is that you are a European and you will be called upon to undergo a period of detention in an Indian prison and a period of detention which must involve at least one hot season.' A European in an Indian prison!—that was the thought which weighed most with the Judge. Let us thank ourselves that twelve months at least could be the lot of the accused. We have no grudge against the accused in particular. But we have to denounce with all emphasis the implication which lurks in the words of the Judge. The implication is that racial distinctions are to dominate the administration of justice in India, and that Indians and Europeans are not to suffer the same punishment for the same crime. None will contend that the Judge should be merciless in punishing the

Comments on the sentence passed by the Allahabad High Court in the case of Lieutenant Reynold.
Mahratta (8), 19th Dec.

criminals that are brought before him. But a type of mercy which conveniently disappears when the accused is an Indian and makes its appearance when a European is convicted, is surely to be condemned. Hundreds of instances could be cited when Indians completely shattered with age and with only a petty offence to their account, have been sent to rigorous imprisonment for years. And here we read of a Lieutenant being given a year for misappropriation, and of a sergeant being fined the heavy amount of fifteen rupees for horse-whipping students! If to-day there is any one point on which all leaders of public opinion, Moderates, Extremists and even Englishmen agree, it is that the feeling of 'race distinctions' must find no space in Indian administration."

Protest against any action being taken on the Esher Committee's report before the Legislative Assembly discusses it.

Sind Vási (158), 28th Nov.

56. The *Pioneer* has been informed by its Military correspondent in London that the report of the Esher Committee will with slight modifications be acted upon by the authorities. That is to say, the objections raised by Indians against the recommendations of the Committee will not be minded. We cannot say how far this information is correct; but if it is correct then the fountain of British statesmanship may be said to have dried up. The authorities must be aware that if the recommendations of the Esher Committee are accepted, India's belief in the good faith of Britain which has already been shaken will entirely disappear. If the present unrest in the country does not open the eyes of Britfsh statesmen we can only regret their want of foresight. The authorities should at any rate take no action on the report of the Esher Committee until the reformed Legislative Assembly has discussed it. They lose nothing thereby.

Exhortation to the people not to pay Income Tax as a result of the oppression practised by the authorities in its collection.

Hindu (153), 27th Nov.

57. During the past week or so we have been flooded with compaints of oppression on account of Income Tax. Some people have their properties attached, some have their cash boxes attached, and some have their shops closed and sealed. We know from personal knowledge of men, who have not enough to eat, who have been assessed to Income Tax. The oppressed ones see no way out of their difficulty. If they go to the officials none listens to them. If they go to court, they can get no proper justice. The Income Tax officials are a part of that irresponsible Government which was responsible for the massacre at Jhallianwalla Bagh and which instead of indemnifying the people imposed punitive police on them. It would appear that until the irresponsible Government at the head of affairs is changed, justice is out of the question. We must therefore try to secure Swaraj. When we have secured that, trouble of this kind will for the most part disappear. We would meantime advise our people to refuse to pay Income Tax, if they have been unjustly assessed, no matter what the consequences may be. So long we lack the courage to stand by truth and to suffer for the cause of truth, so long it is not possible for us to obtain salvation. He is no man who bends before injustice, and although his mind revolts at the idea weakly pays Income Tax to Government. Let the officials resort to attachments and arrests, but let there be a firm determination on the part of the people to refuse to pay unfair assessments. In order to put an end to tyranny you must allow tyranny to grow. When it has gone too far then, and not till then, will appear Krishna to proclaim Swaraj in the country.

Indians would prefer Mr. Churchill to Mr. Chamberlain as Viceroy.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Dec.

58. "The London correspondent of a Calcutta contemporary has revived fresh interest by giving currency to the 'gup' that Mr. Austen had declared himself to be willing to go out to India if his health permits. In that case, we are further told Mr. Chamberlain would be succeeded by Mr. Winston Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer. If the people of India had any voice in the seclection of their Viceroys, they would rather prefer that Mr. Chamberlain should stay where he is and that Mr. Churchill should

come out as Viceroy. Not that the selection of Mr. Churchill as Viceroy would be satisfactory all-round, but as between the two Mr. Churchill would be preferable to Mr. Chamberlain."

Comments on the Government Resolution regarding recruitment for the I. C. S.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 11th Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 16th Dec.; *Mahrátta* (8), 19th Dec.

59. The resolution of the Government of India on the subject of the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service is really disappointing and is calculated to create an impression that Government do not care for public opinion. It is, moreover, such as directly goes against the spirit of the new reforms and tends to defeat their purpose. The Public Services Commission have recommended that there should be a simultaneous examination for the candidates of the Civil Service in England and India; but the Government of India have set aside that recommendation and have resolved to hold different examinations in England and India and have moreover decided to fill a large number of posts by nomination. Does this not constitute a serious blow to the new reforms? Government should have waited for a few months more to consult the new Councils before issuing the resolution. Such an action on their part would have tended to enlist for them the sympathy of the Moderates which they are seeking. The resolution will commit the new Viceroy to the policy laid down by the resolution and thus make his task of government full of difficulties. We hope the members of the Legislative Assembly will bring forward a resolution at its very first sitting expressing their disapproval of the resolution and will make the task of the new Viceroy easy by getting that resolution passed. [The *Bombay Samáchár* also disapproves of the introduction of the element of nominations in the Indian Civil Service and expresses fear that such nominations will impair the efficiency of the service. It suggests that the policy of nominations and nepotism should be given up and reliance should be placed only on competitive examinations as tests of abilities. The *Mahrátta* writes:—"India demands complete Indianisation of her Civil Service and India can never be reconciled to the paltry concessions that are being offered. The proposals recently made by Government have not satisfied even the Moderates as they give even less than what was demanded. Of course, the non-co-operators have no say in the matter because these crumbs they refuse to accept with disdain."]

Protest against increasing salaries of members of the Ecclesiastical Department.

Hindu (153), 26th Nov.

60. Every Indian has protested against the increase in the salaries of high officials. The most moderate press in this country has raised its voice against such trickery which is only calculated to loot the Indian Exchequer. The Government's excuse is that owing to high prices prevailing in the country the officers cannot make both ends meet, that their rates of pay should be increased so that they may serve the country cheerfully and put their heart and soul in the work. We do not propose just now to consider whether the officers work heart and soul or not, or whether the high prices do really affect them. Granting, for the sake of argument, that there is some justification for an increase in the rates of pay of officers, we cannot yet see that there is the same justification for increases in the salaries of Christian missionaries which have been recently announced in a Goverment Communique. There is no harm if the pay of a Collector or a Commissioner or some other executive officer is increased, for such officers labour hard and assist in the administration of the country and get pay as a return for their services. But why should Christian missionaries get their pay from the Indian Exchequer? What good are they doing to the country? They are on the contrary doing harm! Paying salaries to such missionaries amounts to bringing up serpents for the destruction of Hinduism and Muhammadanism. The salaries of high officials have bled the poor Indians white. The collosal military expenses have enslaved Indians as well as people of other countries. Indians are bringing ruin to their own religion by allowing Christian missionaries to draw their pay from the Indian Exchequer. Why do such things occur in India? Because there is no popular control over the finances of the country. The finances are in the hands of irresponsible persons who have no sense of

justice. Ingratitude and knavery can go no further. Brethren, would you still remain careless and negligent? Would you still co-operate with those who have bled India white?

Mr. Mead's reply to the Mamlatdars' deputation.
Dnyán Prakásh (42), 16th Dec.

61. Commenting upon the reply given by Mr. Mead to the Mamlatdars' deputation, the *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—Mr. Mead would not have given utterance to expressions likely to wound the feelings of the Mamlatdars if he had borne in mind that he was the representative of the Governor. If he honestly believed that the demands of the Mamlatdars were unreasonable he should have said so in a straightforward manner. That he was guilty of indiscretion is quite clear from the account of the interview published by Mr. Khopkar who headed the deputation. After the discouraging result of the interview with Mr. Mead, Mr. Kholpkar naturally thought of seeking again an interview with the Governor and made a request to that effect. It was hoped that His Excellency would comply with his request at least on this occasion, but a reply in the negative was received from the Secretary to Government. This reply also contained a statement that the account of the interview published by Mr. Khopkar was misleading and was accompanied by a more correct version of the interview. Mr. Khopkar in his turn has now pointed out how the version supplied by the Secretary to Government does not agree with facts. Indeed, this incident could easily have been closed long before this. Everything would have been all right if the Governor had decided at the outset to give an interview to the deputation or at least if he had given instructions to Mr. Mead as to the manner in which he was to deal with it. Government should have meted out better treatment to officials who are directly responsible for the administration of a whole Taluka. We trust His Excellency will see his way to give an interview to the deputation at least at this stage and thus help to undo the past.

Grievances of the karkuns of the Revenue Department.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 16th Dec.

62. The karkuns in the Bombay Revenue Department are really an unfortunate lot. Government issued an order six months ago fixing the minimum salary of the karkuns at rupees forty per month with retrospective effect from April last. Seven months have elapsed, but they have not yet received the increased salary. Being at last driven to desperation, they sent a strongly-worded memorial to Government through their Association, declaring that the salaries fixed by Government were inadequate. One divisional Commissioner has issued an order to the effect that this step on the part of the karkuns is against the Civil Service Regulations. What other remedy is there for the karkuns, if the pay fixed for them is insufficient? The authorities do not at all like that the karkuns or any other inferior Government servants should unite together. If they do so they are suspected of having some political motives. The order issued by the Commissioner is unjust. The karkuns have not acted against any rules. Instead of issuing such threatening orders as the Commissioner has done, the higher authorities should pity them. We hope His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, our sympathetic Governor, will be pleased to do justice to these poor clerks.

Protest against compulsory survey of Inam villages in the Bijápur District.
Kesari (114), 14th Dec.

63. The *Kesari* complains that Inam villages in the Bijápur District are being surveyed without the permission of the Inamdars and that the survey entails the gradual loss of Inamdars' rights. It wants to know why there should be any force if Inamdars for some reason are unwilling to submit themselves to the survey. It remarks that Government do not want to maintain any independent rights howsoever small within their territory. In unsurveyed villages, it continues, applications can be made direct to Inamdars for converting agricultural lands to non-agricultural purposes. But circulars have been issued that in surveyed Inam villages such applications should be made to the Collector who will then consult the Inamdars and reply accordingly. As the present procedure delays the disposal of applications

and as the Collector has to reply in terms of the Inamdars' desires, the practice should be abandoned in favour of applications direct to the Inamdars. Only if heavy fines are imposed in cases of conversion of agricultural into non-agricultural land, the right of appeal should be allowed.

*64. "Few can comprehend the working of the bureaucratic mind!

Mahrátta (8), 19th Dec.

Under the name of good government the bureaucracy grinds all. The ordinary ryot is the usual victim, but even the Inamdars who are supposed to be free from any interference in the administration of their Inam lands, are not free from the kindly attentions of the bureaucracy. The Inamdars of the district of Bijápur are experiencing a bit of these attentions at present. In spite of their unwillingness and in spite of their protests their Inam lands are being brought under the 'Survey' operation. The Inamdars would have put up even with this, but the 'Survey' involves deprivation of many other rights. For example, under the Land Revenue Code, land under cultivation cannot be used for any other purpose than agriculture without the permission of the Collector, and by Section 217 of the same Code all land-holders even in Inam villages are to be treated as non-Inam cultivators, once their lands are surveyed. The result being that the agriculturists are to apply to the Collector for permission if they desire to use agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes under Rule 44 of 1907. But the beauty of the arrangement is that the Collector cannot give this permission of himself. He has to refer the whole question to the Inamdar concerned and has to abide by his decision. Naturally one asks why it is then necessary to apply to the Collector and not directly to the Inamdar, if the Collector has only to do the business of post office. The answer is that it is the bureaucratic whim and nothing else."

*65. "Revision Survey operations were recently instituted in the Ambegaum Peta of the Poona District and a general increase of 25 per cent. in assessment has been made. With continuous famine in the last decade we do not know how the agriculturists are to bear the increased burden. But the case of Ghodegaum, a village in that Taluka, is peculiar and interesting. This village has been transferred from the second class into first class and with a stroke of the pen, the assessment of Rs. 2 per acre has been increased to Rs. 3-2-0 per acre which means an increase of 56 per cent., thus transgressing even the limit imposed by express rules regarding revision survey. All previous rules and promises made in this behalf have been set at naught and are treated as 'scraps of paper'. There is no obvious reason for this increase and even the ordinary stock arguments used to justify the increase are not present in this case. No satisfactory reason have been also adduced for this increase and the increase can be set down as the result of only a bureaucratic whim; and the Collector of Poona replied in the same strain to the popular representation to reduce the assessment."

Comments on the Revision Survey of the Ambegaum Peta, Poona District.
Mahrátta (8), 19th Dec.

66. Referring to the Ghodegaon (Poona) revision settlement, the *Kesari* writes:—There are 93 villages in the Ambegaon Peta and the assessment has been increased by 25 per cent. How the rayats caught in a succession of famines can bear this increase is a question. Of these villages, Ghodegaon seems to be the special favourite of the bureaucracy. The assessment here has been increased from Rs. 2 per acre to Rs. 3-2-0, *i. e.*, by 9 annas per rupee, which means 56 per cent. There is no satisfactory explanation of this extraordinary increase. The limit fixed for revision has been exceeded, and it shows how officials ignore old rules and assurances and treat them as scraps of paper. *Jirayat* has not been converted into *bagayat*, trade and industries have not increased, no new railway or road has been built, and there is no special cause for the increase. Why then have the Survey officials aimed such a heavy blow at this village particularly? If the higher officials are to allow all the injustice committed by the lower ones, why is the gradation of officials one over the other costing heavy sums needed at all?

Protest against the Ghodegaon (Poona) Revision Settlement.
Kesari (114), 14th Dec.

67. A correspondent writes in the *Broach Mitra*:—During the current year the crops in the Jambusar taluka have proved to be a failure, the average yield being about one or two annas in the rupee. Although there was a failure of crops last year, yet Government collected the land revenue for the preceding year and the arrears of the previous years, and also recovered the takavi dues. Hence the poor farmers suffered great difficulties. According to reports, the land revenue for the current year is likely to be suspended, but Government should come forward generously to the rescue of the farmers and their cattle who suffered through last year's strict land revenue policy. Although there is no shortage of fodder, yet the farmers have no money to purchase it. The Sub-Divisional Officer, Mr. Desai, is in our taluka and has begun to distribute the takavi grants in the famine-stricken villages. He has appealed to the public for help and in response received two or three kalshis of jowar for the relief of families who are in a starving condition. There are still eight months to tide over and the staying power of the people of Jambusar taluka has been much weakened owing to recurring famines. Hence Government should immediately distribute takavi grants and doles freely in the whole taluka. It should also open relief works in order that people might be enabled to earn their livelihood. [Commenting on the above, the paper appeals to the District officers to treat the farmers generously in the matter of takavi grants, land revenue and all other Government dues. It draws the attention of the Commissioner, Northern Division, to the condition of the taluka and prays to him to ascertain the true state of affairs.]

Alleged prevalence of famine conditions in the Jambusar Taluka, district Broach.
Broach Mitra (62), 12th Dec.

68. "Little is known in India about the condition of Indians resident in Basutoland, which is a British Crown Colony, but some recent telegrams addressed by them to Lord Buxton, Sir Benjamin Robertson and the Minister of the Interior show that they are in a wretched plight..... Whenever any Indian from Basutoland has to visit the Free State for any purpose he is obliged to make a deposit of £11. If he wishes to travel further south to Natal he has to deposit a further sum of £11, of which only £10 are returned to him after the completion of his journey. In Basutoland itself no new licenses for trade or hawking are issued to him and transfer of licenses from Europeans to Indians is refused. It can be imagined how wretched must be the lot of our countrymen, who are mostly Muhammadans, under these and other grievous disabilities. Now that Sir Benjamin Robertson has been fully apprised of the same, we hope the Governments of India and the Union will take prompt steps to have the grievances redressed."

Grievances of Indians in Basutoland.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Dec.

69. "We publish elsewhere the declared objects of the South African League (Durban branch), the powerful organisation of Whites, which has branches all over the Union. The League, it will be seen, aims primarily at the elimination, by hook or crook, of the Asiatics from South Africa or rather, at their practical enslavement to the white race..... But the cupidity of these Leaguers prompts them to put in some safeguards against cutting off their own nose in spiting the Asiatics. They are wide awake enough to see that they cannot do without Asiatic labour and that much of their prosperity depends on the willingness of Asiatics to serve them. Hence, demanding the repatriation of Asiatics they are careful enough to put in the proviso, 'but in a manner not disturbing the supply of unskilled labour'. That is to say, the Whites wish the Asiatics to remain as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water for the former, and they are aiming at bringing about this condition of things by legislation. It does not in the least concern the Whites that most of these Asiatics are British Indians and have a right to demand reciprocity of treatment. Sir Benjamin Robertson has recently been in South Africa, and we have no doubt that he has taken full note in his report of the anti-Asiatic movement now in full swing in all parts of the Union. It remains to be seen how the

Anti-Indian propaganda in South Africa.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Dec.

Imperial Government justifies its claim to the loyalty and gratitude of the British Indian community."

Indians in East Africa.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Dec.

70. "Matters in British East Africa are evidently approaching a crisis. Driven to bay by the studied insult and humiliating treatment of the Colonial Office and the local Government, the Indian colony is being forced to fall back upon that last resort of the helpless and the oppressed, *viz.*, passive resistance. Small blame to them for resort to such an extreme weapon of defence. They have exhausted all other consitutional means to secure a redress of their grievous and longstanding disabilities..... They have been openly treated to insult at the hands of the Colonial Office, which at least was expected to hold the balance even between the different subjects of His Majesty. They have seen the definite pledge given by the Viceroy of India to secure equality of status for Indians shamefully disregarded by His Majesty's Government as represented by the Colonial Office. Is it any wonder that our countrymen in East Africa have ceased to put faith in the pledges of British statesmen and to believe in their willingness or ability to redress the wrongs of non-white peoples? But while, thus, a crisis is being precipitated in Indians' affairs there, Mr. Montagu and the Government of India are 'still considering' Sir Benjamin's report on the situation. Procrastination, which has been the bane of the Montagu *regime*, is evidently not to be missing on this occasion too."

Aims and objects of the *Lokasangraha* under changed editorship.
Lokasangraha (117), 17th Dec.

71. In the course of an opening article headed "Ourselves" Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar, M.A., LL.B., editor of the defunct *Bhala*, who has taken over the editorship of the *Lokasangraha*, writes:—Our final goal is that India should take its place in the foremost rank of independent nations and that the Maharashtra of Shivaji and Tilak should be its leader. For the spread and accomplishment of this ideal we mean to put forward every possible effort. We stand for principles and not for any particular individuals. We hate none, not even the white officials. The exasperation we feel is not against them but against their inhuman and unnatural methods of administration and against a system of rule which has rendered us powerless to resist the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs being perpetrated in broad daylight. The saving of India lies in an early destruction of this rule and administrative system. Whoever wishes to see India live, is in duty bound to exert himself to pull down the structure of this strange and unnatural administrative system. In bringing about this end Indians will have not only to fight against the interests of the bureaucracy but will have also to fight and lay low the many social evils of Indian Society and to reconstruct it on the basis of equality and freedom. Indian patriots have to execute this double task, and they have to do it by peaceful, constitutional and lawful methods. We shall be fearlessly expounding our views on these matters and we request our readers to consider them impartially and dispassionately.

Protest against the continued maintenance of Indian troops in foreign lands.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Dec.

72. "According to the latest statement in Parliament there are at present no less than 86,400 Indian troops in Mesopotamia and Persia. There are, in addition, several thousands more of them in Palestine, Egypt and Constantinople..... It cannot but be that most of these, if not all of them, are kept on service much against their will and that they would all be immensely glad to shake off the dust of foreign lands and be back in the midst of their families and their countrymen. For whose sake are so many Indian troops kept abroad? Surely not for India's sake alone. If it is for the sake of the Empire, why are the 'loyal' and 'devoted' daughters of the Empire—the Dominions of Canada and Australia and New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the various Crown Colonies, including the newly constituted Kenia Colony—not rushing forward to shoulder the Empire's burden? What has become of their splendid

'patriotism' and 'Imperial Brotherhood'? They have almost all of them shared handsomely in the spoils of the 'Great Victory.' Are we to suppose that when it comes to bearing the actual burdens of the Empire, their patriotism evaporates?..... .. Moreover, the figures of the relative strengths of the Indian and British troops employed in the various countries abroad would show that the Indian troops vastly preponderate over the British and that it is mainly with the help of Indian troops that the various territories under occupation are being held down. Does not all this go to show that India's interests are being ruthlessly sacrificed for pseudo-Imperial purposes? If British statesmen have any purposes to serve by holding down countries like Egypt, Palestine, Persia, Mesopotamia, etc., they should manage to do so with their own means and not by treating India as a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the Empire."

How the question of the revision of the Turkish Treaty should be settled.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Dec.

73. "A point of diplomatic pride prevents the Allied Powers from entering into open and direct negotiations with the Turkish patriots and their allies..... Why cannot England, France and Italy consent to deal directly with Mustafa Kemal and his allies in the presence of the representatives of the Khalifah, who is in fact the subject of dispute. It seems to us a golden opportunity—the best that ever offered—for a permanent and friendly settlement of the whole 'Eastern Question' which has worried European Statesmen for two centuries, and has caused the Government of India many moments of anxiety. The fault in all previous projects for its settlement has been the total disregard of Asiatic feeling..... We believe that if a second Conference were called at Baku or elsewhere, at which not only the Allies, but all the countries which are members of the League of Nations could be represented as well as Kemal Pasha and his 'Confederates,' the whole 'danger' in the present Asiatic situation could be dispelled in a few days. Not only that, but European opinion on the said situation would be enlightened and its attitude completely changed."

Akhbár-e-Islám (58), 13th Dec.; *Gujaráti Punch* (21), 12th Dec.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 13th Dec.

74. In reiterating its plea for an equitable revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks :—The *Temps* of Paris, which is an organ of the French Government, had already recommended a suitable revision of the Turkish Peace terms. And now comes the glad news that the French Foreign Minister has declared himself in favour of a revision of the treaty in such a way as not to hurt Moslem sentiment. This news will be hailed with joy by all well-wishers of the Moslem community. We wish that Mr. Lloyd George will make a good use of this opportunity to redeem his past pledges with regard to Turkey, for now the excuse that the matter rests with the Allied Governments no longer exists. We think that the auspicious moment has now arrived when the Allies will do away with the injustice to Turkey and restore to her the provinces wrested from her. By doing this, England and her Allies will have won such love from the Moslems that the non-co-operation movement will be totally annihilated. [The *Gujarati Punch* writes in a similar strain and adds that the defeat of Venezelos has given England an opportunity to satisfy the Indian Muhammadans. It thinks that England should try to return Thrace and Smyrna to Turkey and thereby pacify the hearts of the Indian Muhammadans. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that it is really unfortunate that the proposal to revise the peace treaty in accordance with Muhammadan feelings should have emanated from France and not from England. It further adds :—For a long time past news is being received that France and Italy do not consider the Turkish Peace terms practicable and are in favour of their revision. Had England seized the opportunity afforded by such news to take the lead in the matter of revising the peace terms, she would have been much applauded. But she has failed to do so. We think that even now it is not too late, and far-sightedness lies in grasping the opportunity offered by France. The demand made by Italy and France that the Turkish provinces which were to

be given to Greece should be restored to Turkey is just; and its non-acceptance by England would mean an open declaration of hostility to the Muhammadans and this would not conduce to the future peace of the British Empire.]

Kesari (114), 14th Dec.

75. Referring to the Government denial of the information published in the *Bombay Chronicle* about the Turkish treaty, the *Kesari* writes:— What is the use of saying simply that the news is false? It may be so; but nobody prevents British officials from publishing the real information. Then why does not Lord Curzon declare in Parliament that he is willing to conciliate Muhammadans and give up Mesopotamia and Palestine as M. Leygues did in the French Chamber, announcing that France is ready to return Smyrna to the Turks? The fish is not willing to give up the jewel it has swallowed. But the moment it is said that it has swallowed it, there is a shower of abuse. If Government are really prepared to return Mesopotamia and Palestine to the Turks, they should so declare, and then severe notice may be taken of the *Chronicle's* attempt to set people by the ears. But so long as this does not happen, ambiguous news will have no influence in the world which knows who is honest and who is dishonest.

Unless the treaty of Sevres is revised there will be no peace in the East.

Sind Vási (158), 24th Nov.

76. Discussing the affairs in Greece the *Sind Vási* writes:—The British also have now got an opportunity to do justice to Turkey. It was possibly the greed of Venezelos which had obliged the Allies and the British to acquiesce in the annexation of Thrace and Symrna to Greece. Now that Venezelos is no longer in power the British statesmen should wake up. The affairs in Greece have afforded them an opportunity to conciliate all parties—the Greeks if their former king is restored to them, and the Turks as well as the Indian Muhammadans if Thrace and Symrna are restored to Turkey. If all these things happen, and if the Arabs at the same time get self-government, then it will be impossible for the Turks and others to fall under the influence of the Bolsheviks and make a common cause with them. In short we think that until steps are taken by the Allies to revise the Treaty of Sevres there will be no peace in the East.

Comments on His Highness the Agha Khan's pamphlet "British policy in the East".

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Dec.

77. "While we are in substantial agreement with every word which the Agha Khan has written, we are at a loss to understand why he has omitted to write certain other words, which seem to us essential to the full presentment of the problem. While he describes the Arab point of view regarding Mesopotamia, why has he disregarded Palestine and Syria?..... And why has His Highness failed to mention altogether the Turkish point of view, which is that of the majority of Indian Muslims, and we have reason to believe, also of His Highness the Agha Khan? Why has he left out all mention of the Ottoman Khilafat which is as dear to the majority of Arabs, as it is to the majority of Indian Muslims? Probably His Highness wished to concentrate upon a single point of manifest importance, on which Englishmen and Indians can agree; he is a very capable diplomatist; but the Indian nation at this moment is impatient of diplomacy, and will be disappointed by his avoidance of certain topics. And we must say that, without a word of the Khilafat question, his pamphlet impresses us as 'Hamlet' without the Dane. [The paper then quotes the Agha Khan's opinion that 'if Bolshevism ever becomes dangerous to India it will be partly due to the mistakes of British policy' and remarks:—] Our only quarrel with the words is that they seem to us quite out of date. They warn us against a state of things which is already present. We disagree, however, with the author's prediction that that state of things is the danger. The Indian nation still relies on British honour and British promises. The very non-co-operation movement is a proof of that. Mr. Gandhi only asks that British honour—the faith which Indians had in British justice, and good faith—shall be re-established by the redress of certain wrongs which are dishonourable not to

Indians but Englishmen. The repression of the agitation by strong measures: that is the only present 'danger' we perceive. Indians are still hoping against hope for the redress of all their wrongs in Fiji, in East Africa, in Turkey, Mesopotamia and home. Only when Indians lose that lingering hope in British justice, which is expressed in non-co-operation at this moment, will Bolshevism have its chance in India, not 'partly', as the Agha Khan considers, but, as we think, wholly owing 'to the mistakes of British policy'."

India and a possible war in Asia.
Young India (14), 15th Dec.

78. In the course of an article headed "The Asiatic War," Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall writes in *Young India*:—"Seven years ago, when it was pretty plain that Russia and her Allies intended to destroy the Ottoman Empire at the first opportunity, thinking that by doing so they would crush out the progressive movement in Islam, I wrote in the *New Age* that the attempt would merely spread the fire throughout the Muslim world. And this has happened. The Committee is to-day the greatest Power in Central Asia, and it has regained its hold on Turkey and the Arab Provinces. It has passed from the ideal of Turkish progress for Islam to the ideal of Islamic progress in which Turks will take the lead. The sympathy for Turkey's fate expressed by Indian Muslims has been a revelation to the leaders, who have conceived, I think, wrong notions of the power of Indian Muslims. This is at the bottom of the move towards India, which the sober heads of the Committee think a mad adventure, but which is urged upon them strongly by the Bolsheviks, for whom the legendary wealth of India has a powerful attraction..... It seems to me that India has to face the prospect of a war in Asia in which she may be forced to play the part that England played in the great war in Europe, with this difference that the great majority of the Indian people will at heart be neutral. I have doubt as to the opening phases of that war, but I feel certain that the final phase will be a struggle between the Committee of Union and Progress and the Bolshevik organisation, and the Committee will win; and this immense upheaval with its menace to British Power is the result of England's bargaining, and scheming, to destroy the Turkish Empire—for the sake of what? I doubt if any English statesman could inform me. For the sake of bargaining and scheming and betraying, for the very love of mischief, so it seems to me. For, far from gaining anything of worth by the proceeding, England has lost enormously in honour, in prestige, in loyal subjects; and stands to lose still more if she persists in the same course of policy."

A serious threat to the Eastern policy of England.
Rájakáran (129), 12th Dec.

79. It is stated that Lenin has appointed Enver Pasha the Commander-in-Chief of the Bolshevik forces in the East. Such a powerful combination of Kemal Pasha, Lenin and Enver Pasha is likely to prove too powerful for some of the Western Powers and especially for England as it is reported that she has been opposing the revision of the Turkish Treaty as proposed both by France and Italy. Armenia also is said to have become a Soviet Republic. It thus appears that the Eastern policy of England is wholly going against herself, and she will have thus to be very much watchful in that direction. In India also she will have to conciliate the exasperated public opinion by grant of *Swarájya*. A contented India will be of the greatest use to England at such a critical time. We hope Colonel Wedgwood would give the proper advice to the British Cabinet in the matter.

Reflections on the new Armenian Republic.
Hindusthán (23), 12th Dec., Eng. cols.

80. "Pharos" writes in the *Hindusthán*:—"We learn that Armenia has become a Soviet Republic and that Enver Pasha has been appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Orient of the Soviet Government. This means that Armenia has become Russian and that the Nationalist Turks and Russians have joined hands. This is serious news, especially for the East. What with these two Powers united, and a weak, unprotected Persia, a disaffected Mesopotamia, a puzzling Afghanistan, the Conference at Baku, the Central and Western Asia have the

most unsettled future before them. And then, will India be affected by them and to what extent? England and France have no foresight. Had they placated the Turks, Arabs and Persians from the very beginning they need not have to be ready (as they will now have to be) for clearing out from their new mandate countries!"

MUNICIPALITIES.

***81.** Commenting upon the proceedings taken by the Bombay Municipality against certain merchants in connection with the storage of vegetable oils, the *Gujarâti* writes:—

Comments on the proceedings taken by the Bombay Municipality against certain merchants in connection with the storage of vegetable oils.
Gujarâti (19), 19th Dec., Eng. cols.

"We understand that fresh proceedings have been instituted against the oil merchants for a similar offence. The High Court having already decided that vegetable oils were comprised in oils of other sorts, it is now fruitless to go behind that decision. But there can be no doubt that the existing statutory provision is on the face of it absurd and anomalous. There is no sense in enacting that whilst even 'dangerous' petroleum can be stored up to 20 gallons, the maximum quantity in the case of innocent vegetable oils should be 15 gallons only. This absurdity ought to be removed by the legislature. According to Major Dickinson, I.M.S., Chemical Analyser to Government, and his 1st Assistant, Dr. Turner, vegetable oils cannot be regarded as dangerous. Dangerous petroleum is one which flashes below 76° F., whereas the vegetable oils in question flash at a considerably higher temperature of above 600° F. According to the late Professor Gajjar, who determined at his laboratory the flash points of sesame, cotton seed, castor, cocoanut, groundnut and kurdi oils, they range between 465° F. and 570° F. in the case of groundnut and sesame oils respectively. We understand that neither in London nor in Bengal and Madras there is any such legislative restriction whatsoever in the case of vegetable oils, as is now being stringently enforced by the Municipal authorities in this city, after so many years since the enactment of the first Bombay Municipal Act. No such stringency was ever shown before that date. Wood, charcoal, cloth, paper and many other articles are much more readily combustible and dangerous than vegetable oils, and yet their storage is not subjected to any such harassing restriction. If the Municipal authorities had moved in the matter years ago, the oil depôts could have been conveniently removed to some other locality at a comparatively low cost. Now the price of land and cost of buildings have become prohibitive, and it is too tate to ask the oil merchants to shift to another locality, unless the Municipality, Port Trust and Government come to their rescue. Whilst we are quite anxious to see that life and property are not endangered, we do not think it is fair on the part of the Municipality, which had so far treated the oil merchants with due consideration, now to make their trade all but impossible, or the oils used by the people at large still more costly than they are already."

RAILWAYS.

82. A correspondent writing in the *Chaitanya* complains that the Third Class waiting room at the Belgaum Railway station is too small to accommodate comfortably all the passengers that have occasion to use it, that the arrangements made by the Railway Company to provide water to passengers are most unsatisfactory, and that the station authorities issue tickets only a few minute before the arrival of each train instead of making them always available. The writer invites the attention of the authorities concerned to these grievances and requests them to remove them. [The paper supports the request of its correspondent and mentions that the Railway Company collected when the war was on and has been collecting even now as 'war fund' one pie more than the prescribed rate for every maund of goods accepted by it for transit. It asks the Railway authorities to explain under what law the rate is so being levied, and also suggests that the public concerned should demand back the money taken and file suits for it against the Railway Company if it is not refunded.]

A complaint against the M. & S. M. Railway.
Chaitanya (101), 13th Dec.

NATIVE STATES.

83. Referring to certain orders issued by the Gwalior Durbar prohibiting the collection of subscription for the Jhallianwalla Baug Memorial the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"No other State in India has thought it worth-while to interfere with the collection of subscriptions for the Jhallianwala Baug Memorial. Even the Government of India themselves, who were immediately concerned, detected no disloyalty in the movement. However, we do not think that the memorial would be any the poorer or less deserving for the loss of the subscriptions from the Gwalior State. It is enough to know that there are subjects of the 'Exalted Durbar,' who are of the opinion that the innocents massacred at the Baug are deserving of a memorial."

Comments on the Gwalior Durbar's prohibition against collecting subscription for the Jhallianwala Memorial.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Dec.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 23rd December 1920.

*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 25th December 1920.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

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POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

*1. "The instructions to Governors issued under Royal Sign Manual are, from the point of view of the Indian public, neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red herring. Of course, a certain section of the press is jubilant over it and is pleased to designate it, or rather misdesignate it, as an 'historic document'. If this definition of 'historic' were accepted, nothing could be unhistoric, not even the fall of a sparrow, nor the whistle of a railway engine. But in the domain of cringing sycophancy everything is permissible. Well, reading the instructions between the lines, one sees a kind of diffidence lurking in every word, with which the mind of the author was replete. Again, from these instructions it becomes quite clear that the citadel of the authority of the Governor-General is to remain untouched, because the Governors are instructed solemnly to see to it that the authority of the Governor-General shall be duly maintained. Indians now know too well how the Viceroy wields his authority and how he did it in the matter of the Punjáb. Instructions may be issued in large numbers, the Reforms scheme may be launched into existence, Executive Councillors may be appointed, Ministers may be chosen, still the people of India have nothing to do with all that big hollow show."

Comments on the Instrument of Instructions to Governors.
Mahrátta (8), 26th Dec.

2. Government are pushing forward the reforms, whether people co-operate or non-co-operate, as if they have nothing to to do with it. The Instrument of Instructions shows what little *swardjya* is contained in the trumpery Reforms. The Instrument allows the liberty to use any means for the preservation of peace and order and it once again insists upon the unlimited powers of the Governor-General in reserved departments. All the orders issued by the Governor-General and the Secretary of State are to bo obeyed unconditionally, and a way has been left open for interference in the Tranferred Departments. Orders have been given that the old rights and powers of Government servants should not be interfered with and by maintaining the pay and pension of big European officers they have been unduly exalted. There is a vague suggestion that there should be no partiality in encouraging industries and commerce and that minorities should be protected. But we can guess from our experience how the suggestion will be acted upon by the bureaucracy. At the threshold of *swardjya* we meet thus with bureaucratic pride and from it can be inferred the intolerable situation inside. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks:—By common discussions allowed by the Instrument of Instructions, Ministers will have an opportunity of controlling the Reserved Departments. The Governor can reject the advice given by the Ministers only on two grounds: when he finds that the Legislative Council does not agree with the Minister; and when he thinks that the electorate is against him. No other grounds are mentioned. The country's progress chiefly depends on conducting the administration according to the advice given by the Ministers. It is hoped that both the Governors and the Ministers will recognise their responsibilities of extending democratic government and do their duty accordingly.]

Kesari (114), 21st Dec.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (42), 22nd Dec.

3. "No people in the world could be more loyal to their rightful Sovereign than the Indians are, but, we are afraid, the instructions issued under the Royal Sign Manual to the Provincial Governors, in the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, will find the Indians cold. In this feeling of apathy there is no want of loyalty or respect for the King, but the people feel that the time for royal instructions and royal proclamations is now gone. The time for action has now arrived. There was once a time when a royal pronouncement was received with almost sacrosanctous awe and respect, but when the people found to their deep disappointment, and by repeated experience, that even royal commands were ignored, and treated with scant courtesy as so many 'scraps of paper' by those who were charged to carry

Sánj Vartamán (33), 23rd Dec., Eng. cols.

them out in their full integrity, their faith in them was rudely shaken. The obvious object of the present Press *Communique* is to placate the people and pour oil over troubled waters, but it is very much to be doubted if it is likely to succeed in its object. But on carefully going over the Royal Instructions what do we find? We find that by implication they are a thorough exposure of the unsympathetic mode of government that is prevalent in the country, and by the same process of reasoning the Instructions are a thorough vindication of the country's grievances and of the demands of the people for a thorough overhauling of the present method of administration. Where is the necessity of instructing the Governors in this wise: 'You shall do all that lies in your power to maintain those standards of good administration, to encourage religious toleration, co-operation and goodwill among all classes and creeds,' etc., when in Queen Victoria's Royal Proclamation of 1858 the following words appear which bear almost the same meaning..... [Here follows a long quotation from the Royal Proclamation of 1858.]..... Let anyone carefully read and ponder over these Royal words written more than sixty years ago and compare them with the Instructions lately issued. They bear, as we have remarked, a close relationship. Now, as we all know, the commands issued in Queen Victoria's Proclamation—which we Indians in our child-like innocence have upto now dubbed the Magna Charta of India!—have been obeyed by the powers that be more in their breach than in their observance; and therefore it logically follows that none needs be at all surprised that the latest Royal Instructions are meted out the same fate as their predecessors of 1858! But, indeed, why go so far? The instructions contained in the Royal Proclamation of this time last year still ring sonorously in our ears. Were the instructions contained therein carried out faithfully? Were the promises given therein subsequently fulfilled? How did the Viceroy carry out his obligations in the punishment of the Punjáb criminals? With all these facts staring in the face it is little surprising that the people have lost all faith in Royal Proclamations as soothing agents. In these days of lost faith and broken promises the thing most wanted is hard concrete deeds."

*4. "This instrument, in our opinion, is much more than a formal commendation of the scheme to the sympathetic care of their Excellencies. In one vital matter, His Majesty has really done as much as lies in his power—and that is an immense deal—to interpret the halting, self-sufficient and conditional terms of the preamble to the Government of India Act of last year, into an urgent and imperative duty to expedite the attainment of full responsible government by His Majesty's Indian Empire. It will henceforth be not only the official duty but also the loyal privilege of every Governor to make himself the chief instrument for propelling his province towards full responsible government. The stress laid by His Majesty on the habitual practice of joint consultation between Governors, Members and Ministers, is another striking feature of this historic document. His Majesty's instructions in respect of the protection of minorities and backward communities, are not quite pleasing to our self-esteem but they cannot be said to be superfluous in view of the fact that in one important province at least, *viz.*, Madras, the party that has gained most seats and, therefore, has necessarily been called to power, has openly proclaimed as the central feature of its policy the deprivation of the Brahmin community of the advantages which it has derived chiefly from the greater zeal with which it has availed itself of the opportunities of modern education provided under British rule to all alike. We do not agree with the critics who have blamed Lord Willingdon for adopting the only course of action constitutionally open to him in appointing all his three Ministers from the 'Justice' party. It will be His Excellency's duty, however, to check any tendencies on the part of his Ministers to transform their declarations of hostility to the interests and sentiments of one caste into administrative measures."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 26th Dec.

5. "It is matter for satisfaction that no specific mention is made in the instructions of the Governor's duty of safeguarding the interests of Europeans and Anglo-Indians or of the protection of missionary institutions against the possible enactment of a conscience clause, as the Government

Servant of India (10), 23rd Dec.

of India had proposed. No one would ever think of invading their legitimate rights. The clause in the instructions in regard to the protection afforded to the civil services specially charges the Governor to safeguard the members of the services 'in the enjoyments of all recognised rights and privileges.' This phraseology which is borrowed from the Southborough Committee's Report and the Government of India's draft instructions was taken strong exception to in this country as being much too wide. Mr. Sastri pointed out in his evidence before the Joint Committee that the Governor might insist, under this clause, on the retention of the undoubted privilege now enjoyed by the officials in some provinces of pressing carts and conveyances in the service. Narrowly interpreted, the wording of the clause would enable the Governor to use power in cases in which he could not use it at present. This defective phraseology is retained."

6. His Majesty the King-Emperor has in the recent instructions issued to the Provincial Governors asked them to work the Reforms in such a manner as to enable Indians to secure self-government within the Empire and as will best and soonest fit them for such a form of self-government. The question now naturally arises as to whether the changes suggested in the aims and objects of the Indian National Congress can be considered as legitimate or far-sighted. We are inclined to think that the movement for changing the Congress creed can scarcely be considered as legitimate, and that it will jeopardise the existence of the Congress. The clear Royal instructions in the matter of enabling those who have been enfranchised to appreciate the duties, responsibilities and advantages which spring from the privilege obtained by them and about so regulating the business of government as to keep the functions of the Ministers clear and distinct may be considered as laying the foundation of *Swarájya*, and ordering the Governors not to ignore or disregard the advice of the Ministers as long as they continue to enjoy the confidence of the Legislative Council. These instructions go to show the interest His Majesty feels in the successful working of the Reforms in their initial stage. [The *Bombay Samáchár* writes in a similar strain and exhorts the people to have full faith in the successful working of the reforms. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks:—We feel sure that the Royal Proclamation in the form of instructions to Provincial Governors will not fail to produce a good effect on the minds of the Indian people and to induce them to put forth their best efforts to make the reforms successful. The Royal Proclamation is a document well worth the study of the non-co-operationists. Indians will be able to gain self-government pretty soon and much earlier than expected by them if the Provincial Governors carry out the instructions in the very spirit in which they have been issued by His Majesty. Let us hope that the Governors and popular leaders will work with mutual confidence in the new Councils with a view to enable India to secure self-government at an early date. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses gratification at the Royal instructions, and expresses hope that the non-co-operationists will now be convinced of the harmfulness and futility of their movement and devote their energies towards making the reforms a success.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 20th Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 22nd Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (25), 20th Dec.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 20th Dec.

*7. "The Royal Instructions issued to the Governors of presidencies and provinces are brief but comprehensive. They clearly indicate the policy which ought to guide provincial rulers under the new conditions which will be created by the working of the Reform Act..... Much depends upon the mutual good will and understanding between Governors and their ministers, and His Majesty rightly enjoins Governors to help their ministers in every possible manner and to form the habit of making decisions on important matters after consultation with them. Considering the grave responsibilities thrown upon the shoulders of Provincial Governors under the new form of diarchical Government, the Royal Instructions will no doubt prove an invaluable guide for the future."

Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 26th Dec., Eng. cols.

8. "It is clear that those who hoped to see unmistakable evidence of a changed angle of vision of the bureaucracy in the composition of these 'reformed' Councils will be deeply disappointed. For ourselves, who did not expect the leopard to change his skin, there is nothing surprising in the new appointments..... That the idea has lost none of its attractiveness is to be seen in its adoption in the United Provinces..... So far, the only redeeming appointment to the new Councils is that of Sir Abdur Rahim, who can be trusted to bring into the Council a really independent spirit. Mr. Joshi of the Central Provinces is a very sound Moderate and may be expected to justify his selection. The rest are third rate men, who will no doubt prove willing tools of the bureaucracy, but they are far from being representative of the culture, intelligence and capacity of the nation."

Appointments to the reformed Executive Councils.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Dec.

9. Commenting upon the *personnel* of the new Executive Councils in the various provinces except Bombay, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The appointments to the new Executive Councils for the various provinces are on the whole disappointing. We do not find therein a single Moderate of note. We are grieved to see that the Moderates who have become unpopular by their advocacy of co-operation with Government should not have been favoured with any appointment in the Executive Councils. The most objectionable appointments are those made by Lord Willingdon in the Madras Presidency. The choice of Lord Willingdon is not based on fitness, but he has made these appointments from a narrow circle of people who hold opinions detrimental to the growth of Indian nationality and the union of races. These appointments are objected to by Mrs. Besant in her paper *New India*. All the members composing the various Executive Councils are weak men with the exception of Sir Abdur Rahim. This goes to show that the officials still mean to cling to the old policy and have no intention of respecting public opinion. We take the liberty of making a Christmas present of these appointments to our friends who like to be known as Progressives and Liberals. It is hoped they will ponder over this present and determine for themselves as to whether they should continue to deliver harangues on the advantages of co-operation.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 20th Dec.

10. "Although no formal announcement is yet made it is now an open secret as to who are to constitute the new Bombay Government. Everywhere, of course, the interest has centred upon the Indian members of the Governments, both members of Council and ministers. The old members of Council including the heads of the Government have of course continued. Thus in Bombay Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla continues to hold his office in the new arrangements. Of course Sir Ibrahim is a true and tried servant of both the Crown and the people, and his sagacity and experience will be of the utmost use to Government. In these days when an enormous amount of fanatical and unpractical stuff is being talked about and believed, there is increasing need of men of Sir Ibrahim's type, with their large fund of common sense and practical experience of men and affairs..... The first condition of success of the established order is that the people generally should have confidence in the Governments. That will depend largely upon the character of the Indian members of the new Governments. They must command the people's confidence by their capacity and by the sincerity of their motives. They need not be demagogues; but they must not be mere sycophants either.... ..... In the appointment of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad as member of Council, an attempt seems to have been made to secure the best man available, so far as Bombay is concerned. There is no abler Indian on this side of India to-day..... In any event, Sir Chimanlal will not be a mere figurehead..... It is a matter of congratulation for Bombay that the activities of the non-co-operationists—and they have been very active in Bombay—have not prevented the Bombay Government having the advantage of one of the ablest Indians of the present day. Sir Chimanlal's appointment

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 23rd Dec., Eng. cols.

is an earnest of the success of the Reformed system. The public has reason to be gratified with the selection of the Indian members of Council for Bombay. It is to be hoped that His Excellency the Governor will show equal solicitude for the public good in the matter of the appointment of the Ministers."

11. Mr. V. S. Ramaswami writing in the *Servant of India* refers to the appointment of Ministers for the Madras Council and remarks:—"The insidious nature of Lord Willingdon's disastrous move is that what was sought to be prevented on high national grounds by denying communal electorates has now been secured by his misguided application of the majority rule. It must be remembered that the *Justice* party are not in the majority and that it is very harmful, in the enduring interests of the whole community, to base the formation of the Ministry on communal considerations. No wonder that there is a feeling in the Madras Presidency that more lies behind the method adopted by Lord Willingdon than may appear on the surface and that the bureaucracy are bent upon reintroducing and developing the policy of divide and rule that was under a state of suspended animation for the last two years..... A movement based upon hatred is being pushed forward by Lord Willingdon, who has deplorably misapplied the canons of responsible government to the conditions in Madras. It is extremely difficult to say that His Excellency has followed the Instrument of Instruments given by the Royal Sign Manual in the spirit in which it has been drafted."

Servant of India (10), 23rd Dec.

12. "It is much to be regretted that, despite the warnings in the public press, Government have saddled the country with four executive councillors in the three presidencies. We had hoped that, in Bombay at any rate, the coincidence of the retirement of one member on the eve of the new regime would have made it unnecessary to have two Civilian members. The choice of the new Indian members appointed to the executive council in these provinces—Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. K. Srinivasa Aiyengar—will give complete satisfaction. The members in the Central Provinces, Assam and the United Provinces will also be acceptable to the public. The selection of the Punjáb will arouse, we are afraid, keen dissatisfaction. The appointment of two European members and one Indian member to the Bihar and Orissa Council, evidently because the Governor there is an Indian, shows how mean-minded Government can become. The direction of the Joint Select Committee in the matter is absolute that, except where a Civilian member is an Indian, there must be an equality of the Indian and the European elements in the executive councils. The nationality of the Governor can have no reference to the composition of his council, and the Government's action is contrary to the Committee's recommendation. The reflection that this will suggest to Lord Sinha will be none too flattering to him, and Government have herein shown a pettiness of which none but the bureaucracy in India are capable."

Constitution of the new Executive Councils of the Provinces.

Servant of India (10), 23rd Dec.

*13. "The Joint Select Committee had recommended that the normal strength of an Executive Council especially in the smaller provinces need not exceed *two* members, though they did not reduce the existing statutory maximum of four. They further recommended that if in any case the Council included two members with service qualifications, neither of whom is by birth an Indian, it should also include two unofficial members. We do know why this principle has been departed from in the case of Bihar and Orissa of which Lord Sinha is to be the Governor. This differential treatment is bound to evoke adverse criticism, as it is indicative of distrust..... Madras, Bombay and Bengal alone will have four members on their Executive Councils. The Council of the Bombay Presidency Association and the Deccan Sabha have protested against the proposal, so far as this presidency is concerned..... There is no doubt that the new administration will be top-heavy and the question is whether it is necessary that the Executive Council of Bombay should consist of four members. The matter

Gujaráti (19), 26th Dec., Eng. cols.

is no longer open to discussion, because the Government of India has already issued a notification upon the subject, announcing that the Council will consist of four members and that the appointments will be made at an early date. The Council of the Bombay Presidency Association point out that the presence of so many members on the Executive Council will weaken the position of Ministers, and once the precedent is acquiesced in, there will be a growiug disposition to prevent the transfer of more subjects to the Ministers, though that is the avowed object of the new scheme of reforms. To this it may be replied that if the Indian Members of the Executive Councils are found upto the mark, that itself will pave the way for the further devolution of responsibility to the Ministers. There is also the further advantage that the Indian members will be able to exercise direct and even powerful influence upon the decisions of Government and facilitate the work of the Ministers in a sympathetic spirit. The financial objection to the increase of members of the Executive Council from three to four is, of course, a weighty one. But there is, we think, a still weightier one that has remained unnoticed. Owing to the absorption of the more capable and exprienced Indians as members of the Executive Councils and Ministers in the sphere of administration, the Legislative Councils are certain to be deprived of the best debating talent, mature knowledge and varied experience. It appears that the Indian Legislative Assembly, where Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and others could have done very useful work, is likely to make the poorest show. The Nationalists committed the gravest blunder imaginable in abstaining from Council elections and it does not now lie in their mouth to complain that the strength of the Councils is not what it should be or what it might have been if they had wisely made up their minds to fight their constitutional battle in the Councils and acquire the necessary training along with the voters to enable the country to attain the goal of responsible self-government within a measurable distance of time."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 20th and 21st Dec.

14. The Bombay Presidency Association has raised a protest against the appointment of four members to the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay on the score of such an arrangement involving needless expenditure and resulting in a reduction in the number subjects that would be placed in the hands of the Ministers. We are of the opinion that it is now too late to raise any objection to the arrangements arrived at since the consent of His Majesty has been obtained for them. We must, however, bear in mind that there is no likelihood of any reduction in the number of subjects to be entrusted to the Ministers as they have already been fixed. No doubt the present arrangements will involve extra expenditure, but that is inevitable in every democratic form of government. We must also bear in mind that when the members of the Executive Council and the Ministers meet in a round-table Conference, the Governor will find it difficult to disregard the opinion of five Indians against that of two Europeans. Even in the matter of Reserved subjects the Governor will scarcely dare to make use of his autocratic powers against the unanimous opinion of the two Indian members of the Executive Council and the three Indian Ministers, for in case such an emergency arises the Governor will have to submit an explanation to the Secretary of State and the Parliamentary Standing Committee in the matter. The present arrangements will tend to give administrative experience to a large number of Indians and thus make the path of complete *Swardjya* easy for India. The entrusting of a portfolio to each of the members will lead to a more efficient discharge of duties on their part than when they are burdened with the responsibility of a number of departments. There will be a substantial addition to the work of the new Legislative Councils by way of interpellations and resolutions. The Executive Councillors will be able to attend to them fully when an addition has been made to their number. We need not be sorry ourselves over the additional expenditure involved in the present arrangements as we will be more than compensated by the extra efficiency of the administration which will be ensured to us. [In the next issue the paper approves of the reported appointment of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla and Sir Chimanlal Setalwad to the new Executive Council of Bombay.]

15. "The bureaucratic administration in India has already, of all other nations in the civilised world, the not much enviable reputation of being compared to a pyramid standing on its apex. Nor is this dangerous and precarious state of things likely to be bettered by the unauthorised and arbitrary increase of numbers of Executive Councillorships for various provinces. We deliberately call it unauthorised and arbitrary, because the Montagu scheme contemplated only two, while the number has run up to four in some provinces. At present the largest number of Executive Councillors is only three whilst that under the new regime after the addition of ministers will mount up to six or seven. Why this doubling of the machinery? Is the work doubled? The principle that seems to have governed these appointments is that there is no principle. One Councillor more means an incalculable drain on the purse. Indians look upon this extravagant and wanton waste of their money as an undisguised attempt to leave scanty sums for the disposition of ministers and then to cry aloft that Indians were unfit for Self-Government. But it need not be reiterated that Indians have washed their hands clean of the big bluff of the Reforms scheme and that they have no concern with its success or failure. Again there is another interesting point emerging out of these nominations. They once more prove that the Government and the Moderates are as true to each other as the needle and the pole (?) or the dial and the Sun. All Indian posts, whether of councillors or of ministers so far declared, have gone to Moderates. How can it be otherwise? They must get their reward for denouncing non-co-operation either by word of mouth or by issuing, spider-wise, a web of pamphlets. Their treacherous gratitude to Government must be fully requited. Let the place-hunting Moderates be left to junket on the loaves and fishes served them by their *mabap* Government. To the people of India the Reforms are non-existent and the Moderates still more so."

Mahrátta (8), 26th Dec.

16. After tracing the history of the growth of the Executive Councils, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—We have only recently heard of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd making four appointments to his Executive Council. No doubt it contains two able Indians and two efficient European officials. It can, therefore, be said without hesitation that the four appointments have been filled up with able and experienced men who have gained the confidence of the people. Objections are being raised in certain quarters against these appointments. We shall try to understand the popular opposition to the four appointments to the Council and to see how far it is based on sound principles and how far on misunderstanding and also try to appreciate the arguments in its favour advanced by Government. Let us in the first instance examine the popular objections. The first objection refers to the extravagance of the expenditure involved. The two additional appointments will involve permanent expenditure of about two lakhs per year. The popular leaders with a certain amount of disappointment question the necessity of making two additional appointments to the Council during the present times when Government cannot find money to increase the salaries of their clerks and when teachers are starved to death and other petty Government servants have to rest content on half rations. Special stress is laid on the present times, and the public ask Government what necessity they feel for the presence of four expensive officials in the Council when education, medical relief, sanitation, etc., have been made transferred subjects. They ask what immediate necessity has arisen for the appointment of four men to the Executive Council when Indian Ministers will be entrusted with separate portfolios? Are not two able members of the Executive Council capable of disposing of the work arising from matters connected with law and order, finance and land revenue? Laying aside for the moment the argument about expenditure, the questton is asked with a certain amount of bitterness: Çan the people be blamed for putting a wrong construction on the step taken by Government in this matter considering that it has been taken to lower the position of the Ministers? It is contended with a certain amount of feeling that if the motive of the new Reforms is to interpret the feelings and the needs of the people and to grant their demands in a gradual manner and that if Government recognise that the people are

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 23rd and 24th Dec.

able to bear the responsibilities entrusted to them by the Reforms, then their argument for the necessity of appointing four Executive Councillors to lord it over a democratic Legislative Council and the "democratic" ministers falls to the ground. All Government Departments are top-heavy and the salaries of the high officials have been increased by leaps and bounds during the last two years or so. Is it to be wondered then if peo ple complain with a certain amount of bitterness about the administration being top-heavy when additional Executive Councillors are appointed at the very outset? What work will there be left for these additional Councillors after the distribution of the work to the Ministers? No doubt these Executive Councillors will not be able to throw obstacles in the work of the Ministers and will have no voice in the transferred subjects. But it must not be forgotten that they will be able to take part in a round-table Conference with the Ministers, and in case of difference of opinion between them the Governor is likely to be influenced by the opinion of the Executive Council and to have no option but to give an opinion adverse to the Ministers. The most important argument advanced by the popular party and which deserves some consideration is this: The contributions to the Government of India will have the first claim on the Provincial revenues, the Reserved subjects the the next, and the Transferred subjects will come last. Each of the Executive Councillors will try to get as much of the revenue for the expenses of the Departments under him as possible. If the Ministers do not find sufficient funds for the Departments under them only one way will be open to them, and it is to impose new taxes. This will not fail to make the Ministers unpopular. The question now remains to be examined from the Government point of view. Government have a reply ready with them to most of the contentions advanced by the people, and it would not to proper to come to any conclusion before hearing their case. We shall next examine the Government case and try to arrive at some definite conclusions. [In the next issue the paper writes:—Yesterday we dealt with the popular objections to the appointment of four members to the Executive Council and to-day we shall examine what Government have to say in the matter. Government spend crores of rupees every year and the additional expenditure of two lakhs is of no consequence to them. It is, therefore, ridiculous to set up a clamour against it. The political atmosphere is surcharged with difficulties and the barque of Indian *swardjya* has to be steered clear of dangerous rocks—in such a state of affairs it is not proper to make such a fuss over an expenditure of two lakhs of rupees which will be spent after maintaining two experienced helmsmen to help the barque in times of difficulties. It is the duty of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd as the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor to entrust the new responsibilities to the people with great care and to see that the honest motives with which the reforms have been granted to India by England are not defeated. With this object in view His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has, for the present, for the next three years or so, appointed able and experienced Executive Councillors, who have gained the confidence of the people, to stand by the new Legislative Council and the new Ministers. The Ministers may be all very able but they will be found to be lacking in experience. It is, therefore, needless to make so much fuss over the appointment of two additional Executive Councillors whom Government meau to appoint to initiate the Ministers into their work and to give them guidance and advice in case a difference arises amongst themselves. There has been an enormous increase in the work of administration during the last five years owing to the popular awakening and the amount of work Government will have to face in the next three years can easily be imagined. The members of the Executive Council will have to look after the Revenue, Finance and Home Departments and to take measures to keep the machinery of Government working in a smooth manner. The political agitation in the Presidency is now five times more intense than it was before. The new reforms have put new responsibilities on the shoulders of Government. There is not the least likelihood of the demands of labour and other questions connected with it giving any rest to Government. The members of the Executive Council who were merely heads of departments will now have to devote their

energies in solving political questions in an ever-increasing number. They will, moreover, have to answer questions pertaining to their departments in the Legislative Council and so they will come to occupy a position similar to that of the Cabinet Minister in England with this difference that they will have to do the additional work of permanent Under Secretaries! The reluctance of His Excellency the Governor to work at the outset of the new *regime* with only two Executive Councillors can very well be understood, and when the experiment of the democratic form of Government is well tried and when the ministers get proper experience there will be no necessity of having four Executive Councillors and some of them will have to be appointed as ministers on more subjects being converted into transferred ones. Everything depends on the success of the reforms and His Excellency refuses to adopt an hustling policy at their very outset and has thought it proper to take cautious steps with a view to make the reforms successful. We must bear this very well in mind that four Executive Councillors, or even twenty-four for the matter of that, will not be able to go against the work of the Legislative Council or that of the ministers. Those who contend that the appointment of four Executive Councillors will tend to weaken the power of the ministers or to lower their status seem to forget that these Councillors, though they may take part in discussions with the ministers, will never be able to give opinion in the matter of the final discussions with regard to the Transferred subjects. We must not forget that the Executive Council will have to devote its energies to the Bombay Development Scheme over and above the reserved subjects. The spirit of the new reforms would be preserved by initiating the Indians in the art of government and to make it easy for the Ministers to successfully tide over the difficulties arising in the management of the transferred subjects. With such an object in view His Excellency the Governor has appointed Sir Chimanlal Setalvad to be a sure help to the Legislative Council. Indians should not grudge the expenditure involved in giving effect to His Excellency's noble motives. Democcracy is not an inexpensive luxury. His Excellency is not likely to make much use of the power of veto vested in him. In these circumstances it is desirable that the Ministers should have the friendly advice of the four experienced Executive Councillors. We are of the opinion that the above case presented by Government cannot be easily ignored. His Excellency has taken the step of appointing four Executive Councillors with a view to advance democratic administration in our Presidency and it would not be proper to have any doubts about it. We must frankly admit that we have no substantial grounds at our disposal to doubt the *bond fides* of His Excellency in the matter. If the Montagu reforms come into operation without mutual confidence we shall consider that as a national calamity.]

17. A multitude of causes has produced deep discontent in the minds of the people and it has begun to find expression in the shape of strikes, non-co-operation, etc. This is evidently not to the taste of Government, and they are thinking how to get rid of this feeling. Mr. Ben Spoor and Colonel Wedgwood have come to this country to see whether they can effect a compromise. Some boastful members of Parliament, however, have been advising Mr. Montagu to adopt methods of quite a different type. They pretend to believe that the unrest is mainly due to the activities of one or two individuals and that quiet will be restored in the country by interning them. That members of Parliament should openly advocate measures the futility of which has already been demonstrated clearly shows that British statesmanship has really become bankrupt. The bureaucracy in India is not so powerful now as it was before. It knows that its period of existence is drawing to a close. In spite of the support of the Moderates, British officials in India can no longer wholly flout public opinion. They shrink from interfering with Mahatma Gandhi and Lala Lajpatrai. Mahatma Gandhi has become quite a riddle to the bureaucracy. To arrest the Mahatma is not as easy as it appears to be to some thoughtless persons in Parliament. What was the experience of Government when they arrested him last year? And it is owing to this experience that the authorities do not wish to interfere with our

Government's powerlessness to deal with the present situation in India.
Rájakáran (129), 19th Dec.

great men in spite of their love for repression. At present they have delegated this task to the cowardly Moderates. But to expect the Moderates to silence the Mahatma is as ridiculous as to expect a dying man to beat down a giant. If the white officials are very eager to arrest Mahatma Gandhi—well, let them try the experiment! They will then know what it means!!

Change in the heart of Government is necessary if non-co-operation is to cease.

New Times (9), 16*th Dec.*

18. "Counsels of 'conciliation' are now being offered by Anglo-Indians and Moderates with a view to break the force of non-co-operation. Indeed, the *Times of India* confesses that 'the first essential is the abandonment of the campaign of non-co-operation'. 'The first essential', it seems to us, is change in the heart of Government. There are no signs yet that Government is in the mood to repent. The officials whose conduct has been condemned by the Congress are being still shielded; and we are being constantly asked to recognize sympathetically 'the difficulties of Government'! At the very time when there is this talk of 'co-operation' and 'conciliation', the local Government are proceeding with their policy of repression. The truth is Government has not yet learnt to respect the popular will. It is the bureaucratic attitude to the people which vitiates the whole atmosphere of our national life That attitude must chauge. The problem 'conciliation' is as much psychological as it is political. And by non-co-operation the problem can be solved in the only way which can command the respect at once of the world's democracy and the Indian people."

Government cannot secure the co-operation of the people through coercion.

Young India (14), 22nd Dec.

19. In the course of an article in *Young India* headed "Co-operation through coercion" Mr. L. A. Adwani writes:—"So it seems the Simla gods having realised the futility of their appeal to the "sober-minded and thinking men, with stake in the country", are now resorting to enforcing co-operation by coercion! His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught is soon to arrive at the Imperial capital and he must no doubt be spared the unpleasant sight of an "anti-Government propaganda" at the very heart of the Government. But the world will witness one of the greatest—perhaps the greatest—farces ever enacted, about the ushering in of a new era, 'an era of freedom and responsible Government,' by the inauguration of the new legislature. For while within the four walls of the Council Chambers, His Royal Highness, the Viceroy, and the official and non-official "honourables" and "M. L. As." will wax eloquent over the new era, just beyond those very walls none will dare to meet and speak, or even to write, unless it be to bring upon his head the extreme rigors of unjust and repressive laws and regulations! Yes, the echo of a strong, indignant protest against the disintegration of the Khilafat and the massacre of the innocents at the Jhallianwala, and of a resolute, unbending demand of complete reparation and restoration of the religious and national dignity of the two great communities, would have rent even through the stone walls of the Council Chambers and drowned the false, deceptive notes of the sly bureaucrats, or the weak, mumbling voices of the hypnotised "houourables." The situation created by the gag will also help to betray the utter hopelessness of the new legislature at its very inception. The question at issue is: Can the newly constituted Councils in any way safeguard the right of public meeting, liberty of the press and the right of association, which are among the undisputed, primary rights of civilized man and which have ever been the special boast under the British flag? But India is not Europe. The self-governing institutions of the West are supposed to run in India just the opposite direction they do in the frigid zone. There may be self-determination, but not according to the wishes of the people of India..... There may be popular legislatures where members, representing 5, 10, 15 or at the most 20 per cent. of the entire strength of voters, sit and deliberate against the explicit wish and will of the majority of the abstainers. And where, in such particular instance, a new era of liberty may exist, but without the aforementioned rights of association, of public meeting and of free expression of opinion, and where the Government may justify confiscation of these rights, of the "peaceful and

law abiding mass of the population" because of their supposed abuse by "some" unknown and undescribed persons. But where under the sun has one heard of coercion being successful in engendering and fully developing a voluntary co-operation either on the part of an individual or a community? The Seditious Meetings' Act with a hundred other kindred enactments may succeed, in a measure, in restraning men from physical action, and securing their reluctant acquiescence in their provisions; but we have yet to learn whether such measures, or however many like them, being the invention of man's evil genius, can ever restrain a free and high-spirited people from giving full play to the requirements of the spirit, where presently, for what reasons no matter, they may refrain from action. And India—the free and free-spirited India—will, despite all, continue to think and hold her opinion, in the freest manner possible, of the Government of the day and the policy of dishonour and dishonesty that it connotes."

Comments on the application of the Seditious Meetings Act and the disbanding of volunteer corps in Delhi.

Young India (14), 22nd Dec.

20. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* under the heading "More Repression":—"Whether it is in answer to the Delhi incident or what, the Seditious Meetings Act is again applied to Delhi and certain volunteer corps disbanded. I am unable to say much about this repressive measure in the absence of more information. But this I know that the orders of disbandment, prohibition of meetings, posters, etc., must be scrupulously carried out if the campaign is to be quickly carried to a successful issue. We must be able to conduct the movement without public meetings and placards if need be. The disbanding order has not much meaning. No Government in the world can prevent a man from rendering service if he wants to. He does not need a label to enable him to do so. But volunteers must not act as the police is reported to do. They must not terriorise those who do not fall in with their views. They are servants, not masters of the nation."

Social boycott and the non-co-operation movement.

New Times (9), 21st Dec.

21. The *New Times* thus concludes an article in which it condemns social boycott in connection with the non-co-operation movement:—"But is it not inconsistent, we are asked, to non-co-operate with Government and yet hesitate to declare social boycott against those of the Indians who stand in the way of national progress? The question is natural; the answer is simple. We non-co-operate with Government, but not with Englishmen or Europeans; we non-co-operate with a system, a policy, an administration, but we have no quarrel with an *individual*, whether he be an Indian or an European. Much as we love the cause of non-co-operation, we love Freedom more; social boycott, we believe, is incompatible with Freedom; and while it may secure cheap success for sometime, its result, in the long run, can only be—the collapse of non-co-operation. Not social boycott, but discipline and the power to suffer for the ideal will strengthen the new movement and vindicate the faith in us."

Indians should not be led astray by protestations of sympathy on the part of representatives of the Labour party visiting India.

Navjivan (72), 19th Dec.

22. After recounting the disappointments the people of India have received in the matter of political aspirations at the hands of Parliament and especially from the Liberal party on which India had built high hopes, the *Navjivan*, while asking the people not to be befooled by the promises of the Labour party and the protestations of sympathy with Indian aspirations made by some of their members who have recently come to India, writes:—It is now the turn of the Labour party to be sympathetic with us. They ask us to have patience and to trust in their own love of justice and further tell us to co-operate with them. Even the women of England are reported to have cried out 'Poor India' and to have sympathised with us! So far we sent out deputations to England, but now that such deputations are no more being sent, it is natural that deputations should have begun to come to India from England. We would raise no objection to such deputations if they paid their own expenses

and would accord them a hearty welcome. We do not want to practise non-co-operation against the world. The sympathy of just men is a blessing. But the sympathy of other people must not lead to any relaxation of duty on our own part. We should appreciate sympathy but it would be degrading on our part to thirst for it. We shall become the laughing-stock of the whole world if we swerve from the path of our duty by listening to the sympathy of the irresponsible and poverty stricken-Labourites. Whenever an individual or a nation tries to follow the path of duty the forces of evil try to offer inducements with a view to defeat him. It is not our desire to gain anything from England and we should not, therefore, allow ourselves to be deflected from our path of duty by any amount of protestations of sympathy from any one.

The meaning of *Swarájya*.

Lokasangraha (117), 19th and 20th Dec.

23. The term *Swarájya* is vague. It may mean full *Swarájya* within the British Empire or complete independence outside it. In our opinion this distinction need not frighten anyone. Each generation is to determine its own goal and the means to attain it. It is childish to seek to make these binding on future generations. The present generation may desire that India should continue to remain under the protection of the British Empire as long as the sun and the moon endure, but what guarantee is there that future generations will not claim, if circumstances change, that England should form part of an Indian Empire? The principle which applies to the goal also applies to the means. Although we wish to attain *Swarájya* by peaceful and constitutional means, we cannot say definitely what means our children will find more suitable. [In the next issue, the paper writes:—The Nationalists have accepted non-co-operation not because of the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs but because they want *Swarájya*. They are firmly convinced that so long as India is denied *Swarájya* the wrongs to which she has been subjected of late are likely to be repeated. At yet another place the paper says that Indians cannot be blamed if they feel no pride in being citizens of an Empire which denies them the elementary rights of man.]

Co-operation with Government is the only true road to *Swarájya*.

Broach Samáchár (63), 16th and 23rd Dec.

24. The *Broach Samáchár* writing on "Swaráj can be obtained only by co-operation" remarks:—By non-co-operation in the Council elections second class men have been elected and thereby immense harm has been done to us. We should not blame the British nation as a whole for the cruelty of General Dyer and the collection of a fund for him. Colonel Wedgwood has also declared against non-co-operation and said that it has resulted in hatred. *Swaráj* cannot be achieved without unity and by abusing the Government and those who hold different views. It can be achieved by co-operation with Government, by pointing out its faults, by uniting with people of different shades of opinion and thereby promoting friendship and brotherhood. We shall be involved in horrors and bloodshed instead of getting *Swaráj* unless we unite together and abandon such mischievous movements. Every true Indian wants *Swaráj*, but not such as is contemplated by Mr. Gandhi. We should exercise inexhaustible patience, contentment, endurance and firmness to get *Swaráj*. [Continuing the same article in its next issue, the paper writes:—The percentage of educated people is very small in India. Hence we should have more educational institutions. We are sorry to note that Mr. Gandhi wants to destroy old and well-established institutions. He should first establish thousands of new educational institutions and then destroy the old ones. If Government alter their present policy and adopt a more generous one and relax the repressive measures adopted against the people, relieve them from the hardships of the unbearable high prices, encourage Indian trade and industries, then the non-co-operation movement would die a natural death. While we want *Swaráj* under the British flag, the non-co-operator wants *Swaráj* of quite a different kind. Who is to protect us if the English go away from India? Will that party who wants to send them away bag and baggage be able to do it? There are many faults in the present Government, but it has also proved a blessing to us. If Government had in the years past

followed Queen Victoria's Proclamation, affairs would never have come to such a crisis. But, notwithstanding all its faults, the various blessings of the British Government should not be forgotten. It is only owing to its sway that there is peace and tranquillity in the land and, as the saying is, the lamb can drink at the same stream as the tiger.]

How the course of events is favouring the winning of *swarájya* by India.
Lokasangraha (117), 18th Dec.

25. The ideas entertained by Indians about the British military strength were mostly demolished by the Boer war. It is a question whether Britain would have been successful, did it not possess the materials it had. The second thing that disturbed the Indian public opinion was the Russo-Japanese war. If Japan could smash a very big Western Power, because it had an opportunity, India also if it had a similar chance would easily obtain a place in the independent nations of the world and do things that would astonish the world. The awakening caused by the Russo-Japanese war and the excitement of the Partition of Bengal caused a wild tumult all over India, especially in Bengal and the Maháráshtra, and out of it arose the idea of *swarájya* and boycott—the means of its attainment. The bureaucracy tried its best to put down the agitation; but it did not succeed. Instead of trying to appease public opinion by straightforward and peaceful means, the bureaucracy with the aid of its brutal power sent to jail many Indian patriots, in accordance with its traditional policy, and in this way hundreds were gagged. By God's grace then there was the great war. Though it entailed incalculable loss to many countries, Egypt, India and other independent countries were in a way favoured by it. But for the war the idea that *Swarájya* is the birthright of everyone and that no nation can justly impose its dominion on another, would not have had such a free field. When at the end of the war India was waiting for a drop of nectar, cinders were forced down its throat, like the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs. It appears that the bureaucracy is determined to put down public opinion, instead of satisfying the demands of the people. Indians are quite thirsty for *Swarájya* and repression is not the way to satisfy them. If the bureaucracy wants to try its brutal strength on Indian patriots, they are prepared to bear the blows joyfully. The war for *Swarájya* has after all begun and let the bureaucracy have its way.

Mr. Gandhi's views on untouchability.
Navjivan (72), 19th De.

26. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes to the *Navjivan*:—Unless we co-operate with each other, we cannot non-co-operate against Government. We cannot succeed in our object if we show contempt for the six crores of the depressed classes. The Government which set Hindus and Muhammadans by the ears, will not fail similarly to set up the untouchables against the other Hindus. I consider it an irreligious act to regard the depressed classes as untouchables and do not want to advance the good of the country by doing such an irreligious act. It is my firm belief that India will get *Swarajya* only when there is a real religious awakening in the country. I believe that such an awakening is taking place and so I consider it possible to secure *Swarajya* within a year. The Hindu religion does not condemn a person born as an untouchable to die in the same condition. I would, therefore, urge upon the Hindus of Gujarát to cease making a fetish of the theory of untouchability when they do not observe it in practice.

The dangers of Mr. Gandhi's attempts to persuade students to leave Government and aided institutions.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 24th Dec.

27. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's lectures before the students at Allahabad and Calcutta in which he attacked the British Government in India, calling it worse than that of Ravan, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—Mr. Gandhi delivered very inflammatory speeches before the students at Allahabad and Calcutta. As often stated by himself, the object in making such wild statements can only be to impel Government to put him in jail. Government, however, are determined not to gratify this desire of his. But such speeches would create a very dangerous impression on young minds; and it is the duty

of the parents and the guardians to get such speakers gagged by the due exercise of their rights and authority. Mr. Gandhi's speeches at Allahabad and Calcutta would seem to show that he and his coadjutors have not the ability to start and maintain National Colleges and Schools, and that he himself is beginning to realise this very clearly. He seems to be now on his last legs, and has begun to make brazen-faced replies, in answer to difficulties raised. As he is unable to provide other facilities of education to those students whom he induced to leave Government institutions, he simply tells them to do without education and to try and earn a livelihood for themselves and their families without its aid. He styles those slaves who refuse to do so. He said to the students in Allahabad who were prepared to leave off colleges: "At present what is necessary for the students is to have courage, to attend the *Pathshallas* regularly and to learn to spin well". The spinning wheel is ever in Mr. Gandhi's thoughts, and he believes, and makes other believe, that the whole duty of man lies in spinning. In Calcutta he went a step further, and advised the students break stones, take to scavenging, and cleanse the stinking stables of India. What does Mr. Gandhi mean by this? Clearly he wants to see the students deprived of the benefits of education. He teaches them to disregard the good things of this world and to be prepared to march off to the next. We do not believe that those who venerate Mr. Gandhi would like to see their children reduced to such a pass rather than allow them to receive education. We are afraid that those who act up to Mr. Gandhi's advice will be reduced to the condition of the aborigines of America and Australia. Unemployment is the great problem now facing England and they are thinking of sending out some of the unemployed to the Colonies. If at such a time the Indians follow the advice of Mr. Gandhi and give up educating their children and abandon their work in factories and other industrial concerns, the British nation authorities will surely bless him, because thereby they will secure more than sufficient means of employment for their own people.

28. There are some misconceptions about non-co-operation which we want to dispel. The first misconception is that the system of British administration in this country being dependent upon the silent and moral support of the people, the moment that support is withdrawn, Government would topple down. The idea is wrong. It would be applicable to the government of a country which has been established and is maintained with the consent of the people. But a government established by men coming to the country under the pretext of trade and gradually extended by swallowing one territory after another and in which the people have not been given a decisive voice, can never be said to have the moral support of the people. It must be said to be maintained by the sword alone. Leaving aside former times, Government have, during the last fifteen years or so, completely lost the people's confidence. It is true that Indians, by entering Government service, are, in a sort of way, helping in the country's administration; but they have not been doing so voluntarily to express their approval of British rule, but for the sake of their bellies. If we come to establish our rule in England we have no doubt that thousands of Englishmen will come forward to serve us. Mr. Gandhi has said, and many others are blindly saying, that as non-co-operation was a sort of war, all should leap forward to take part in it, without caring for education, trade, etc. But the fact is that non-co-operation is no war but a way to familiarise the masses with the true condition of affairs and to strengthen their minds and inspire them with self-respect; it is preparation for future war and not war itself. Mr. Gandhi further says that if the nation carries out his plan, it will have *Swarâjya* within a year; and Lala Lajpatrai has gone even further and declared that it would be forthcoming in a fortnight. Is *Swarâjya* such a cheap thing that it can be had by the students, the pleaders and the merchants sacrificing themselves for a fortnight? The Irish have gone much further than Mr. Gandhi's programme during the last four or five years, and yet how much *Swarâjya* have they got? It is true that we must direct our operations towards the goal even if it be far distant. But in doing so we must

Criticism of the non-co-operation programme.
Lokasangraha (117), 23rd Dec.

be careful not to inspire the ignorant masses with unreasonable hopes but should duly acquaint them with the many difficulties that lie in the path. We would, therefore, appeal to the promoters of non-co-operation not to mislead themselves about the ends or the efficiency of the movement. The weapon having been drawn by the country it shall have to be used with dexterity. When the conditions necessary for the rise of *Swarajya* are thus created, India would have it.

Government educational institutions breed slave mentality in the teachers also.

Rájakáran (129), 19th Dec.

29. Commenting upon the alleged severe caning inflicted upon a student of the Sardar High School, Belgaum, by the Head Master for wearing clothes of the kind usually worn by Mr. Gandhi, the *Rájakáran* says that this incident clearly shows that educational institutions maintained by Government breed slave mentality not only in students, but also in the teachers. The paper finds justification in this incident for Mr. Gandhi's advice to the students to leave the present schools and colleges.

The Moderates and the Nagpur sessions of the Congress.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 24th Dec., Eng. cols.

30. "In spite of the advice to the contrary of interested parties to the Moderates to abstain from attending the Nagpur Congress, we are glad to note that the Moderate leaders of Nagpur have decided to be present at the next Indian National Congress..... We heartily congratulate the Nagpur Moderate leaders—Sir Gangadar Chitnavis and Sir B. K. Bose—on the issue of the manifesto and the wise decision they have arrived at. We believe —and the whole of India believes—that the sittings of the Nagpur Congress are going to be the most momentous, not only in the whole Congress history, but the questions to be submitted before it for its decision will punctuate a most important turning point on the future political destiny of India. More than even the special Calcutta Congress, the Nagpur Congress is going to seal the future fate of India. The contemplated change in the creed of the Congress is by far the most important question not only before the Nagpur Congress, but before the whole country..... In the meantime, we earnestly wish that the good example set by the Nagpur Moderate Leaders will be followed by the Moderates of other Provinces..... The Moderates will never win the game by sulking, but by fighting the Nationalists on their own ground and thus snatching from the latter political superiority that they obviously at present possess..... We on our part are convinced that the Moderates lose nothing by attending the Congress; on the contrary, they have everything to gain."

Protest against the selection of Mr. Ibrahim Haroon as president of the All-India Muhammadan Education Conference.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Dec.

31. "The All-India Muhammadan Education Conference will hold its annual sessions this year at Amraoti..... It was naturally expected that a person of exceptional intellectual eminence and recognised ability and experience would be chosen as its President to give it an important lead. To our great surprise, we learn that the Central Committee of the Conference, under the inspiration of its Honorary Secretary, to whose influence at Hyderabad we owe so many Khilafat internments in that State, has chosen Mr. Ibrahim Haroon of Poona for the honour. This choice is a challenge to the intelligence of the Muslims of Bombay, if it was the turn of this Presidency to supply a President to the Conference this year. Indeed, it is one of the worst that the Committee could possibly have made from this part of the country. Mr. Ibrahim Haroon has been publicly disowned by the Muslims of Bombay at a public meeting as their representative in the Council and denounced for his reprehensible election tactics. It is not, however, merely on any political grounds that our objection to his election to the chair is based. The President of an Educational Conference must be chosen mainly for his educational qualifications and academic merits. What educational qualifications does Mr. Ibrahim possess?"

32. "We have received two communications from the Khilafat Committee which, taken in conjunction, seem to us deserving of notice, not only of our readers, but of the authorities as well, for they indicate a tendency in the officialdom of certain districts which strikes us as unwise and even dangerous..... The first of the two communications which we have received from the Khilafat Committee is a copy of a telegram which was refused on the ground that it was objectionable to the authorities. We do not for a moment wish to dispute the wisdom of the authorities in refusing it. If we ourselves were the authorities we should most probably have refused it on the same grounds..... Conditions in the North-West Provinces are evidently widely different from those prevailing in the region of Bombay. Many of the English in India seem to regard the freedom which has been allowed to non-co-operators and Khilafat workers as a danger to the State..... It is true that the greater part of the Bombay Presidency is sufficiently remote from the frontier to secure its rulers from considerations which must occupy them with regard to frontier provinces, and that in Sind there have been some repressive measures with regard to Muslim agitation. ..... But while we can make some allowance for nervousness in the northern part of the presidency, that is not the case in the south, and the second communication which have to notice is concerned with Belgaum. We publish elsewhere an order of the District Magistrate of Belgaum to the Secretary of the Habibiya Library in that town to remove 'a red flag with Turkish Crescent and Star' from the said library building and the Secretary's reply on behalf of the members..... It has always been the custom for the banner of the Khalifat dynasty to be regarded as the banner of Islam, and the red flag with white crescent and star of the Ottoman Khilafat has been so long recognised in India, and by the Government of India, as the banner of the Indian Muslims, that we cannot understand this sudden move against it, which is bound to have an ill-effect on Muslim feeling. Surely it is not the moment to cause needless irritation, and we have been assured that the British Government has never questioned the position of the Sultan of Turkey as Khalifah of the Muslims. To Indian Muslims an affront to the 'red flag with the Turkish crescent and star' is an affront to Islam, and that we feel quite sure would not be countenanced, much less intended, by the Government of India."

Alleged affront to the Ottoman Khilafat flag at Belgaum.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Dec.

***33.** "We must congratulate the Muhammadans of the Belgaum District on the very courageous step they have taken in regard to the notice served on the secretary of the Habibiya Library by the District Magistrate to remove a red flag with the Turkish Crescent and star that was hung out from the library. ..... The bureaucracy has an inevitable tendency to poking their nose into matters which do not concern them. The order was arbitrary and into the bargain illegal. Nowadays the Bombay Government seems to have loosened the reins on the necks of these 'District Kings'; but we are afraid that their ingrained habit of meddling will not go, unless, like the monkey in the parable, they are made to suffer heavily for it. Now the Collector has only two ways—either to drag the flag down by force, or to prosecute the secretary for disobedence of his order. Let us wait and see."

Mahrátta (8), 26th Dec.

34. Commenting on the notice issued by the District Magistrate of Belgaum for the removal of the Turkish flag on the top of the building of the Habibulla Library, the *Chandrodaya* remarks that the flag had been there for years past and that Mr. Sale, a predecessor of Mr. MacGregor, had personally seen it. The action of the Magistrate, it adds, is hardly likely to do good to the British Government as it would further wound the feelings of Muhammadans who are already smarting under the wrong done to the Khilafat.

Chandrodaya (37), 20th Dec.

35. Mr. Waman Sitaram Mucadum in narrating the incidents of high-handedness of Government officials that have come to his knowledge during his recent tour in the Jhalod Taluka of the Panch Mahâls District writes in the *Gujardti*:—On the night of the 6th November 1920 the *Ravanias* of Mirakhadi impressed two men of the place to keep watch over the Dharamsala where the Police Jamadar had lodged and forcibly took away from them the loads of grass they were carrying, for feeding the horse of the Jamadar. On the 14th December 1920 some Patawallas impressed some carts in Dahod for going to Jhalod. The Police in Muvada refused to give any help in the matter of a theft that occurred at a Kunbi's place a month and a half back and jestingly referred the Kunbi to Home Rulers for help. The Fouzdar seems to be unaware that when people become able to do the work of the Police themselves, there will be no more vexatious officials in India. Jhalod, as I have seen, is a cleanly place, still the Police complain of its insanitary condition and the Mahalkari fines the people. The Police Patel of Parniyar gave a sound thrashing to a Bhil for not saluting him. The said Bhil was laid up in bed with fever. In Garadu the potters complained of having to supply pots free to all touring officials. [The writer proceeds to give other instances of similar petty annoyances of the people in the Dhola, Pethapura and Gultora villages.]

Complaint about high-handedness on the part of Government officers in the Jhalod Taluka, district Panch Mahâls.
Gujardti (19), 19th Dec.

36. The *Kesari* writes on the Mulshi dam much in the same strain as the *Mahrátta* (*vide* paragraph 37 of Weekly Report No. 51 of 1920) and says:—Sir George Lloyd has revealed his real mind in starting the scheme to feed Europeans in the name of the development of Bombay. He has shown his partiality all the more for the capitalist in sanctioning the Tata scheme. The real character of the satanic love of money of the capitalist is not hidden because the big name "Industrial Progress" is used. What is bad is that Government resources and power are not used for the protection of the poor from the oppression of the rich as they should be but that they are more used for satisfying the whims and fancies of the capitalists. If Government really wanted industrial progress, it would have behaved in quite a different manner. It would have given full fiscal freedom to the Legislative Councils. There are many other things it would have done and the list can be extended indefinitely. And all these things are being experienced in England, Germany and Japan where the interests of officials and the people do not differ. But it is not so in India. It may be taken without question that whenever any Government scheme is started for industrial progress, the benefit of Europeans is secretly meant. Take any big industrial or commercial enterprise and analyse it carefully and it will be found that in one way or the other the principal profits go to the Europeans. [The rest is a repetition of what has already appeared in the *Mahrátta*.]

The Mulshi (Poona) dam and Government.
Kesari (114), 21st Dec.

*37. In the course of an article in which it reviews the Irish situation, the *Mahratta* remarks:—"This shows clearly the position taken up by England in this connection. It means that England is not going to respect any principle of international law or morality when it is a question of her own interests. England is, and intends to remain champion of liberty and freedom all the world over, but only when her own interests are not involved. She is, and will be most charitable when she can be charitable at others' expense. This is England's present psychology, and this has been revealed now and then in all her international dealings after the war. Self-determination and liberty is well and good when that principle is to be brought into requisition to deprive enemy countries of their possessions, and so England applied that prineiple to all German colonies but denied it to India, Egypt and Ireland. This is the key to the present impasse in India, Egypt and Ireland..... It must be conceded that England cannot sacrifice her own safety for merely paying homage to a philosophic principle. But still the verdict of history will go against her if she does not help to find a *vid media* out of the impasse.

Reflections on the Irish situation.
Mahrátta (8), 26th Dec.

Egypt asks for independence and her demand ought to be satisfied, taking care to guard England's interests in the Mediterranean. Ireland desires to be free; let England grant it to her by good grace and cultivate and ripen her regard into close attachment which can secure her safety. India demands Home Rule, and England ought to satisfy her at once and take time by the forelock and turn India into an ally and bind her by ties of friendship and love. This is the only open course to her. But the fatuousness of Britain's Imperialists is goading her to other course which is sure to end in international conflict and struggle. Success is always on the side of those who fight for God-given liberty. Let England take note again of the lessons of history and mend her ways before it is too late. Let the sruggling nations also be prepared for the inevitable conflict, because the victory is theirs."

Comments on Mr. Cadell's tour in the Southern Division.
Raja Hánsa (88), 19th and 23rd Dec.

38. During the last two weeks the Commissioner of the Southern Division has been on a tour in the Dhárwár District. During his tour he visited the Lamington High School of Hubli. The fact that most of the teachers were absent at the time of his visit excited his wrath. The Headmaster and the other teachers came some time after the Commissioner's appearance, and he got very angry with them for this breach of discipline. In his remarks in the Visitors' Book he has made a suggestion that as there is no discipline in the school the Municipality should hand over the management to Government. It seems that owing to the non-co-operation agitation the Government officers are thinking of bringing all the educational institutions under their own management. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes that it is sorry that public receptions are being organised by certain interested persons in honour of Mr. Cadell, and reminds people that he is the same Mr. Cadell who was once Controller of Prices in Bombay. The paper understands that Mr. Cadell has used insulting language towards some of the teachers of the Lamington High School at Hubli, and warns him that such acts may result in serious consequences.]

Appeal to Government to take measures to check the steady depreciation in the market value of the old Government securities.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 26th Dec. (Eng. cols.).

*39. "Owing to the issue of new Government Loans at increasing rates of interest there is a steady depreciation in the value of old Government securities..... As a result there is some dissatisfaction created in the minds of the holders of these securities, and it is freely spoken that Government credit is declining. There is undoubtedly a gradual loss of confidence in these securities on the part of the investing public. It is well known that various charitable trusts, public institutions, and especially people of the middle class, have invested freely in these 3½ per cent. securities at a time when public confidence was strong in them. They are now in the deplorable predicament of finding their investments greatly reduced in value. It is time that Government did something to re-establish public confidence by taking some steps to give relief to the holders of old Government securities..... At any rate this matter requires to be considered by a committee of financial experts."

Indian miners and the Government of India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Dec.

40. "Replying to the irrepressible Sir John Rees, Mr. Montagu stated in the Commons last week that he had received information that a general strike, said to be of a political origin, was threatened in the coalfields of India. He added that the Government of India were dealing with the situation. We are not surprised that Mr. Montagu has received the information in the shape he has. The bureaucratic informers in India, with "the agitator" on their brain, could do no less than misrepresent facts..... Labour in India is ruthlessly sweated in almost every branch of industry, but in few places more shamefully and with greater impunity than in the coal-fields which yield to their exploiters' fabulous profits. The Indian miner long groaning under the wrong is at last awakening and it is not surprising that his exploiters are anxious to nip in the bud

the unformulated but inevitable demand for economic justice by all means, fair or foul..... It becomes, therefore, the duty of the intelligentsia to take active steps towards helping the miners to organise and secure economic justice. We trust the Executive of the All-India Trade Union Congress and the Indian National Congress will immediately bestir themselves in the cause of the poor Indian miner."

Comments on the Dye-stuffs Bill passed in the House of Commons.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 22nd Dec.; *Hindusthán* (24), 23rd Dec.

41. Reuter telegraphed yesterday that the Bill regarding the import of dye-stuffs has passed the House of Commons with the amendment that it will not apply to the self-governing dominions. Hence it will apply to India. Why should we depend upon England if we get these things cheaper and better from elsewhere and why should we not get that freedom which is given to the self-governing dominions? The exemption given to the British colonies in respect of dye-stuffs is doubly unjust to India. It will not only benefit the local trade and the business in these colonies, but they will also compete not only in India but also in those foreign countries where Indian goods find a market and thereby try to cause loss to India. The Dye-stuffs Bill is unjust to India, and a movement for sending a strong protest to the authorities concerned should be undertaken. It is necessary to tell the authorities concerned plainly that if this very insulting and harmful Bill is not modified, the Indians will not touch any goods from England or the British dominions and will look to other countries for what they require. This is also a sure method for securing fiscal autonomy which we ought to have and which England denies to us. The Indian merchants are not less responsible than the Government of India for the fact that nothing has been done till now to free the Government of India from such a degrading position. If they declare that so long as India does not get such freedom, they will not deal in British goods and will patronise goods of other countries, the British manufacturers will surrender of their own accord. When will the Indian business associations unite together and show the courage of adopting such a line of action? [The *Hindusthán* makes similar remarks in connection with the Dye-stuffs Bill and adds:—Where is the fiscal autonomy which, according to Mrs. Besant, has been granted to us? It is a pity that when India's services are required sweet promises are given and India's man-power and resources are utilised for the benefit of the Empire; but when a question concerning the interests of India arises a selfish policy is adopted.]

Comments on Mr. L. Curtis' remarks about insulting behaviour of Europeans in India.

Mahrátta (8), 26th Dec.

*42. "Well, as for Mr. Curtis' observation, it is not at all a discovery that he has made. Insults at the hands of Europeans are matters of every-day occurrence to Indians: nor is it a great wonder that the Punjáb satrap should deny them. Does the latter gentleman forget so soon that in the matter of compensation for damages during the Punjáb disorders Indians were valued at 200 per cent. less than Europeans? We challenge Mr. O'Dwyer to show what it is, if not an insult. Why cite instances? If all insults were brought together they would make a whole Illiad. But surely that would not soften the bitterness in the minds of Indians. The system of administration in which such and other insults can be inflicted with impunity, must be pried out of existence. The lever to do so is non-co-operation, round which, therefore, it behoves all true Indians to rally. We are not wood, we are not stones, but we are men and as men shall we end this gangrenous bureaucracy."

Why political offences are more severely punished in India than in England.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Dec.

43. "Mr. Malone was arrested for the possession of revolutionary documents and open incitement to physical force for the overturn of Government. He was prosecuted and sentenced for a short period. What, on the other hand, are the standards of punishment in this wretched country? For throwing stones six months; for being convicted of sedition by a jury of aliens and acquitted by his own countrymen,

an illustrious Indian got six years' transportation; for a trumpery story told by the approver-general of the Punjáb Government, a number of Indians were sentenced to life-long banishment and confiscation of property; for a cock and bull story told about waging war against the King, a lad of ten was awarded the punishment short of hanging. What is the cause of this systematic fierceness in the punishment of political offences in India? It is that the bureaucracy want their reign of a thousand years to be absolutely undisturbed and they hope to terrorise those who feel disaffected over their prolonged subjection. They have to be highhanded they think, and their ethics of punishment are frankly savage..... The penology connected with political opinion has been purposely perverted in this country. The Court ought to be the palladium of justice, and, therefore, the executive officer should be turned out by the neck from its precincts and he must be told to collect his revenues and attend to his non-judicial duties."

Comments on speeches delivered by certain ex-service men in Calcutta.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 26th Dec.

***44.** Referring to the speeches delivered by some ex-service men at a dinner at Calcutta, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"The plain meaning of these speeches seems to be that the Reforms are likely to endanger in some unexplained manner the hearths and homes of these ex-officers; and that they ought to enroll themselves in the Auxiliary Forces in order to be legally entitled to use Government weapons in defence of these. Any considerable accession to these Forces for this reason and in this frame of mind cannot but be a menace to the life and property of the people of India who have as much right to defend their hearths and homes as these ex-officers. What is being done to constitute the Territorial Army in which alone Indians will be legally entitled to get Government weapons to defend themselves with?"

Lord Willingdon not fit for the post of Viceroy.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st and 22nd Dec.

45. "Lord Willingdon is known to be among the aspirants to the Viceroyalty, but the way in which His Lordship is proceeding with the reorganisation of the Executive Council and the Ministry of Madras is hardly calculated to inspire confidence either in His Lordship's fitness for the responsible post or in the prospects of success of the Reform Scheme. The correspondence, now published, between the Governor of Madras and Sir Theagaraya Chetty, makes it clear that the bureaucratic game of *divide et impera* has lost none of its attractions at least for the Madras official hierarchy. Lord Willingdon's offensive reference to 'the leader of the winning party' and his anxiety to confine the selection of his Ministers to this so-called party to the exclusion of all other sections of the population, shows that there has been very little change in the angle of vision of Lord Willingdon and his advisers..... Lord Willingdon, instead of holding the balance even between the different sections of the population and trying to eliminate class hatred, openly pats the leader of the *Justice* junta on the back and invites the latter to nominate two Ministers from among his following! No wonder there is bitter disillusionment among the 'Co-operationists' of Madras." [In the next issue the paper writes:—"Lord Willingdon, it is stated, has the best chances of succeeding to the Viceregal *gadi* which Lord Chelmsford will vacate shortly. Even the London *Times* has deigned to beam on His Lordship and declare that of all the ruling satraps he has the best record of a successful aministrator..... A well-known retired Civilian who poses as an authority on Indian politics has declared that in the selection of a Viceroy the candidate's social rather than political qualities should be given primary consideration. If this were so, then indeed Lord Willingdon would be the fittest person to discharge the Viceregal functions. But, are we in India really come to the stage when the political side of the Viceroy's personality can be altogether ignored? Lord Willingdon cannot be both a genial host and an autocrat in his own house. When the Viceroy of India ceases to 'boss' the political show and becomes a mere titular head of the State, then we may indulge in the luxury—albeit costly luxury—of purely 'social' Viceroys of the Willingdon type."]

46. Referring to the Government of India's resolution on the subject of recruitment for the I. C. S., the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—The decision to hold the Civil Service Examination both in England and in India will give satisfaction to the Indians, conferring as it does a privilege for which they have long been fighting. Moreover, selections will be made from the Provincial Services and members of the Legal profession, and Government have decided that the percentage of Indians in the service should be gradually raised to 48. All this shows how sincere Government are in their desire to see Indians become fit to carry on the administration of their country, for which they have already opened the way by the Reforms. It has not been made known whether the same kind of question papers will be set at the examinations in England and in India; but it would certainly be more desirable to have the same kind of question papers for both the examinations.

Comments on the Government of India's resolution regarding recruitment for the I. C. S.
Kaiser-i-Hind (26), 19th Dec.

47. About 40 days have elapsed since the strike of 4,000 talatis in the Northern Division, Central Division and the Konkan. But Government do not take into consideration their grievances at all. If Government think that the pay demanded by talatis is unreasonable and if they can have qualified men on the present pay they are welcome to appoint new men. But the present conduct of Government is unjust both to the talatis and the people. Government are appointing any man they can find, however uneducated he may be, just to show that they do not care for the strike. It is a waste of the ryots' money and to ask such talatis to fix the anna value of crops, etc., is to oppress the ryots. Talatis are being individually threatened and persecuted, and we understand that they have been also made to take a vow to abandon the strike. All this is unjust and one feels indignant about it. From the fact that Government are using such low Police methods, it appears that that the talatis' case is a just one and that their demands are not improper. The talatis should be firm and no one should desert and ruin others. It is no crime to ask for an increase of pay and there is no cause for being afraid of anything.

The Talatis' strike.
Kesari (114), 21st Dec.

48. According to the *Vijayi Maratha*, Brahmin officials, out of sympathy for the Talatis who have gone on strike, show unwillingness to fill their posts by new men, who apply for them. It also alleges that those who are taken up are so much harassed that they have to give up their posts, and then some of the Talatis on strike are appointed in their places. The paper asks Government to draw the obvious conclusion from this attitude of the Brahmin officials and to put a stop to their tyranny over the masses.

Alleged sympathy of Brahmin officials for the Talatis on strike.
Vijayi Mardtha (143), 18th Dec.

49. The *Lokasangraha* complains that although Mr. Montagu has decided to increase the pensions of European pensioners he never cared to devote a thought to the plight of Indian pensioners whose pensions are too inadequate to buy them the bare necessities of life in these days of high prices. The paper inquires whether Mr. Montagu will turn his attention to the starving Indian pensioners now that he has satisfied the Europeans whose needs were much less pressing.

Necessity of increasing the pensions of low-paid pensioners.
Lokasangraha (117), 19th Dec.

50. "Having regard to the absolutist character of the *regimé* of Sir R. Craddock, it would have been vain to expect that the victims of bureaucratic wrath like the editor and the printer of the *Rangoon Mail*, once having got into the iron clutches of officialdom in Burma, would come out unscathed. The conviction of both the victims was almost a foregone conclusion and though an appeal lies to the Chief Court, we may be pardoned for being somewhat pessimistic with regard to the outcome of such an appeal. The executive having once scented 'sedition', the terms of

Comments on the conviction of the editor and the printer of the *Rangoon Mail*.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Dec.

section 153-A, Indian Penal Code, are too vague and the net of the powers of the executive too wide for the victims of these press prosecutions to escape without injury, however, innocent they may be. Nevertheless, we trust justice will be vindicated by the Appellate Court. The fact that all the 'articles' objected to were mere extracts from such respectable journals as the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Asian Review* did not count with either the prosecution or the Magistracy. This is, of course, apart from the all-important fact that the articles were in themselves unobjectionable from any point of view except that they exposed the truth. The cross-examination of Mr. Mangle, Commissioner of Police, Rangoon, who initiated the prosecution revealed an amazing incapacity to distinguish between editorial articles and mere extracts from other journals and his objection to headlines was touching in the extreme."

51. Commenting upon the prosecution of the editor of the *Rangoon Mail*, the *New Times* remarks:—"But that there should be launched such a case against the editor of a nationalist paper at a time when, we are told, the Reforms have initiated a 'now era' is a significant commentary on the spirit of the bureaucracy. The articles which form the basis of the charge against Mr. Chandra are not any editorials from his pen but some reproductions from the *Asian Review* and the *Bombay Chronicle*; and the charge against Mr. Chandra is that the articles in question cause 'racial hatred'. Officials and official apologists have often made a similar complaint with regard to several papers published in English and vernacular in this country. No paper in England, we are often told, will be so bitter and rash in its attacks, so eager to foster 'racial hatred' as several of the Indian papers! A large assumption this; the facts tell a different tale..... While Anglo-Indians can write as they will, even recommending nationalists to the kind attention of the executive as fit for being 'hanged on the nearest tree', editors of Indian papers are punished heavily for criticism of Government and its measures. It suited Bismarck to condemn the editor as a 'quill-driver'; it suits the bureaucracy to condemn Indian editors as spreaders of 'sedition' and 'racial hatred'. But repression is no remedy."

New Times (9), 14th Dec.

52. Sedition cases are now rampant in the country. The conviction of the accused in such cases is a foregone conclusion. In cases where no defence is given because of non-co-operation, as in the case of the *Akdli*, it is all the more certain that the accused will be punished. The editor of the *Akdli* has been punished for writings which are based upon nothing but facts. All newspapers, save those of the sycophant type, and all leaders have from time to time given utterance to statements such as or even stronger than those for which the editor of the *Akdli* has been punished. We think that Sirdar Mangalsing did well to give no defence. When we see that in sedition cases the accused is invariably punished, where is the need of going through the farce of a defence? If Sirdar Mangalsing has been sentenced to three years for what he wrote in his paper, we are unable to understand why any editor of any nationalist paper should be at large. India is the only unfortunate country where repression is held to be lawful and where editors are sent to jail for saying things which are true. There is one sovereign remedy for this high-handedness, and that is for us to non-co-operate with Government and thus obtain *Swaraj*; otherwise there will be no end to such tyrannies.

Comments on the sentence passed on the editor of the *Akdli*.

Hindu (153), 6th Dec.

***53.** "We are sure Mr. Carter will never more indulge in a 'sport' which is likely to miscarry so grievously, but we find great difficulty in agreeing with the Magistrate that shooting with high velocity rifles within carrying distance of cotton fields in a thickly populated area—the Delhi enclave has a population of over 700 per square mile,—involves no rashness or negligence. The last clause of the Magistrate's order can only be characterised as cynical. It may be that, as observed

Comments on the Delhi Magistrate's decision in a case in which Mr. A. L. N. Carter, I.C.S., accidentally shot an Indian woman.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 26th Dec.

by this judicial luminary, a sum of money on hand is calculated to serve better the interests of the husband and brother of the unfortunate young woman, but does it equally serve the interests of justice, which should be his first care?"

Necessity of opening relief works in the Sholápur District.
Lokasangraha (117), 20th Dec.

54. A correspondent writing in the *Lokasangraha* draws attention to the terrible famine conditions prevailing in the Sholápur District and especially in the Karmala and Malsiras Talukas and asks Government to open relief works in the district at an early date. He also prays for the supply of fodder at cheap rates to the people to enable them to preserve their cattle.

Alleged partiality shown by Government to the Belapur Syndicate in the matter of water from the Prawara Canals.
Mahrátta (8), 26th Dec.

***55.** "The Irrigation Department of the Government has issued a notice that water from the Prawara Canals would not be available for the use of the Bagaitdars in the coming summer. The excuse put forth by the authorities is that the supply of water is insufficient. The fact is that there is not a shred of truth in this excuse. The peasants and their cattle are to be starved, so that the Belapur Syndicate might live more abundantly. If water is not available to the poor, famine-stricken farmers, how does it become available to the Syndicate? It is an irony indeed that the canal dug for the benefit of adjacent Bagaitdars should be made to serve the ends of a private European company comimg to India not with altruistic motives, but to suck away leech-like India's rich blood. The reason of all such diabolical acts of Government is not far to seek. The interests of India and those of Government are as wide apart as the two Poles..... Under the circumstances compromise between the two sets of interests is as unthinkable as between black and white, night and day, oil and vinegar..... The right thing is to give a decent burial to this system of Government by an alien, irresponsible and cabalistic bureaucracy. Non-co-operation and non-co-operation alone, will achieve this firmly and well."

Condemnation of Government's forest policy in Kánara.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Dec.

56. "How the illiberal policy of the authorities even in matters non-political is driving the people at large into the fold of the non-co-operationists is to be seen in two significant documents which we publish today. They are letters from two well-known and hitherto devoted servants of the State, both of them Rao Bahadurs, announcing publicly the reunnciation of their titles as a protest against the present ruinous forest policy of Government in the Kánara District. We had several occasions in the past to draw the attention of both the Government and the public to the crying grievances of the people of this district in respect of the aggressions of the Forest Department..... Repeated petitions and protests from the people of the district have availed them nothing. Even the warnings of responsible servants of the State, like Mr. Tupper, the late Collector of the District, and of well-wishers of Government, like the present Rao Bahadurs, have been contemptuously disregarded. The last Press Note issued by Government on the subject has proved to be a veritable straw on the back of the long-suffering camel. The following extract from Rao Bahadur Basrur's letter to the Governor of Bombay will give an idea of the depth of despair into which even loyal citizens like him have been thrown by the Government policy of deliberate disregard of a whole district's cry of distress:—'While the agriculture of my district is being ruined before my eyes, I cannot retain the badge of distinction which reminds me day in and day out that the result of all my past services is now to be destroyed wilfully by the Government's persistence in adopting a policy directly hostile to agriculture.....' Rao Saheb Masur's letter also breathes the same despair and indignation at the Government's failure to redress the wrongs of the people of the district. Is it too much to hope that the eyes of Sir George Lloyd and his colleagues will yet be opened to the mischief which is being wrought by the Forest officials in the district?

In any case they cannot complain that they had not sufficient warning or that they were not in possession of all the facts."

57. "The suppression of truth through the censorship of the telegrams is proceeding to a very undesirable extent and an emphatic protest should be made against this misuse of power..... Do the authorities really expect that by these methods they can prevent for any length of time the leakage of truth, as it is viewed by the public? If they cannot appreriate the popular points of view, there are the Publicity Departments, specially created, to controvert these views. But officialdom should be ashamed of resorting to the questionable weapon of the censorship of public telegraphic messages."

Protest against subjecting telegrams to censorship.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Dec.

58. "The Indians settled in East Africa 300 years ago and were the first to open up that country for the European and civilisation. Great efforts are being made to drive them out of East Africa and make it solely a "White man's preserve." Sir Joynson Hicks is the champion of this policy in Parliament. Whether this policy will succeed or not depends upon the Imperial Government. We still trust they will hold the scales even between all communities in East Africa. If they cannot it will only cause more discontent in India and East Africa and a corresponding increase in the anxieties of the Government of India."

Comments on the position of Indians in East Africa.
Sind Observer (12), 8th Dec.

59. "The Taxpayer is weary of constantly delving his hand into his pocket in order to pay for National debts incurred by an incompetent Government. Almost daily instances are being brought to light of reckless squandering and unnecessary waste of public money..... The war has been won, at least so the people say—we have yet to be convinced of this fact. Nevertheless the time has come for settling up accounts..... The taxpayer, however, was not quite prepared for the series of shocks which have been forthcoming almost daily. The naked truth is being constantly brought home and the realization that the powers that be have been cruelly and ruthlessly wasting the country's money..... It is useless to harp on things of the past. Through the usual kind of muddle we muddled through the war, and in the same way we must muddle through the rectification of our National debts. But what of the aftermath? There is talk of economy and retrenchment everywhere. Yes *talk*, and plenty of it, but there are no practical signs evident anywhere..... Whilst concentrating our attention on the false economy practised at Home, we must not neglect to have a look at the windows of our own glass house. The tax-payer in India is also heavily burdened although not to the extent of those at Home. Even now, as during the war, money, lakhs upon lakhs of it, is being thrown away ruthlessly to human vultures around. We refer to the question of Army Contracts..... Every military centre throughout India is seething with so-called Army Contractors. Some of these individuals prior to the war were insignificant nonentities, and are now among the richest of the land. They haggle for, bargain for, and even bribe for contracts, and the settling of such contracts are left in the hands of the local officials, regardless of whether they be honourable or otherwise. Government are fully aware of the daylight robbery that is being carried on, they are also cognisant of the facts that lakhs of rupees are being thrown away in this direction, but for some reason best known to themselves they prefer to keep silent. It is high time the question of Army Contracts were taken out of the hands of under-officials, or at least put under strict supervision. In this connection there would be some startling revelations made were the authorities to look into the bank balances and daily lives of many of the Supply and Transport Corps under-officials. The tax-payer is naturally curious and desirous of knowing how his money is being used and therefore when he sees Grass Farm, Dairy Farm, and

Alleged waste of public money by Government and prevalence of corruption in connection with Indian Army.
Sind Observer (12), 9th Dec.

S. & T. subordinates with a salary of perhaps Rs. 200 per mensem running about in motor cars and traps and indulging freely in other luxuries it sets him thinking. There is again the question of staffs. To begin from the top of the tree; Army Headquarters is seething with officers and men whose presence and so-called work there is unnecessary. In addition to pay they draw large Staff pay and allowances. There is room for retrenchment in this direction; in fact there is room for retrenchment everywhere, but no signs are as yet forthcoming."

60. The *Vijayi Marátha* commenting upon an appreciatory reference to the bravery of the Marathas made in an issue of the *Basrah Times*, a copy of which was sent to it, the paper says, by one Jamadar Balaji Ghag, 114th Marathas, says that although the Marathas distinguished themselves many a time during the late war, Government failed to take notice of the fact while awarding 'direct commissions'. It points out that Brahmin newspapers while criticising the Esher Committee's report have been demanding that higher appointments in the army should be given to educated men and warns Government that there will be terrible discontent in all the regiments if such appointments are given to Brahmins and the Marathas who constitute the rank and file are excluded therefrom. The paper counsels the sepoys to make representations to Government to this effect through their superior officers and warns them that unless they bestir themselves in time, the Brahmins who boast that Indians spilt their blood in the cause of the Empire will forestall them.

Complaint that Maratha valour in the last war was not taken into account in giving commissions.

Vijayi Marátha (143), 18th Dec.

61. Commenting on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's speech in opening the Improvement Trust Chawls on Clark Road, Bombay, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—"Speaking about the stupendous task that he has undertaken in the work of providing Bombay with adequate housing accommodation, he remarked, "When people told him that the Back Bay scheme would never be done and that it had been tried so often in the past or that some other scheme would never be accomplished, he had always replied: 'Wait for two years and see.'" This is a bright promise indeed, and bespeaks the presence of a robust faith in himself, and we take this opportunity to assure him that in these hard times of house-famine, the people have sustained themselves because they have firm faith in His Excellency, and it was this faith that has so handsomely provided him with the 'sinews of war' by contributing a record sum towards the Development Loan. The whole of Bombay knows that Sir George Lloyd has made the housing problem specially his own. Ever since his advent in our midst he laid his sure finger on this the sorest point in the life of Bombay..... Sir George Lloyd has come out with a sort of double nostrum. He wants to develop Bombay and he wants to expand it at the same time..... Side by side with the internal improvement of the city for meeting its future wants, expanding its own bounds is also most essential. Thus this double task of improvement within and expansion without is to be undertaken in the new development scheme of Sir George Lloyd. His Excellency dangles a bright promise before the eyes of the public. 'Wait two years and see,' he says. Indeed, we would like to wait for double that period, if so bright a promise is translated into good, tangible work. Unfortunately, time and tide wait for none, and two good and precious years out of the term of office of His Excellency are already gone. Of course plenty of spade work had to be gone through and governmental mills generally move slowly as we all know to our cost and constant consternation. In the natural course of events, Sir George can only stay with us for three more years. We only sincerely wish, that before he departs from our midst, his *magnum opus* may be on the high road to completion, if not completed by that time..... The successor in office may not necessarily inherit the same love for his predecessor's work and hence

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's speech in opening the Improvement Trust Chawls on Clark Road, Bombay.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 21st Dec., Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (26), 19th Dec.

the same runs the risk of being starved for want of proper official countenance. We do most sincerely hope that Sir George Lloyd's great scheme will meet with a better fate and that before he departs from our midst we shall be lucky enough to see the concrete results of his great undertaking." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—In his speech His Excellency the Governor dwelt on the heavy responsibilities of the Trust. But the less said now about its responsibilities, the better! It would have been more welcome had His Excellency announced a fixed period within which the Trust would be handed over to the Municipality. His Excellency remarked that the Back Bay reclamation scheme would be completed within two years. We wish that His Excellency will be able to realise this expectation of his before the completion of his tenure of office.]

Protest against the Bombay Development Loan being spent on Back Bay Reclamation.
Sándesh (130), 15th Dec.

62. A correspondent writing in the *Sándesh* says that when subscriptions for the Bombay Development Loan were being collected, people were led to believe that a large part of the loan would be utilized for erecting houses in and near Bombay. He complains that the intention of Government now appears to be to devote the major portion of the loan to the Back Bay Reclamation scheme which will benefit only the rich. The writer remarks that nothing was heard about this scheme when the loan was being floated and that it was made public only when Government had the people's money safe in their hands.

Dacoities in Bombay.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Dec.

63. "Dacoities in Bombay! The idea seems incredible. Yet within the last few weeks not only have several dacoities taken place but the inhabitants of the northern parts of the City have also been living in constant terror of dacoits and robbers—a fact which does not reflect credit on the efficiency of the City Police..... We accept the statement of the Commissioner of Police that the police are doing their best in the circumstances to cope with the situation. But Mr. Griffith's plea that owing to want of funds and necessary men he is unable to send more men to the northern parts of the City and his excuse that in consequence of the general rise in wages the police service is not popular are hardly tenable. When the lives and property of citizens are in imminent danger, it is not comforting to be told that the Commissioner of Police has not sufficent men to give protection. Nor does the confession say much for the efficient administration of his department by the Commissioner. More, if the rank and file of the police are not adequately paid it is not the fault of the public. For the public gives enough for the purpose, but the top-heavy organisation which is the bane of all branches of our administration prevents the proper utilisation of the money—and leads to the waste and most of the ills we suffer from."

Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 25th Dec.

64. Commenting upon the armed dacoities in Bombay, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—The Bombay Police and the Criminal Investigation Department must be doing their best to investigate into these armed dacoities. Let us hope that the Police will take such steps as will make the recurrence of such dacoities impossible. The people of Bombay have been thrown into a panic in consequence of these dacoities and have become apprehensive of their safety. Some of the culprits are reported to have been arrested. Such gangs of robbers should be prevented from entering Bombay. At the recent meeting of the Standing Committee of the Municipality, Mr. Griffiths declared that arrangements were still being made to recruit new men for the Police force. The inhabitants of Bombay have a right to ask as to when the arrangements for enlisting new recruits will be completed. No delay should be allowed in the matter. The argument has been advanced that it is difficult to secure recruits owing to the general rise in wages. No consideration of expenditure should come in the way of safeguarding the life and property of the people. The evil must be put down in an effective manner at any cost.

65. Mr. B. P. Madon writes to the *Jám-e-Jamshed* :—The tragic event of a Parsi family being harassed by thieves and the members thereof severely beaten does not reflect any credit upon Government. It shows how powerless Government are to protect the people. Since the last two years, there have been such robberies in Santa Cruz and this one took place in the military camp. We do not know how the *badmashes* must be harassing the people in other suburbs where there is no police. Government neither protect the people themselves nor do they allow them to utilise the means of self-protection. How then can the people stay in the suburbs? Many people have asked for permission to keep arms in Santa Cruz but no one has got it. The bungalow in which I am staying is situated on the Ghorebunder Road and is quite isolated. On two or three occasions *badmashes* attempted to get into it at night, once they actually did so and stole several things. A year ago there was an attempt to get into it. Thereupon I applied to the Police Superintendent of Thána and to the Collector for a license to keep arms, but as yet I have received no reply. How can the people stay in the suburbs under such conditions? Again, there are only a few lights in Santa Cruz near the station and these are put out at about 10 o'clock. It is easy to form an idea of the inconveniences which the people returning late at night are put to. The roads are also not kept in good repair. There is a thick layer of dust on the main Ghorebunder Road. There is also as much inconvenience of water. When will those concerned do the needful in the matter?

Complaint about thefts in Santa Cruz (Bombay) and refusal to grant arms licences for self-protection.
Jám-e-Jamshed (25), 22nd Dec.

66. A correspondent informs us that thefts are being committed daily in Dholka after the Vaotha fair. Although the nuisance of thefts is so much on the increase that seven or eight thefts are committed almost daily, yet the people do not get sufficient police protection to end it. Laying aside the question of the causes of this increase in thefts, the people should be prepared themselves to put a stop to them and to protect themselves against them, instead of entertaining futile hopes of protection from the police. Along with the thefts, children have been kidnapped, and the people have no information as to whether the police have traced and apprehended the criminals. The times are changed. The people have to acquire fitness for self-government. Weapons are not required for self-protection, but only soul-force and selflessness are necessary. It would be quite enough if volunteers keep watch during the night. Mr. Gandhi also says that instead of relying solely upon the police, the people should be ready to protect themselves. The only other course is to give up wealth and thus be free from danger. Hence the only safety lies in the people of Dholka coming forward as volunteers for the protection of their town from this danger.

Complaint about increasing thefts in Dholka (district Ahmedabad) and inadequacy of police protection.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 21st Dec.

***67.** "One wonders if the present Inspector-General of Police of this Presidency can really be successful in bringing about an improvement in the Criminal Investigation Department as he proposes to do in the Annual Report of 1919. So far as the people know, the famous C. I. D. is more in evidence as inseparable concomitants of political activities only..... We can from personal experience give details of humourous episodes in this connection and if presented in a book-form it would be a pleasant reading of half an hour. Under the circumstances we welcome the suggestion of the Inspector-General to establish a school of training for these 'detectives', so that they will be first trained to mind their legitimate business of detecting crimes instead of wasting their energies elsewhere. The want of such trained hands and heads is a crying need and we assure our Inspector-General of public sympathy and help if the C. I. D. really turns into a real guardian of public property, instead of the vague terror as it at present is. Whatever may be the outcome of the

Comments on the scheme of the Inspector-General of Police, Bombay Presidency for the improvement of the C. I. D.
Mahrátta (8), 26th Dec.

efforts of the Inspector-General, we wholeheartedly welcome his genuine intention towards reform."

Reflections on the alleged shadowing of political leaders in India by the C. I. D.

Young India (14), 22nd Dec.

68. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"One of the curses of India is often the sin of secrecy. For fear of an unknown consequence we talk in whispers. Nowhere has this secrecy oppressed me more than in Bengal. Everybody wishes to speak to you 'in private.' The spectacle of innocent young men looking around, before opening their lips, to see that no third party overhears their conversation has given me the greatest grief. Every stranger is suspected of belonging to the secret service. I have been warned to beware of strangers. The cup of my misery was filled when I was told that the unknown student who presided at the students' meeting belonged to the secret service department. I could recall the names of at least two prominent leaders who are suspected in high Indian circles of being spies of the Government..... I feel thankful to God that for years past I have come to regard secrecy as a sin, more especially in politics..... This desire for secrecy has bred cowardice amongst us and has made us dissemble our speech. The best and the quickest way of getting rid of this corroding and degrading Secret Service is for us to make a final effort to think everything aloud, have no privileged conversation with any soul on earth and to cease to fear the spy..... I know that I have achieved most satisfactory results from evolving the boldest of my plans in broad daylight. I have never lost a minute's peace for having detectives by my side. The public may not know that I have been shadowed throughout my stay in India. That has not only not worried me; but I have even taken friendly services from these gentlemen: many have apologised for having to shadow me. As a rule what I have spoken in their presence has already been published to the world. The result is that now I do not even notice the presence of these men and I do not know that the Government is much the wiser for having watched my movements through its secret agency. My opinion is that these agents accompany me as a matter of form or routine. They certainly never bother me. I venture to make a present of my experience to every young man in Bengal, and for that matter in India. No one need think that my public position, and not my openness, saves me from offensive attention. It is the simplest thing to see that the moment you cease to dread the presence of the spy, and therefore refuse to treat him as such, that moment his presence ceases to offend you. Soon the Government will feel ashamed to have its Secret Service Department or, if it does not, the secret police will be sick of an occupation which serves no use..... The Press Act is a symptom of the disease of cowardice. If we would boldly declare our intentions, the Press Act will die of inanition. The beginners will have to suffer for their so-called daring. I hear that the *Servant* of Calcutta has been served with a warning for its tenacity to take over an article from *Young India* condensing Mr. Rajgopalachari's admirable instructions to voters. I notice too that the most telling passages of my speech in Calcutta have been omitted by the press evidently for fear of the censor. I would far rather see a complete stoppage of a newspaper if the editor cannot without fear of the consequence freely express his sentiments or publish those which he approves..... An editor with an original idea or an effective prescription for India's ill can easily write them out, a hundred hands can copy them, many more can read them out to thousands of listeners. I do hope therefore that non-co-operation editors, at any rate, will not refrain from expressing their thoughts for fear of the Press Act. They should regard it as sinful to keep their thoughts secret—a waste of energy to conduct a newspaper that cramps their thoughts. It is negation of one's calling for an editor to have to suppress his best thoughts."

Indian troops should not be used outside India.

Sind Observer (12), 8th Dec.

69. "Our esteemed contemporary the *Daily Gazette* chides us for our pious aspiration about Arabia being autonomous under the nominal suzerainty of the Turkish Sultan. We will assure our contemporary that we want no Indian soldiers to be taken to the Hedjaz to reimpose the Turkish yoke at the point of the bayonet; we are

against any use being made of Indian soldiers outside the frontiers of India. As to self-determination it is a very mouth-filling expression and no more. King Feisul like King Hussain helped the Allies and established the independence of Syria and why did France remove him from his throne? What became of self-determination here? England was dissatisfied at Feisul's deposition, but could not prevail upon her strong ally to reconsider the position..... India wanted self-determination through her spokesmen. We properly refused to entertain it for a minute and in the preamble to the Reforms Act we clearly mentioned that all future advance would only depend upon the will of the British Parliament. Therefore this argument of the *Daily Gazette* cuts both ways. If it speaks of the self-determination of the Hedjaz, it must be prepared to advocate it in the case of a country like India who is also a member of the League of Nations, whose representatives sat also in the Versailles Conference, in the Imperial Conference and the War Cabinet, and who continue now to sit also in all the meetings of the League of Nations. Therefore let us drop all talk about self-determination, which the Allies themselves have not practised. We don't blame them at all. We merely make a statement of fact because our contemporary wants to score a point at our expense."

70. Referring to the discussion in Parliament about military expenditure in Persia and Mesopotamia, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—Britain refuses to evacuate Mesopotamia. But there will be discontent in India as long as England continues its occupation of that country. Moreover, there is a great fear of the Bolshevist menace to India as prognosticated by His Highness the Aga Khan. This evil can be averted by Great Britain withdrawing her forces from Mesopotamia and granting self-government to Arabia. It is the duty of Indians to tell Government that they object to the presence of Indian troops in Mesopotamia, Persia and Palestine, and that they have no sympathy with the policy of Britain in depriving the people of those countries of their independence by the help of Indian troops. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses its gratification at the reported willingness of France to restore to Turkey the provinces that were unjustly taken away from it, and asks Britain to take a leaf out of the book of France and restore to Turkey the provinces placed under its mandate with a view to conciliating Moslem opinion and pacifying the minds of Indian Muhammadans.]

Sánj Vartamán (33), 24th Dec.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 25th Dec.

71. England and France have now begun to fear that Greece will be rendered powerful by the Turkish Provinces ceded to it by way of a bribe and that it will defy them if King Constantine regains power! They have, therefore, thought of restoring Asia Minor and Thrace to Turkey. But it is a serious matter for consideration that England has spent enormous sums of money on the occupation of Mesopotamia. America is opposed to the dismemberment of Turkey as effected by the Allies and the Arabs will not peacefully submit to the arrangement. England has thus been placed in an awkward position. An unexpectedly new situation has arisen. The Bolsheviks in Russia have inflicted a thorough defeat on the armies of General Wrangel and have scattered them in all directions and have now turned their energies towards taking possession of Lithuania and Courland of which they were robbed. The Armenians have fallen victims to the Turks and the Bolsheviks and their newly-created Kingdom has been destroyed. A glance at the map will show us that the old enemies of England and France have sprung up in a new garb. Russia is arrayed against England and France and so Germany will have ample scope for intrigue in both Europe and Asia. Revision of the Turkish treaty is being contemplated to secure allies for England and France. Let us see how things turn up.

Comments on the political situation in Europe.
Gujaráti (19), 19th Dec.

72. "A special cable to a contemporary announces that Lord Curzon is standing in the way of the revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty. His Lordship's hand could be seen in all the Peace transactions since the war has ended. But in Persia, in Mesopotamia, in Thrace, in Armenia, in Syria and in Anatolia nothing but disaster has been the result..... From Smyrna Vilayet the Greeks are withdrawing. In spite of all that the Allies may say now Constantine may

The Turkish treaty must be revised.
Sind Observer (12), 9th Dec.

be recognised as King. We do believe this is the time to revise the Turkish Treaty favourably and thus bring peace to the Muslims of the world and India. The truth is the world will move in spite of India's ex-prancing pro-Consul and Imperial Bounder."

73. The *Muslim Herald* is jubilant at the prospective rendition of Smyrna and Thrace to Turkey, and attributes the Turks' good fortune to Divine beneficence. It also publishes a poem in which it refers once again to the alleged difference of opinion among the Allies about their Eastern policy, and criticises the reported aversion of Lord Curzon to restoring Smyrna and Thrace to Turkey, calling him the second Helaku and enemy of Islam.

Prospects of Thrace and Smyrna being returned to Turkey.
Muslim Herald (161), 19th Dec.

74. "It is somewhat difficult to reconcile the Premier's assurance that 'it is the Government's definite policy to clear out of Persia' with Mr. Churchill's statement that General Ironside's force will be kept in Persia till the spring. What prevents the British troops from clearing out of the country immediately? Apparently, they are to be kept there pending the summoning of the Mejliss and the submission to that assembly of the Anglo-Persian Agreement, on the acceptance of which the Curzon-Milner-Churchill triumvirate have set their hearts..... Mr. Churchill and his colleagues pretend that the presence of the British forces in Persia has been necessitated by the menace of Bolshevism, which has materialised in the Soviet invasion of North Persia. But these politicians forget that it is the very presence of British troops that has provoked the Russian Soviet Government to despatch troops to Persia as a counter-move to British diplomacy..... The main reasons for the continuance of the military occupation of the country must rather be sought in the anxiety of British politicians to induce the Mejliss to accept the Anglo-Persian Agreement—an agreement which will effectually bring Persia under the thumb of Great Britain..... Whether the Mejliss will disappoint the hopes of British diplomats or will satisfy them is difficult to prognosticate. The British imperialists are truly engaged in a gamble in Persia and they have already staked and lost more then fifty millions therein. It remains to be seen how much more they are prepared to invest in the game."

Mistaken British policy in Persia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Dec.

RAILWAYS.

***75.** Referring to the Committee appointed by the Bombay Municipal Corporation to draft a reply to Government on the subject of taking measures to prevent soldiers from entering railway compartments reserved for ladies, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"To our knowledge there have been two cases of this kind—one within the last few days. It should be said, however, that it is not only the ignorant soldier, but also the civilian, who ought to know better, that is the offender. The Railway staff's intervention does not often extend beyond a timid requet to the intruder to find room in some other compartment. Having satisfied their sense of duty by this perfunctory act, they either disappear from the scene or perhaps enjoy from a distance the altercation between the women in the compartment and the soldier or civilian who is anxious to give them the pleasure or his unwanted company. Some of these intruders are such foul-mouthed ruffians in spite of their clothing, that if any male relatives of the women happen to be present there would be a serious breach of the peace. These occurrences seem to be specially frequent on race days. It is painful to us to have to add that in the recent case even a European woman took the side of the contemptible cad who used most insulting language to the Indian lady who turned him out of the compartment."

The evil of soldiers entering railway compartments reserved for ladies.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 26th Dec.

76. The *Lokasangraha* strongly protests against the rumoured increase in third class fares by the G. I. P. Railway Company. In its opinion the company has no justification for thus increasing the fares since it has been declaring large dividends during the past few years.

Protest against rumoured increase in the third class fares on the G. I. P. Railway.
Lokasangraha (117), 19th Dec.

NATIVE STATES.

77. "No one, including his own subjects, takes an Indian Chief seriously when he airs his views on British Indian politics. ..... No importance need, therefore, be attached to the vapourings of the Ruler of Nabha, delivered especially for the delectation of his guest, Sir Edward Maclagan. The days are past when because an individual is born heir to a gadi one should expect pearls of wisdom, especially political wisdom, to fall from his mouth. His Highness exhorts the Sikhs to remain loyal and to stand by their religious teachings; but we are sure the Sikhs are fully aware of their duty in these matters. Their attitude during the recent elections has demonstrated that they fully realise their duties, though perhaps not exactly in the manner the Ruler of Nabha wishes. If the Ruler of Nabha were wise he would better hold his own counsel, till at least he and the Indian politicians he criticises are on the same platform or meet in the same Council Chamber."

The Chief of Nabha and Indian politics.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Dec.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

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*Reported in advance.

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